
COUCHED IN DEATH

KLINAI AND IDENTITY IN
ANATOLIA AND BEYOND

✠ ELIZABETH P. BAUGHAN ✠



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Couched in Death

Publication of this book has been made possible, in part, through the generous support and enduring vision of Warren G. Moon, through support from the Department of Classical Studies and the School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Richmond, and by a grant from the von Bothmer Publication Fund of the Archaeological Institute of America.



Couched in Death

Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond

Elizabeth P. Baughan

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS

The University of Wisconsin Press
1930 Monroe Street, 3rd Floor
Madison, Wisconsin 53711-2059
uwpress.wisc.edu

3 Henrietta Street
London WC2E 8LU, England
eurospanbookstore.com

Copyright © 2013

The Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any format or by any means, digital, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, or conveyed via the Internet or a website without written permission of the University of Wisconsin Press, except in the case of brief quotations embedded in critical articles and reviews.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Baughan, Elizabeth P.

Couched in death : klinai and identity in Anatolia and beyond / Elizabeth P. Baughan.

p. cm.—(Wisconsin studies in classics)

ISBN 978-0-299-29180-8 (cloth : alk. paper) —ISBN 978-0-299-29183-9 (e-book)

1. Grave goods—Turkey. 2. Deathbeds—Turkey—History. 3. Funeral rites and ceremonies, Ancient—Turkey. 4. Turkey—Antiquities. I. Title. II. Series: Wisconsin studies in classics.

GT3170.B375 2013

393.0939'2—dc23

2012040082

for Michael

Contents

List of Illustrations ix

Acknowledgments xiv

Abbreviations and Guidelines for Use xvii

INTRODUCTION Approaches to *Klinai* and
the Cultures of Anatolia 3

Geographic, Cultural, and Funerary
Contexts 4

Previous Scholarship 8

Theoretical Approaches 11

Overview 13

CHAPTER 1 Archaic and Classical Greek
Klinai: Realities and Representations 15

Terminology and Function 17

The Rules of Reclining 21

Materials and Construction 27

Size and Placement 38

Design and Decoration 44

Plato's *Klinai* 85

CHAPTER 2 Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia 87

Evidence for Wooden Couches in
Anatolian Tombs 88

A Bronze *Kline* from Lydia 97

Stone and Rock-Cut Couches in Tumuli 98

Rock-Cut Chamber Tombs with Burial
Couches 132

Synthesis 161

CHAPTER 3 Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb 177

Persian Precedent? 177

Roots of the *Kline*-Tomb Concept 182

Kline-Burial and Lydia 224

Excursus: Etruscan Tombs and the Reclining
Banquet in Etruria 226

Conclusions 232

CHAPTER 4 Banqueting and Identity in
Achaemenid Anatolia 233

Approaches to Cultural Identity in
Achaemenid Anatolia 233

Kline-Tombs with Achaemenid Elements 235

Banqueting in Anatolian-Persian
Funerary Art 249

A Late Archaic West Anatolian *Koine*? 262

Conclusions 265

Contents

CHAPTER 5 Conclusions: Legacies and Meanings 267

Macedonian Funerary *Klinai* 267

A Return to Plato's *Klinai* 273

The Afterlife of the Funerary *Kline* 274

Conclusions 279

AFTERWORD 281

APPENDIX A Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches, ca. 600–400 BCE 283

APPENDIX B List of Vases Cited in the Text 336

Notes 349

Bibliography 425

Index 479

Illustrations

TABLES

1. Tumulus chambers with benches, couches, or *klinai* 102–103
2. Rock-cut tombs with benches, couches, or carved *klinai* 138–140

COLOR ILLUSTRATIONS AFTER PAGE 14

- Plate 1. Lale Tepe, reconstruction of burial chamber and *klinai*
- Plate 2. Eretria, Tomb of Amarynthos, plan and drawings of *klinai*
- Plate 3. Interior of Attic white-ground kylix, Louvre G109
- Plate 4. Type B ivory and amber inlays from Polizzello, Sicily
- Plate 5. Reconstruction of inlaid Type B leg from Grafenbühl, Germany
- Plate 6. Type B volute capital from Kul Oba
- Plate 7. Red-figure/white-ground lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter
- Plate 8. Kendirlik 1: drawings and photo of *kline* supports
- Plate 9. Details of left and rear *kline* supports from Bekçitepe
- Plate 10. Dedetepe, detail of left *kline*
- Plate 11. Aktepe, drawing of right *kline* leg

FIGURES

1. Map of ancient Anatolia and the Near East, with sites mentioned in the text 5

2. Symposion with Type A *klinai* on an Attic black-figure column krater attributed to the Ptoon Painter 16
3. Herakles feasting on a Type B *kline* on an Attic bilingual amphora attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters 16
4. Herakles and Iphikles on a Type B *kline* on an Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter 17
5. *Prothesis* with Type A *kline* on an Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter 18
6. *Prothesis* with Type B *kline* on an Athenian black-figure funerary plaque 19
7. Two Attic white-ground lekythoi attributed to the Tymbos Painter 20
8. Attic red-figure kylix showing reclining symposiast from behind, attributed to the Painter of Brussels R330 22
9. Etruscan “Pontic” amphora attributed to the Paris Painter 23
10. Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos 24
11. Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Meleager Painter 25
12. Late Corinthian black-figure krater 25
13. Dionysos and Ariadne on an Attic black-figure amphora near the Priam Painter 26
14. Type C *kline* with pattern suggesting wood grain on an Apulian red-figure dinos 27

15. Top part of a wooden Type A leg from the Giglio shipwreck 28
16. Views of dining room in the stoa of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron 29
17. Details of beds in Late Geometric *prothesis* scenes 29
18. The bed of Prokrustes on an Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Alkimachos Painter 31
19. Scene of bridal preparation on an Attic red-figure pyxis attributed to the Washing Painter 32
20. Attic black-figure psykter attributed to the Leagros Group 33
21. Achaemenid Persian throne on a relief from the treasury of Persepolis 34
22. Gold foil fragments from the “Halos” deposit at Delphi, reconstructed as Type B leg decoration 35
23. Bronze *kline* in the J. Paul Getty Museum 36
24. Bronze bed from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere 36
25. Couch from Tell el-Far’ah South, Tomb 650 37
26. Early Corinthian krater with Herakles dining at the house of Eurytios 40
27. Dionysos and Herakles reclining on *klinai* on an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Troilos Painter 41
28. Attic red-figure stamnos signed by Smikros 42
29. Attic red-figure kalyx krater attributed to Euphronios 43
30. Map of Greater Mediterranean Basin, with findspots of physical remains of Type A and Type B wooden furniture from the sixth and fifth centuries 45
31. Small wooden Type A *kline* from tumulus at Duvanli, Bulgaria 46
32. Detail drawings of Type A *klinai* in Greek, Etruscan, and Lycian art 47
33. Sarcophagus lid from Klazomenai with *ekphora* scene 48
34. Attic black-figure kylix attributed to the KX Painter 50
35. Detail drawings of Type B *klinai* on Attic black-figure vases and pinakes 51
36. Detail drawings of Type B *klinai* on Attic red-figure and white-ground vases 52
37. Late Corinthian black-figure hydria with Nereids mourning Achilles 53
38. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Epeleios Painter 56
39. Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Brygos Painter 57
40. Drawings of Type C and abbreviated Type B couches 59
41. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter 59
42. Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen Painter 60
43. Kerameikos, South Mound: plan of primary shaft grave and reconstruction of *kline* 62
44. Kerameikos, Mound G: view of primary shaft grave, with palmette inlays for a Type B *kline* 63
45. Drawings of Macedonian funerary *klinai* 66
46. Attic red-figure kylix signed by Epiktetos 67
47. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris 67
48. Sarcophagus from Golgoi 69
49. Attic red-figure chous attributed to the Eretria Painter 70
50. Attic red-figure kylix by Aison 71
51. Table or stool legs from Dedetepe 72
52. Throne leg with Persian-style turnings and sphinx element on grave stele from Thasos 73
53. Detail of sphinx throne on sarcophagus of Ahiram from Byblos 74
54. Attic black-figure dinos attributed to the Atalante Group 79

Illustrations

55. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris 81
56. Interior of Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Makron 83
57. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter 84
58. Tumulus P, Gordion: plan of chamber and reconstruction of burial bed 89
59. Ivory pieces from Tumulus D, Gordion 90
60. Ivory pieces from Tumulus K-II, Gordion 92
61. BT63.2: plan, elevation, and reconstruction of wood and iron remains as a coffin 94
62. BT63.2: views of wood and metal remains and alternative reconstruction 94
63. Map of Lydia with sites of *kline*-tombs and locations mentioned in the text 99
64. Kordon Tumulus: plan of chamber and dromos 100
65. Kordon Tumulus: section of chamber and dromos 100
66. Lale Tepe: view of right rear corner showing treatment of wall for built-in *klinai* 101
67. Kendirlik 1: fragments of *kline* bedslab and detail of headrest and “pillow” 106
68. BT05.58: reconstruction of *kline* in the tumulus chamber 107
69. Hacılı A: drawing of *kline* fragments 108
70. Bekçitepe: views of *kline* bedslab and supports 109
71. Lale Tepe: elevation and sections of rear *kline* bedslab, and view of right end fragments 110
72. *Klinai* recorded by A. Choisy in Bin Tepe 113
73. *Kline* from Aktepe: view of whole, detail of right leg, and reconstruction drawing of painted frieze 114
74. Dedetepe: plan and view of chamber 116–117
75. Karaburun Tumulus II: detail and view of *kline* 118
76. BT89.1: elevation and section of *kline* 119
77. Mangaltepe: detail drawing of *kline* 120
78. Yabızlar Tepesi: plan and section of chamber, views and drawings of *kline* support fragments 120
79. Hamamtepe: detail drawing of right end of bedslab fragments 120
80. BK71.1: view of chamber and detail of *kline* leg 121
81. İkiztepe: drawings of chambers and *klinai*, and views of *klinai* 122
82. Dardanos Tumulus: view of chamber and detail drawing of *kline* 123
83. Lale Tepe: side *kline* bedslab fragments and supports 124
84. Bahçetepe: view and detail of *kline* 125
85. Harta: reconstruction of *kline* in chamber, with views of sphinx *kline* supports 126
86. Sphinx from Sardis 127
87. Reliefs from Bin Tepe 128
88. Kızılbel Tumulus: isometric reconstruction of chamber with couch and table, and drawings of couch fragments 129
89. Tekçam: view of bedslab socketed into chamber walls 131
90. Saraylı Boğazı: view of chamber with rock-cut couch 131
91. Map of Phrygia with sites of *kline*-tombs and locations mentioned in the text 133
92. Yılan Taş: views of façade and chamber fragments 135
93. Yılan Taş: reconstructed drawings of chamber and furnishings 135
94. Arslan Taş: view of façade 136
95. Drawings of rock-cut tombs in the Phrygian highlands 141
96. Phrygian rock-cut tombs in the region of Sivrihisar 142
97. Midas City, “West Tomb”: view of chamber with *klinai* restored, and detail drawings of *klinai* 143

98. Midas City, Triclinium Tomb: plan and section of chambers and view of left side of main chamber 144
99. Tekören, Tomb 1: drawings and views of chamber and couches 145
100. Detail drawings of carved Phrygian couch legs 145
101. Lydian rock-cut chamber tombs in the Nekropolis of Sardis 149
102. Sardis Tomb 03.1: plan of chamber with finds 150
103. Sardis Tomb 70: sketch plan from H.C. Butler archive 151
104. Plan, section, and elevation of Lycian tomb at Dereagzı 152
105. Myra Tomb 17: plan, elevation of rear *kline*, and detail of rear *kline* 153
106. View of Lycian tomb façades at Myra 153
107. Lycian rock-cut tomb with slot for inserted couch, Limyra 154
108. Lycian rock-cut tomb with two levels of burial places, Xanthos 155
109. Kaş, “Doric Tomb”: detail of right couch 156
110. Lycian rock-cut couches with raised pillows at Xanthos and Limyra 157
111. Drawings of carved legs on faces of couches and sarcophagi in Carian rock-cut tombs 159
112. Carian rock-cut tomb with “triclinium” arrangement, Kaunos Tomb B8 160
113. Paphlagonian rock-cut tomb, Kalekapı 161
114. Approximate timeline of Type B funerary *klinai* in Anatolia 163
115. Drawings of the *kline* bedslab from Tombaktepe and details of other Lydian *kline* headrests 165
116. Headrests of Etruscan rock-cut funerary beds 167
117. Kızılbel Tumulus, view and detail of banquet scene 173
118. Karaburun Tumulus II, banquet scene above *kline* 174
119. Aktepe, reconstruction of wall paintings and *kline* 175
120. Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae 178
121. Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae: plan of chamber with hypothetical arrangements of couch, coffin, and table 179
122. Tomb of Artaxerxes III, Naqsh-e Rostam, Persepolis 181
123. Drawing of relief from Memphis 182
124. Stele from Neirab 184
125. Urartian tomb, Altintepe, Tomb 3: plan and views of finds 185
126. Tumulus MM, Gordion: reconstruction of the funeral ceremony held before the king’s burial 187
127. Late Geometric krater with *ekphora* scene 189
128. “Caromemphite” stele 191
129. Ivory bed from Salamis Tomb 79 194
130. Tombs in the Cellarka nekropolis at Salamis 196
131. Urartian rock-cut tomb at Van 198
132. Rock-cut tomb at Monastery of St. Etienne, Jerusalem 199
133. Assurbanipal’s “Garden Party” relief from Nineveh 202
134. Silver bowl from Kourion, Cyprus 203
135. Bronze bowl from Salamis, Cyprus 204
136. Silver bowl from Cyprus 205
137. Details of reclining banquets on “Phoenician” bowls 206
138. Possible banquet scenes on bronzes from the Idaean Cave, Crete 207
139. Assyrian camp scene: drawing of relief from Nimrud 208
140. Assyrian camp scene: drawing of relief from Nineveh 208
141. Relief from the southwest palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, showing confiscated spoils 210

Illustrations

142. Ivory panels for head- or footboard from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) 211
143. Remains of bed or couch from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser 212
144. Drawing of silver furniture foot from "Melgunov's Barrow" 213
145. Drawing of hieroglyph on stele from Kululu (Kaletepe) 218
146. Terracotta frieze fragments from Larisa on the Hermos 222
147. Etruscan rock-cut tomb chambers at Caere, plans and section 227
148. Etruscan funerary *kline* from Cortona 228
149. Etruscan banquet scenes: (a) terracotta relief from Poggio Civitate (Murlo); (b) Tarquinia, Tomb of the Leopards 229
150. Etruscan limestone cippus 231
151. Gold appliqués from Sardis, Tombs 836 and 813 238
152. Gold appliqués from Toptepe 238
153. Selected items allegedly looted from Toptepe 239
154. Selected vessels and objects allegedly from İkiztepe 241
155. Linchpins from BT89.1 243
156. Ivory protome from Dedetepe 244
157. Drawing of exterior reliefs on the "Pyramid Tomb" at Midas City 246
158. Stele of Elnaf from Daskyleion 250
159. Stele from Daskyleion (detail) 251
160. Drawings of banquet scenes on Perso-Anatolian stelai 253
161. Pediment from a temple-style tomb at Sardis 256
162. Banquet relief from Thasos 257
163. Attic black-figure oinochoe with Dionysos and Ariadne 258
164. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Kodros Painter 259
165. Drawing of relief on one short end of the Polyxena Sarcophagus 260
166. View and detail of the *kline* from the Naip Tumulus 270
167. Tomb of Julius II, San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome 276
168. Gandharan *parinirvana* scene 278

Acknowledgments

This book represents more than ten years of research and reflects the support of many colleagues, mentors, friends, and students. It began as a PhD dissertation at Berkeley, under the supervision of Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr., and since then has been expanded in some ways and trimmed in others, incorporating new research and entertaining new theories concerning the primary material under study, the funerary *klinai* of Anatolia. The present work goes well beyond the limits of Anatolia, however, to consider all aspects of *klinai* in the Archaic and Classical world as well as other funerary couches in the Mediterranean and analogues in other cultures and time periods.

The idea of investigating the tradition of burials on funeral couches emerged somewhat by chance, after the discovery of the Lale Tepe tumulus near Ahmetli in 1999. The following season of the Sardis excavations was delayed while the team awaited a permit and the arrival of a government representative; in the meantime, we split our time between field trip excursions to sites such as Lale Tepe and browsing the expedition library. There one can find a rich and inspiring assortment of scholarship and archival records, from published books to unpublished dissertations, manuscripts, and reports. So it was upon the work of former Sardis researchers that this study was founded: Barbara McLauchlin, Nicholas Cahill, Christopher Ratté, Elspeth Dusingberre, Christopher Roosevelt, and, of course, my teacher and adviser Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. (1937–2012), to whose enduring inspiration I owe so much, and who will surely serve as a model of scholarship and graciousness for generations of archaeologists to come. Without his enthusiastic encouragement, this book would not have been written. In addition to selflessly providing personal notes and photographs and a draft of his unpublished manuscript on tombs of the Lydian and Persian periods at Sardis, Greenie was always eager to discuss *klinai* with me and would give careful consideration even to my most tentative ideas. His inspiration and support lie behind nearly every page of my manuscript, and I can only hope that the finished book lives up to his legacy.

Thanks are also owed to the other members of my dissertation committee at Berkeley, David Stornach and Andrew Stewart, who both gave invaluable direction to my initial research and constructive feedback on my developing ideas. Support for the dissertation research and writing was provided by a fellowship from the American Research Institute in Turkey, a Humanities Research Grant from the University of California, Berkeley, and a fellowship from Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha Chapter of California. Firsthand research was carried out in Turkey in 2002 with the kind permission of the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. For

Acknowledgments

assistance and permission to study material in Turkey in 2002, I am grateful to Kazım Akbıyıkoglu, then director of the Uşak Museum; Numan Tuna of the Middle East Technical University Museum; and the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis. Further research was conducted at Gordion and in the Ankara Museum in 2011 thanks to the kind permission of G. Kenneth Sams and the Gordion Excavations. H. Ali Ekinci and Alime Çankaya at the Burdur Museum also provided welcome assistance and shared information about the interesting tombs recently discovered near Burdur.

The writing of the present book was made possible by the generous support of the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the Center for Hellenic Studies, and the University of Richmond School of Arts and Sciences. It benefited greatly from the libraries and librarian assistance at the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, the American Research Institute in Turkey, the Center for Hellenic Studies, and Dumbarton Oaks. And it could not have been completed without the tireless assistance of the Interlibrary Loan department of the University of Richmond Library.

Funds for illustrations were provided by a publication subvention grant of the Archaeological Institute of America and by the Department of Classical Studies and School of Arts and Sciences of the University of Richmond. For image permissions and assistance in securing them, I am especially grateful to İlknur Özgen, Bilkent University; Sabiha Pazarcı, Uşak Museum; Zeynep Kızıltan, Istanbul Archaeological Museum; Maria Hadjicosti, Department of Antiquities of Cyprus; Bahadır Yıldırım and Elizabeth Gombosi, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis; Gareth Darbyshire, Gordion Project; Yaşar Ersoy, Klazomenai Excavations; Rosalba Panvini, Museo Archeologico Regionale di Caltanissetta; Nikolaos Kaltsas, National Archaeological Museum of Athens; and Jutta Stroszeck, German Archaeological Institute, Athens. I thank also Baran Aydın, John Boardman, Jürgen Borchhardt, Robert Bridges, Paolo Brocato, İnci Delemen, John Devreker, Catherine Draycott, Bilge Hürmüzlü, Vassos Karageorghis, Helmut Kyrieleis, Camilla MacKay, Friedhelm Prayon, Paavo Roos, Elizabeth Simpson, Kostas Sismanidis, David Stronach, Taciser Tüfekçi Sivas, David Ussishkin, and Hubertus von Gall. I especially thank Chris Roosevelt for sharing his images of Lydian tumuli and related data with me, and for allowing me to reproduce some of his unpublished photographs here. I am also grateful to Stella Miller and Kaan İren for sharing information about the *kline*-tombs at Karaburun and Daskyleion, and to Lenore O. Keene Congdon for permission to quote the unpublished letters of F.H. Bacon. Daniel Weiss prepared many of the line drawings, and Nils Niemeier created the maps, with the assistance of Kim Klinker, director of the Spatial Analysis Lab of the University of Richmond. For editorial and many other types of assistance, I am deeply indebted to Michele Bedsaul, administrative coordinator of the Department of Classical Studies, University of Richmond.

The ideas presented in this book have benefited from discussion and correspondence over the years with many other scholars, including Brendan Burke, Elena Calvillo, Susanne Ebbinghaus, Garance Fiedler, Marcus Folch, Ann Gunter, Oliver Hüllden, Bruno Jacobs, Tarkan Kahya, Ellen Kohler, Leslie Kurke, Julie Laskaris, Sean Lockwood, Kathleen Lynch, Margaret Miller, Sarah Morris, Gregory Nagy, Lisa Pieraccini, Adam Rabinowitz, Andrew Ramage, Ellen Rehm, Tyler Jo Smith, Phil Stinson, Geoff Summers, Claire Taylor, Mikhail Treister, and Mark Usher. They have also been improved by the suggestions of editors and anonymous reviewers for the University of Wisconsin Press and stimulated by engaging questions from friends and family, especially George Baughan.

Acknowledgments

It is to my family that I owe my deepest thanks: to my parents, Mike and Julie Paulette, for their constant encouragement; to my daughters, Callie and Ella, for their patience with my work and for reminding me to play; and especially to my husband, Michael, for his enduring and all-encompassing support (editorial as well as emotional), undying patience, and selfless commitment to our family.

Abbreviations and Guidelines for Use

Abbreviations for journals and standard scholarly works cited in the notes, appendices, and bibliography follow the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology* or the German Archaeological Institute. Abbreviations for ancient authors and works follow those listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edition (1996). While transliterated Greek spellings have been used for most Greek names and words, some Latin spellings have been used for conventional references to authors, texts, and places (such as “Thucydides” and “Lycia”).

References to the two appendixes appear throughout the text, notes, and captions. “Cat.” plus a number refers to an entry in Appendix A, a catalogue of tombs with *klinai* or couches. References to Appendix B (“B1,” for example) direct the reader to a list of vases cited in the text.

Translations are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

Couched in Death

Introduction

Approaches to *Klinai* and the Cultures of Anatolia

The image of a person relaxing on a banquet couch endured as a funerary icon in the ancient Mediterranean from the Archaic Period through Late Antiquity. Whether on sarcophagus lids or grave reliefs or in tomb paintings, such images are easily called to mind and understood as expressions of the deceased's identity or status and his or her membership in the leisure-loving elite and, perhaps, in an eternal afterlife banquet (or aspirations thereto). Less well known is the three-dimensional counterpart to such imagery: the actual placement of the dead on a banquet couch within a grave. This "burial language,"¹ too, makes a statement of some sort, but its audience is somewhat different and its meaning equally ambiguous. Is the furniture intended to mark the occupant as an elite banqueter *in perpetuo*? Or is it included for its own sake, as a luxury item or personal possession? These questions are complicated by several factors. For one, the Greek term for such furnishings, *kline* (plural *klinai*), had the dual meanings of "bed" and "banquet couch." After the emergence of the custom of reclined dining in the Near East around the eighth century BCE and its adoption by most elite cultures of the Mediterranean by the end of the seventh, the two functions were often served by one piece of furniture. Given the natural associations in human thought between sleep and death, it is possible that funerary *klinai* could have been perceived simultaneously as beds and banquet couches. Second, evidence for actual luxury *klinai* in burials is meager compared with the hundreds of stone and rock-cut beds or couches that are known in tombs across the Mediterranean. Some of these are made of marble, delicately carved or painted, and others still are monolithic—not, in other words, cheap or convenient alternatives to real wooden couches, even highly ornamented ones. What choices lie behind such *kline*-tombs, and what can they tell us about their occupants and the societies in which they lived? How did *klinai*, or replicas of them, come to be used as burial receptacles, and what meaning(s) did they carry? Were these *klinai* conceptualized as banquet couches, equipping the dead for eternal symposia or simply identifying them as members of the privileged class that enjoyed symposia in life, or were they seen as beds for eternal rest, or perhaps both? And can we date *klinai* stylistically and use them as criteria for establishing tomb chronologies?

These are some of the questions that have fueled the present study, conceived after a visit to a Lydian tumulus near Sardis. The tomb chamber had recently been vandalized, and salvage excavations had revealed an unparalleled assemblage of marble *klinai* with carved and painted decoration, in an unusual arrangement accommodating at least seven burials, as well as remarkable wall and ceiling

paintings with strong Phrygian affinities (Plate 1).² Most of the grave goods had been looted, but masonry style and scattered pottery remains pointed to a date in the late sixth or early fifth century BCE. The tomb raised important questions about cultural interaction and identity in Lydia in the Persian period. What was the significance of the *klinai* and their unprecedented arrangement? A recent study of Achaemenid Sardis had treated funerary *klinai* as indicators of Persianization, on the assumption that the practice of *kline*-burial was introduced to Asia Minor by the Persians when they conquered Lydia in the middle of the sixth century.³ But the funerary *klinai* found so widely in western Anatolia—in stone chambers buried beneath earthen tumuli as well as in tomb chambers carved directly in natural rock outcroppings and cliff faces, in a range of media (stone, wood, and bronze)—had never been studied systematically, and many remained unpublished. And new discoveries in Lydia and other regions of Asia Minor were beginning to reveal a wider distribution and variety of types than previously thought. This study, then, began in an effort to bring together this diverse evidence as a means of investigating the origins and cultural significance of *kline*-burial as well as the stylistic development and distribution of funerary *klinai* in Anatolia.

It soon became clear that a full understanding of funerary *klinai* in Anatolia would require looking well beyond the borders of modern Turkey—not only to occurrences of funeral beds and couches in contemporary cultures, such as Etruria, but also to other contemporary representations of *klinai*, as in the numerous symposion scenes on Greek vases, as well as representations of reclining banqueters in funerary art. It is important to stress that most funerary *klinai* are just as representational as vase paintings and grave reliefs, if not more so, in that they represent perishable luxury furniture in a more permanent medium at the same time that they help to construct a three-dimensional “representational tableau” that conveys ideas about the dead people who occupy them.⁴ In order to understand what *klinai* mean in these funerary contexts, it is necessary to consider what meaning(s) they carried in other representational contexts. Investigating the origins of the *kline*-tomb concept, in turn, requires rethinking some commonly held assumptions about the origins of the furniture form itself and the custom of the reclining banquet in general—and therefore also investigating cultural exchange and interaction in the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East in the eighth and seventh centuries.

Moreover, reassessing many of the assumptions that have shaped the dating and interpretation of *klinai* in the past opens new paths for exploring cultural identity in Achaemenid Anatolia. *Kline*-tombs and contemporary grave monuments depicting reclining banqueters make up a rich complex of images and artifacts, providing a window into funerary ideologies and elite self-representation in Persian-period Asia Minor. By closely examining the interrelation of these different forms of funerary expression and their associated grave assemblages, we can approach broader questions of cultural interaction and identity in this fascinating era of Anatolian history.

GEOGRAPHIC, CULTURAL, AND FUNERARY CONTEXTS

The Anatolian peninsula has been a crossroads of cultural interaction from earliest antiquity. By the sixth century it was occupied by several different cultures that were linguistically and archaeologically distinct: Greek-speaking peoples on the western coast in Ionia, Aeolis, and Mysia and in cities along the Black Sea coast; Carians and Lycians in the southwest; Lydians in the Hermos River valley

Introduction

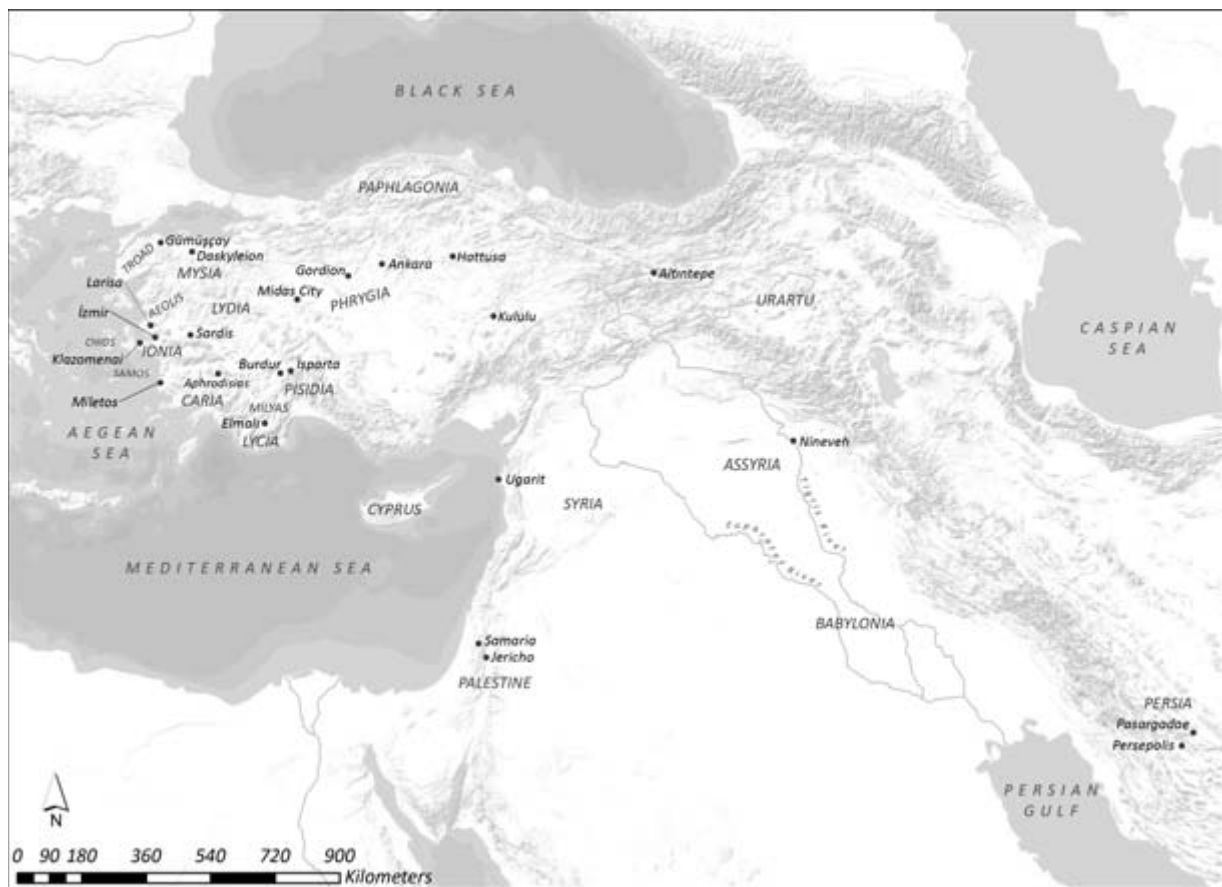


Figure 1. Ancient Anatolia and the Near East: sites mentioned in the text. (Map by N.P. Niemeier)

and surrounding fertile plains and foothills; and Phrygians on the central plateau, to name only the major players (Fig. 1). Kroisos of Lydia brought most of these diverse areas of western Anatolia under Lydian control by the middle of the sixth century. The previous centuries of the Iron Age had seen the rise and fall of the Uartian empire in far eastern Anatolia and the Phrygian kingdom of the central steppe. It was in this central-eastern part of Anatolia that the expanding Median empire of northwestern Iran began to establish outposts sometime in the early sixth century. By about 540 the newly founded Achaemenid empire under Cyrus the Great, of mixed Median and Persian descent, had conquered Lydia and thereby established control over nearly the entire peninsula.⁵ In this rich and varied cultural landscape, interaction and exchange were stimulated and facilitated by natural routes of communication and travel as well as the ebb and flow of imperial power. The geographic focus of this study is thus a broad one but at the same time a natural one, since these different cultural areas of the Anatolian peninsula existed in a common cultural landscape.⁶ A cross-cultural

approach to the study of funerary *klinai* allows for consideration of issues of interaction, exchange, and identity within the realm of funerary expression.

The funerary material presented here thus comes from several different cultural regions, with similar but distinct tomb traditions. In Lydia, evidence for *klinai* is found in many of the tumuli that dot the Lydian landscape and in chamber tombs carved into the soft conglomerate of the “Nekropolis” hill at Sardis, the Lydian capital. Tumuli are found along routes of travel and in clusters throughout the valleys and ridges surrounding the Hermos, Kogamos, and Kayster rivers and associated tributaries, and their distribution gives us some idea of Lydian settlement patterns (see Fig. 63).⁷ The largest collection of tumuli in Lydia is the “royal” cemetery just north of Sardis, known as Bin Tepe. Though the name means “a thousand mounds,” it contains just over one hundred burial mounds. The three largest and presumably earliest have long been associated with the Lydian Mermnad dynasty and were probably inspired by Phrygian royal burial mounds.⁸ Most of the smaller mounds at Bin Tepe were likely built in emulation of the royal tumuli, many of them during the Persian period.⁹ It is uncertain when the tradition of rock-cut tombs began at Sardis, because finds are rare and may reflect reuse, but they were certainly in use by the sixth century, and some have associated inscriptions or relief stelai.¹⁰

Tombs of both types attracted looters and explorers before the birth of scientific archaeology and remain targets of illicit excavation. Of more than 600 tumuli in Lydia, the burial chambers of only about 115 have been archaeologically investigated. Among these, only two burials have been found undisturbed.¹¹ Documented exploration of Lydian tumuli began in the middle of the nineteenth century with the work of Spiegelthal at the Tumulus of Alyattes and was continued by Dennis in the 1870s and 1880s and Choisy in 1875.¹² The first Sardis expedition under Butler in the early part of the twentieth century explored only a few tumuli but excavated over eleven hundred rock-cut chamber tombs in the Sardis Nekropolis, most of which are now inaccessible because of heavy erosion of the soft conglomerate.¹³ Since 1958 the joint Harvard-Cornell expedition has excavated and/or recorded six additional chamber tombs in the Nekropolis and several tumuli at Bin Tepe and elsewhere in the Sardis region.¹⁴ Illicit digging has resulted in additional salvage excavations by local museums throughout Lydia.¹⁵ Though conducted under unfortunate circumstances, these rescue operations have shed valuable light on the Lydian tumulus tradition and, in particular, the use of funerary *klinai*. Much of the material returned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Turkey in the 1990s as the “Lydian Treasure” is associated with tumuli looted in the 1960s in the area of modern Güre in eastern Lydia, and many of these tumuli held funerary *klinai*.¹⁶ Most recently, Roosevelt’s comprehensive survey of Lydian tumuli has significantly enhanced our understanding of their distribution and internal features and has provided evidence for many more tombs with *klinai*.¹⁷ Under Roosevelt’s direction, the Central Lydia Archaeology Survey has recorded additional tombs with *klinai* and continues to monitor tumuli for evidence of illicit excavation and looting.¹⁸ Of the Lydian tumuli that have been archaeologically explored thus far, around 50 have chambers that are known to have contained couches of some sort, usually of stone; at least 62 of the chamber tombs Butler excavated had rock-cut beds or couches, as far as we can tell from surviving records, and 7 additional rock-cut tombs with beds or couches are now known in Lydia.

In Phrygia, evidence for burial *klinai* comes from rock-cut tombs and tumulus burials of

Introduction

somewhat different types than those found in Lydia. Phrygian tumuli normally covered wooden chambers, simple inhumation pits, or cremations. A few tantalizing pieces that may belong to decorated wooden *klinai* have been found in several of the sixth-century tumuli at Gordion, while evidence for wooden beds and bedding in earlier tumuli may represent the roots of this tradition.¹⁹ Phrygian rock-cut tombs are much better preserved today than Lydian chamber tombs, owing to the more resilient nature of the bedrock, but they have consequently been more conspicuous targets for looting, vandalism, and reuse over the centuries and are never found with burials intact.²⁰ Dating can therefore be quite difficult, and some could belong to the Late Phrygian, Hellenistic, or Roman period. Rock-cut chamber tombs and other rock-cut monuments (such as cult façades and step-thrones) are most prevalent in the “highlands” of Phrygia, a series of lush upland valleys and picturesque rock outcroppings west of Ankara in the area between Afyon, Eskişehir, and Kütahya (see Fig. 91). In the 1950s Haspels investigated this region and catalogued around forty tombs, most of which contain rock-carved beds or couches of some kind.²¹ Recent research in the region of Sivrihisar, beyond the eastern extent of Haspels’ study area, has added significantly to this corpus.²²

Surveys in northwestern Pisidia and the highland regions of the Kibyratis and Kabalia have extended the distribution of Phrygian-style rock-cut tombs and monuments significantly toward the south.²³ Recent discoveries of tumuli with chambers and markers similar to those found in Lydian tumuli suggest that the inhabitants of these highland border zones shared cultural traits with Lydians as well as Phrygians.²⁴ Clusters of Lydian-style tumulus tombs have also been identified in northeastern Caria, in the regions of Harpasa and Aphrodisias.²⁵ Such tombs found outside of Lydia proper do not necessarily reflect the presence of Lydian settlers; they more likely indicate, as Ratté suggests, the “adoption by local landowners of Lydian aristocratic customs, and perhaps even the incorporation of this local landowning class into the Lydo-Persian feudal system.”²⁶

Tumuli in the Elmalı basin of northern Lycia (the Milyas) have affinities with both Phrygian and Lydian burial traditions. The inhabitants of this region were known to Herodotos as Milyans, but the area was later considered part of the Roman province of Lycia.²⁷ In the Iron Age and Archaic period, the region seems to have had cultural connections with Lydia and Phrygia. The discovery of Phrygian-style tumuli (with items carrying Phrygian inscriptions) near Bayındır in the northeast part of the Elmalı plain suggests that Phrygian culture was widely distributed in its heyday, whether or not the occupants of these tombs were ethnically Phrygian.²⁸ Two other tumuli excavated by Melink and her Bryn Mawr team in the 1970s near Elmalı held stone *klinai* in stone-built chambers with remarkable wall paintings, each including a banquet scene.²⁹ These tombs are thus critical to the consideration of the meanings of funerary *klinai* and of cultural identities in Achaemenid Anatolia and will figure prominently in the discussions that follow.

In Lycia proper, rock-cut chambers with burial couches and façades replicating vernacular wooden architecture (and, later, Greek-style temples) may be found in association with nearly every known Lycian settlement, and their occurrence in the hinterlands (such as the Milyas) attests to the distribution of “Lycian” cultural elements beyond coastal Lycia.³⁰ These tombs have been dated from the fifth through the third centuries, and distinctively “Lycian” culture seems to have been most recognizable during the era of Persian rule in Asia Minor.³¹ Because Lycian tombs are so numerous and evidently later than the sixth century, when the *kline*-tomb tradition began in other regions of

Anatolia, they are not catalogued individually here; but since they reflect the cross-cultural popularity of couch-burial in Anatolia and sometimes have associated inscriptions that shed light on the occupancy of such tombs, they are included in this study as comparative material. The rock-cut tombs of Caria, Lycia's neighbor, and of Paphlagonia, in north-central Anatolia, are likewise later than the bulk of the material presented here but are considered to the extent that they demonstrate the wide distribution of this kind of funerary arrangement and offer variations peculiar to their particular cultural regions.

Isolated examples of sixth- and fifth-century *kline*-tombs also occur among Lydia's western and northern neighbors in Ionia, Mysia, and the Troad. *Klinai* are found in these areas in tumuli very similar to those in Lydia and may be understood as part of a broader phenomenon of Lydian-style tumuli in western Anatolia in the Persian period. The tumulus at Belevi, near the later mausoleum, lies on a major travel route between Ionia and Lydia, the road from Ephesos to Sardis (see Fig. 63), and has other Lydian features, such as a krepis wall and crowning monument.³² It has been associated with a pro-Persian tyrant of Ephesos in the latter half of the sixth century.³³ The remarkable tumuli of the Granikos valley in the Troad are also comparable to Lydian tumuli, and the contents of some of them suggest a clientele affiliated in some ways with the Persian culture of the nearby satrapal center, Daskyleion.³⁴ Two tumuli with *klinai* recently excavated at Daskyleion itself offer striking parallels with Lydian tombs while also introducing some unique variations, and their future publication will surely enhance the overall picture of this tradition in western Anatolia.³⁵ Tumuli in central and southern Mysia share similarities with Phrygian as well as Lydian tombs, in keeping with the hybrid culture of this mixed border region.³⁶

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Several scholars have collected evidence for ancient *klinai*, but the rich corpus of material from tombs in Asia Minor has never been systematically analyzed, and few studies have focused on the sepulchral contexts of extant *klinai*. In two related collections of evidence for ancient furniture, Richter outlined the main couch types that will be considered in more detail in Chapter 1.³⁷ Her interest lay mostly in establishing the types of furniture used by Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans based on real and represented evidence. Ransom's earlier, more narrow study of ancient couches and beds had also dealt primarily with form and style and was essentially antiquarian, with the goal of determining what Greek and Roman beds and couches were like, through literary sources and limited archaeological evidence.³⁸ Laser's study of "Homeric" furniture focused heavily on Geometric representations of beds in funerary scenes, and Ahlberg, in her analysis of these rituals in Geometric art, looked closely at the structural features of the depicted furnishings.³⁹ Ahlberg's focus, however, was on establishing the conventions of portrayal used by Geometric artists, not creating a typology of Geometric bed types. For that, one must consult Kyrieleis's comprehensive study of ancient thrones and couches.⁴⁰ He established the Near Eastern heritage of many of the elements that became standardized in Greek furniture forms and devised the classification system for ancient *klinai* followed here (Types A, B, and C). But the rich and varied *klinai* of Anatolia are underrepresented in his study, since few were known and adequately published at that time, and his work is more concerned with form and style than with funerary significance.⁴¹

Introduction

Studies concerned with the funerary context of *klinai* are much more limited and largely outdated. The discovery of Macedonian and Macedonian-style tombs at the end of the nineteenth century fueled an early interest in the origins of the funeral couch. Heuzey, inspired by his discovery of stone funeral beds in tombs at Palatitza and Pydna, devoted several essays to a conceptual exploration of this type of tomb furnishing.⁴² Some of his comments reveal the limited state of archaeological knowledge at the time of his writing (1873),⁴³ but others are prophetic. Although no certain trace of a funeral couch had been found in Spiegelthal's 1853 excavation of the Tumulus of Alyattes at Sardis or elsewhere in Lydia, Heuzey suspected that the custom of burial on a couch was practiced among the Lydians and predicted that this theory would be borne out by future excavations.⁴⁴ He suggested, furthermore, that the ultimate origins of the custom lay in Asia Minor.

About a generation later, another scholar inspired by recent discoveries took up the question of funerary beds in a more systematic way, as the subject of his dissertation.⁴⁵ Vollmoeller's springboard was his own study of two Hellenistic tombs with *klinai* on the island of Euboea, published in 1899 by Kourouniotis.⁴⁶ The first, at Eretria, contained two sarcophagus-like marble *klinai* with interior cavities for the placement of cremated remains, along with two thrones and a chest, also made of marble. The second tomb, at Vathia (not far from Eretria), contained two limestone *klinai* richly adorned with relief and painted decoration replicating mattresses, pillows, and coverings (Plate 2). By this time, as Heuzey had predicted, a number of decorated stone *klinai* had been discovered in Lydia during Choisy's investigations at Bin Tepe, the tumulus cemetery of Sardis.⁴⁷ Basing his study for the most part on the rock-cut chambers recorded by nineteenth-century travelers like Texier, Benndorf, and Perrot and Chipiez,⁴⁸ Vollmoeller had only two categories of *klinai*—undecorated and decorated—and saw a development from the former to the latter, though he acknowledged the difficulties in determining whether a simple stone bench is a "primitive Vorstufe" ("primitive precursor") or a "Nachahmung" ("imitation") of a *kline*.⁴⁹ Since rock-cut chambers are difficult to date precisely, especially when little else is known about the culture that produced them (as was the case, for example, with Phrygia prior even to the Körte brothers' exploration of Gordion in 1900), Vollmoeller's chronological conclusions are unreliable. His study nonetheless provides a useful compilation of ancient literary references concerning the custom of *kline*-burial and raises several of the fundamental questions that shape this project: when, where, and why did the *kline*-tomb become concretized as a prominent mode of elite burial?

Though the corpus of material has been steadily growing and diversifying in medium since Vollmoeller's time, the subject of funeral couches in Asia Minor has not been treated comprehensively since then. Rodenwaldt's entry on *klinai* in the *Real-Encyclopädie* (1921) includes a special section on "Totenklinai," but his comments are necessarily general and based on limited evidence. McLauchlin considers Lydian *klinai* within their funerary context in her 1985 dissertation, *Lydian Graves and Burial Customs*, but within the framework of her larger study she could devote only a few pages (and a series of thought-provoking footnotes) to *klinai* in a chapter on tomb furnishings. She raised many interesting questions that can now be clarified by new finds and a more cross-cultural approach, placing the tradition of bed/couch burial in its wider Anatolian context. Boardman's 1990 chapter on "*Symposion* Furniture" also touches on the topic of funerary couches in Asia Minor and a

broader association of *klinai* with death and burial in the Greek world, but his survey is necessarily summary and again serves only to raise many of the issues explored in detail here.

Comprehensive studies of funeral couches outside Anatolia, in contrast, have appeared in recent decades. Steingraber's monograph on Etruscan furniture provides an exhaustive catalogue of both real and represented examples of Etruscan furniture, including many funeral beds or couches made of wood, metal, or stone or carved directly from bedrock.⁵⁰ His conclusions are mainly statistical, revealing what types of furniture occur most frequently in certain contexts or regions of Etruria, but the catalogue is an invaluable tool for accessing the wealth of furnishings in Etruscan tombs. Even more directly concerned with funerary context is Sismanidis's analysis of *klinai* and *kline*-shaped furnishings in Macedonian tombs.⁵¹ After detailed descriptions of the tomb at Potidaia and its *klinai*, Sismanidis provides a catalogue of thirty-five Macedonian tombs with *klinai* made of stone or wood and *kline*-shaped items, such as sarcophagi and cists.⁵² An appendix provides a brief overview of the use of *klinai* in a funerary context: that is, in the rituals leading up to burial, such as the *prothesis* ("lying in state"), as well as in the burial itself. The Macedonian evidence has grown considerably since Sismanidis's publication, and new finds have been synthesized by Andrianou in a recent book on furniture in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece.⁵³ In addition, Huguenot's recent reexamination of the tombs at Eretria that had inspired Vollmoeller's study considers the broader cultural and symbolic implications of funerary *klinai* in Macedonian tomb traditions and signals a need for a study like the present one: "The origin of the custom of the funeral bed deserves to be studied in a profound manner, because it poses the question of exchange between east and west."⁵⁴ Whereas Etruscan tombs with burial *klinai* are close contemporaries with the Anatolian ones under consideration here, the Macedonian ones likely represent their legacy. The use of real or stone *klinai* in Macedonian tombs has been linked by several scholars with elite burial practices in Asia Minor in the Achaemenid era.⁵⁵ And it is to the Macedonian tradition that funerary *klinai* in Alexandria and other parts of the Hellenistic and Roman world probably trace their ancestry.⁵⁶ Although studies of these later traditions have sometimes pointed to Asia Minor or Lydia as a possible origin for the custom, no thorough study of the earliest funerary *klinai* has been carried out until now.

This study also builds upon and contributes to scholarship on the iconography of banqueting in the ancient Mediterranean world.⁵⁷ Many scholars have collected and discussed scenes of banqueting in funerary art (often called "Totenmahl" scenes) in the ancient Mediterranean and the Near East, but none of these studies have taken into account the rich tomb assemblages of Archaic Asia Minor, which constitute, in effect, three-dimensional counterparts to the Totenmahl scenes. Dentzer's landmark 1982 study is the most comprehensive, exploring the significance of the visual motif of the reclining banqueter in a wide range of contexts, but it does not draw a connection between the numerous grave stelai depicting a banquet and the real presence of items related to the banquet in contemporary tombs.⁵⁸ Similarly, Fehr's monograph on the reclining banquet, which appeared concurrently with Dentzer's first foray into the topic in 1971, is concerned primarily with the eastern origins of the custom and the transmission of the practice westward and does not consider funerary contexts.⁵⁹ The works of Thönges-Stringaris and Fabricius, on the other hand, deal fully with the funerary significance of the motif but focus on visual, rather than spatial, representations.⁶⁰ In fact, the tradition of *kline*-burial pre-dates the earliest so-called Totenmahl reliefs and

Introduction

must be considered as a backdrop to the study of banqueting imagery in funerary iconography, even if interpretations of *kline*-tomb assemblages are just as fraught with difficulty as readings of the corresponding images.⁶¹ This study aims to help resolve some of the problems surrounding interpretations of the “funerary banquet” by highlighting the correspondences between spatial and visual representations of *klinai* in funerary contexts.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The study of funeral couches is also inevitably tied to larger anthropological questions concerning the archaeology of death and burial. It is important to consider the biases of archaeological preservation and exploration inherent in the burial record. The data set presented here is necessarily limited and shaped by the history of tomb exploration in Anatolia—it represents only those tombs that have so far been explored and published. Since these tend to be the more conspicuous tombs (tumuli and rock-cut tombs), there is an unavoidable preponderance of monumental/elite burials over simpler graves.⁶² It is possible, for instance, that burials in simple inhumations or cist graves were sometimes placed on wooden *klinai*, but since these are less conspicuous in the archaeological record, far fewer have been explored. Furthermore, wooden furniture does not tend to survive well in the temperate climates of Anatolia, unless certain environmental factors are met (as in the case of the Gordion tumuli). Plain wooden beds or couches were probably much more common as burial furnishings than available evidence indicates. At the same time, the conspicuous nature of the tombs that form the basis of the study has led to centuries of looting that have left many chambers damaged or empty. While stone *klinai* are usually left behind (if in a shattered state) by tomb robbers, those of other materials may have been removed. And wooden furniture is less likely to survive in tombs that have been repeatedly opened. So the available evidence may be weighted in favor of stone couches in conspicuous (and therefore probably elite or wealthy) burials. It is also important to recognize that the concepts underlying the practice of *kline*-burial were probably more widespread than the practice itself. Other cultures in other eras may also have conceived of their dead as lying on beds or reclining on banquet couches in the afterlife but, for whatever reason, did not choose to express this concept literally in the tomb. In fact, the general concept of the funerary bed and the role of the bed in funerary ritual is much more prevalent than the physical manifestation of this belief in the tomb itself.⁶³

In the study of burial evidence of any kind, it is also important to recognize the limits of interpretation. Ethnographic investigation has shown that archaeologists’ assumptions about the original meanings of items in a grave assemblage may be far from accurate.⁶⁴ Most fallible are “direct” interpretations that posit a code-like correlation between symbol and referent (e.g., grave goods are interpreted as things the deceased will need in the afterlife); more nuanced are “linguistic” readings, in which “the role of ritual action as part of a system of relations analogous to a language” is recognized and individual elements have meaning only within larger sets of elements.⁶⁵ Interpretations of the latter type allow room for contextual meanings: the same symbols can be used in different contexts or ritual systems to “say” different things, or different symbols can be used to “say” the same things.⁶⁶ It is important to stress that interpretations of the significance of burial *klinai* are complicated by the fact that *klinai* were by nature multifunctional and by the possibility that even the

functions of which we are certain (banquet couch and bed) may have carried meanings in a funerary context that are not immediately recognizable to us today. Ethnographic study of the use of beds in funerary rituals can demonstrate the fallibility of commonly held notions, such as the assumption that funerary beds symbolize eternal rest or slumber. They may just as easily be understood as personal possessions of the deceased or as receptacles for the display of fine textiles: among the Idu Mishmi people of northern India, for instance, items of household furniture, including beds, are deposited in tombs not so much to provide a “house” or place of rest for the deceased but because of the taboo now attached to their personal belongings;⁶⁷ and in the Kalabari culture of Nigeria, the beds that figure so prominently in traditional funerary rituals serve primarily to display family textiles in programmatic and virtuosic arrangements, both during the funeral and in the following days, rather than as resting-places for the dead.⁶⁸

As the subtitle of this book implies, an analysis of *kline*-tombs in Anatolia has the potential to tell us something about the identity or identities of the people who were buried or decided to bury their loved ones in this way. Approaching “identity” in the archaeological record requires reflection upon the meaning of this term and its more specific subtypes, “ethnic identity” and “cultural identity,” and, in turn, the very concepts of “ethnicity” and “culture.” “Identity” itself has several dimensions, of which ethnicity and cultural affiliation are but two; other vectors of identity include social status, gender, and religion, and these may carry different weight in self-expression at different times or in different contexts. The relationship between ethnic and cultural signifiers in the archaeological record is complex and highly variable, depending on particular social and historical contexts. The early premise that patterning in material culture reflects distinctions between ethnic groups has long been recognized as flawed.⁶⁹ As Hall and others have shown, ethnic and cultural groups are not always one and the same, and it is important to distinguish between ethnic and cultural criteria of identity: “The ethnic group is a *social construction* rather than an objective and inherently determined category. Genetic, linguistic, religious, or common cultural factors cannot act as an objective and a universal definition of an ethnic group. . . . They are instead *indicia*, or the operational sets of distinguishing attributes which tend to be associated with ethnic groups once the socially determined *criteria* have been created and set in place.”⁷⁰ Hall defines cultural identity as “the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purposes of creating exclusionary distinctiveness”; he maintains that what distinguishes ethnic from cultural identity are “a putative subscription to a myth of common descent and kinship, and association with a specific territory and a sense of shared history.”⁷¹ Antonaccio has criticized Hall’s privileging of textual and oral “criteria” in this distinction and urges the reincorporation of material culture into definitions of ethnic as well as cultural identity, with an understanding that ethnic identity is just as actively constructed as cultural identity.⁷²

It is important to stress that both ethnic and cultural identities are dynamic, subjective constructions defined in self-conscious opposition to other ethnic or cultural entities. Ethnic or cultural signifiers tend to become more conspicuous in the archaeological record at times of intense cultural interaction, when group boundaries are challenged or neighboring groups are in some kind of opposition with each other.⁷³ Such signaling can be expressed through formal variation in material

Introduction

culture, or “style.” Broadly defined, “style” can include the artistic style in which an artifact is produced (such as pottery shape or architectural style) as well as other variable modes of behavior (such as burial type).⁷⁴ Stylistic variation can signal identity but carries no one-to-one correspondence with ethnicity or culture, since it is an “active” feature of material culture that can be emulated and learned.⁷⁵ The reclining banquet itself can be seen as a cultural signifier or an element of “style” in the broadest sense of the term, since it is a particular way of doing things (a form of social practice) that can also be actively involved in the process of identity construction (as a form of display).⁷⁶

Hybridized styles and cultural hybridity often result from processes of culture contact, whether in colonial or other interactive situations. Postcolonial theorists have emphasized the value of the hybridity model over the concept of acculturation, which implies passivity on the part of the colonized.⁷⁷ Hybridity, on the other hand, entails a “productive and mutual acculturation that produces new and vigorous forms.”⁷⁸ Better yet, the term “hybridization” clarifies the active and creative nature of this process.⁷⁹ Along the same lines, the concept of “interculturalization” amends the one-way implications of “acculturation” to recognize the give-and-take of culture contact, even in colonial or imperial zones of interaction.⁸⁰ In the discussion of identity in Achaemenid-era Anatolia that will occupy much of Chapter 4, it will be argued that “Persian” and “local” styles, motifs, and traditions in tomb assemblages are signifiers not of ethnicity but of cultural affiliation, and that correspondences among burials and funerary imagery in a range of different cultural areas of Anatolia (Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, etc.) in the Achaemenid period express a hybridized cultural identity meant to distinguish both native Anatolian and Persian elites as members of an “international Achaemenid” elite network that transcended traditional cultural and ethnic boundaries.⁸¹

OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 summarizes what we know of the function and stylistic development of *klinai* in the Archaic and Classical periods, based on existing written, archaeological, and pictorial evidence, and establishes the multifunctionality of *klinai*. The chapter also outlines the evidence for an East Greek origin of the two main *kline* types at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century and explores the significance of *kline* style in Greek vase imagery, as well as the challenges of interpreting visual representation in general, concluding with discussion of Plato’s use of the *kline* in the *Republic*. Study of the visual representations has been greatly facilitated by the online Beazley Archive Pottery Database.⁸² This now indispensable resource provides unprecedented access to the visual record of *klinai* in the Greek world. The analysis of *kline* form and decoration given here therefore updates the work of Richter and Kyrieleis with a much larger corpus of evidence, allowing detailed consideration of decorative variation and its relation to painter attribution as well as pictorial context. The more than three hundred vases cited in this chapter are listed in Appendix B.

Chapter 2 then synthesizes the evidence compiled in the accompanying catalogue of sixth- and fifth-century *kline*-tombs in Lydia and neighboring regions (Phrygia, Ionia, Mysia, the Troad, the Milyas, the Kibyrtis, and northwestern Pisidia; see Appendix A), along with additional contemporary and later examples from Caria, Lycia, and Paphlagonia. Much of the material presented here has not previously been published or has been mentioned only in brief excavation reports. The discussion is organized first by medium (wood, bronze, stone, and bedrock) and then by tomb

type (tumuli and rock-cut tombs). Regional and cross-cultural trends and patterns emerge, allowing discussion of stylistic development as well as of conceptual issues of arrangement, use, reuse, and symbolic function—what makes a funerary bed a “*kline*”?

Chapter 3 investigates the origins of the *kline*-tomb concept and explores the meaning and significance of funerary *klinai*. First, the theory that *kline*-burial was introduced to Anatolia by Persians is addressed and refuted through a close reanalysis of the evidence that has been adduced in its favor, including the golden *kline* that reportedly stood in the Tomb of Cyrus the Great at his capital, Pasargadae. The chapter then presents a case for an Anatolian origin by locating the various ideological components of this tomb type there: in earlier conceptions of banqueting in a funerary context, funerary traditions involving beds, the custom of reclined banqueting, and sympotic ideology in the Archaic world. A wide range of literary, archaeological, and pictorial evidence from Anatolia, Greece, Etruria, and the Near East is adduced to support the theory that this tomb type originated in West Anatolia (probably Lydia) in the late seventh or early sixth century. Discussion of the origins of the reclining banquet locates the practice in a context of luxury rather than nomadic practicality. An excursus on Etruscan funeral beds and couches applies many of the same questions to this independent yet remarkably similar tradition.

Chapter 4 returns to the Persian question from a different angle and seeks to explain the evident popularity of *kline*-tombs in Achaemenid Anatolia and of banqueting imagery in contemporary funerary art as expressions of local traditions and hybridized identities in the unique “Anatolian-Persian” cultural landscape. This chapter also explores the possibility of a cultural *koine* among distinct regions of West Anatolia in the late sixth and fifth centuries—one that was perhaps facilitated by the unprecedented foreign administration of these diverse areas and fueled by a need to assert an “Anatolian” identity in the face of Persian presence but was, at the same time, embraced by the dominant “ethno-classe.”⁸³

A final chapter considers the relationship between Anatolian and Macedonian funerary *klinai* and explores the broader legacy of the “funeral couch” in particular and the ancient *kline* in general, in contexts as wide-ranging as Buddhist art and nineteenth-century America. This book is thus as much an exploration of ancient *klinai* in general—their styles, functions, meanings, and representations—as it is an investigation of their funerary uses and their particular significance in sixth- and fifth-century Anatolia.



Plate 1. Lale Tepe (Cat. 25), reconstruction of burial chamber and *klinai*. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University)



Plate 2. (*Top*) Eretria, Tomb of Amarynthos, plan and drawings of *klinai*, third century, Vollmoeller 1901b, pls. 16–17.

Plate 3. (*Bottom*) Interior of Attic white-ground kylix showing the murder of Ismene (?) in bed [B305]. Paris, Musée du Louvre G109. (Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)



Plate 4. (*Left*) Type B ivory and amber inlays from Polizzello, Sicily, Guzzone 2005, no. 101. Archaeological Museum of Caltanissetta. (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Servizio Museo Interdisciplinare Regionale di Caltanissetta)



Plate 5. (*Right*) Reconstruction of inlaid Type B leg with amber and ivory pieces, from Grafenbühl, Germany. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, inv. nos. V 68, 20 k, and V 68, 20 o–q. (P. Frankenstein, H. Zweitasch; Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart)



Plate 6. Type B volute capital from Kul Oba, Scythia (Ukraine). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. (© The State Hermitage Museum; photo by Vladimir Terebinin, Leonard Kheifets, Yuri Molodkovets)



Plate 7. Red-figure/white-ground lekythos (left) attributed to the Eretria Painter, ca. 420 [B330], and detail (above) showing Achilles mourning Patroklos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Rogers Fund, 1931 (31.11.13). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

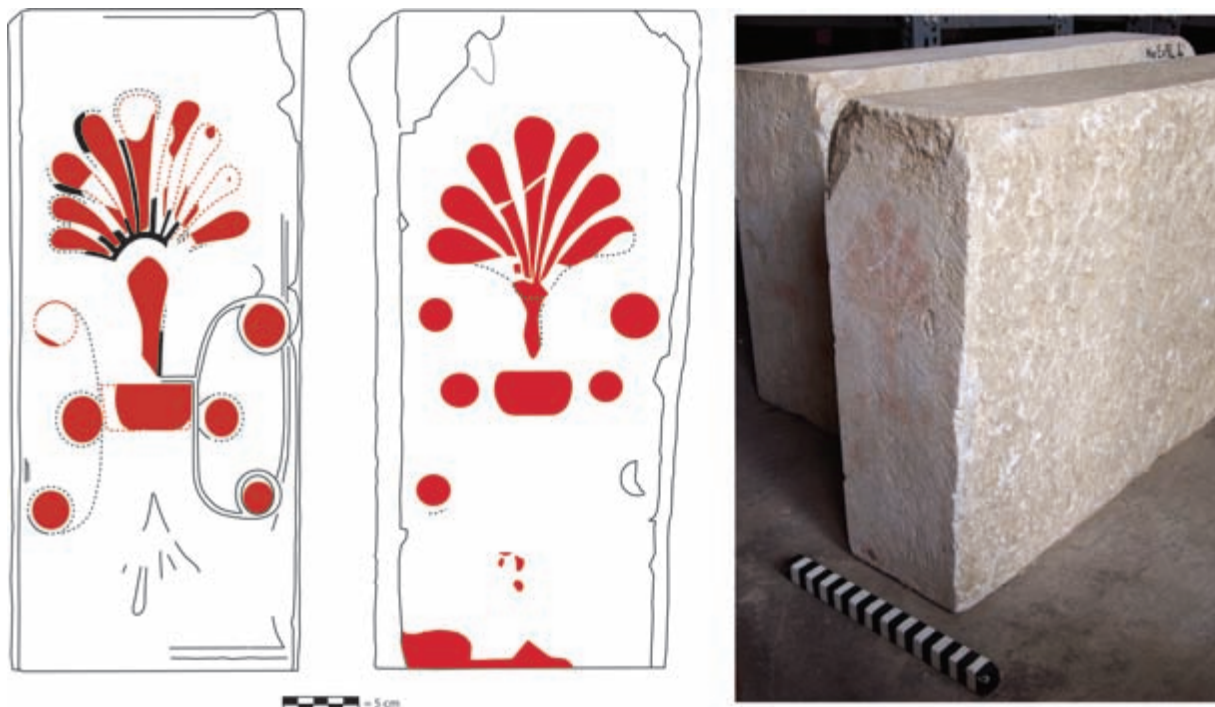


Plate 8. Kendirlik 1 (Cat. 16): drawings and photo of marble *kline* supports with painted decoration. (Photo and drawings by author)



Plate 9. Details of left and rear *kline* supports from Bekçitepe (Cat. 32), marble. Archaeological Museum of Manisa. (Courtesy of C.H. Greenewalt Jr.)



Plate 10. (Left) Dedetepe (Cat. 61), detail of left *kline*, painted marble. (Reproduced with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

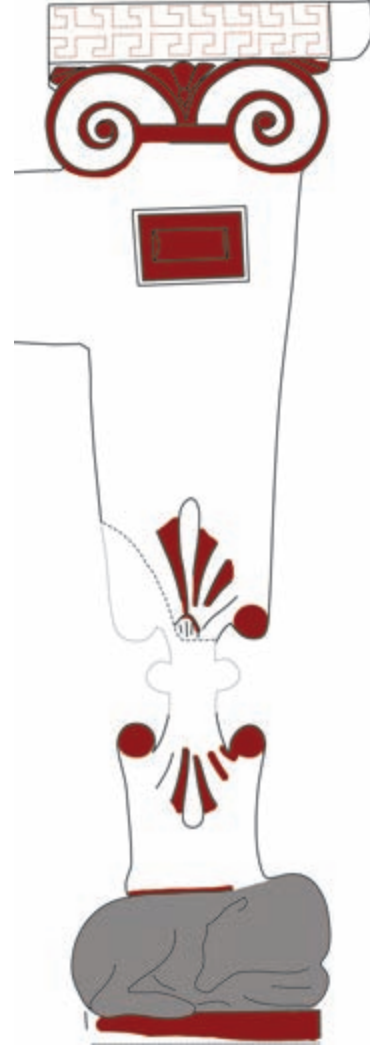


Plate 11. (Right) Aktepe (Cat. 52), drawing of right *kline* leg. Uşak Archaeological Museum. (Drawing by author)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

Realities and Representations

The couch in antiquity served many more functions, both real and symbolic, than the sofa normally does today: not only relaxation, but also dining, drinking, having sex, and sleeping, as well as serving as a deathbed, bier, and permanent resting place in the grave. These are the functions, at least, that we can infer from scenes on Greek vases; there may have been many more. As a fixture of the Greek symposion, the *kline* has even been described as “an instrument for the education and cultural fulfillment of human nature.”¹ Because couches were made primarily of wood and other organic materials (such as cords of leather or hemp), very few actual examples are preserved archaeologically for analysis of form and context. Any study of ancient couches must therefore rely heavily on representational evidence, where accuracy of details may or may not have been important to the artist. While this limitation poses potential interpretive problems, such representations are frequent and formulaic enough that general trends can be seen and compared with the few extant physical remains, and quirks or habits of particular vase-painters can be recognized. *Klinai* represented in Archaic and Classical Greek art and known from actual remains fall into two main types, classified by Kyrieleis as Type A and Type B (Figs. 2–3).² These types differ primarily in leg shape, and both leg types can occur on other furniture forms. Rectangular Type B legs with side cutouts and volute-and-palmette ornament often occur on thrones or chairs, while round Type A legs with turned moldings are often seen on stools as well as thrones. Both couch types were associated in antiquity with East Greek centers of production and probably also evolved in that region.

My aim in this chapter is to establish what we know of the basic characteristics, development, and uses of *klinai* in the Archaic and Classical periods, based on written and archaeological evidence, before trying to understand the funerary *klinai* of Anatolia. Although the form and decoration of *klinai* represented on vases are often taken for granted or overlooked while attention focuses on the activities of their occupants, the *klinai* themselves have much to tell us about furniture styles and carpentry techniques, and comparative study of the pictorial contexts of different couch types may shed light on their possible thematic or symbolic significance. Analysis of visual representations also highlights the multifunctionality of these furnishings, a point that has particular importance for interpreting the funerary *klinai*, which are representations of a different, three-dimensional kind. Plato’s use of the *kline* in the *Republic* (10.596b–598a) as an exemplum in his discussion of ideal forms and *mimesis* challenges the relevance of such representations to the study of the actual

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*



Figure 2. Symposion with Type A *klinai* on an Attic black-figure column krater attributed to the Ptoon Painter, ca. 580–570 [B31]. Paris, Musée du Louvre E623. (Photo: Hervé Lewandowski, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)



Figure 3. Herakles feasting on a Type B *kline* on an Attic bilingual amphora attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters, ca. 520–510 [B114]. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2301. Simpson 2002, pl. 79a. (Reproduced with permission of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

furnishings being depicted, but the deliberate juxtaposition of different couch types in the works of several vase-painters suggests that formal variation, at least in some cases, may have carried meaning. And this variation of *kline* forms may help to explain why Plato chose to use *klinai*, of all things, in this famous exemplum.

TERMINOLOGY AND FUNCTION

The term *kline* first appears in Archaic Greek poetry celebrating the reclining luxury of the symposium.³ Derived from κλίνω, “to recline,” the noun literally refers to any piece of furniture on which one lies down and so can be translated as either “bed” or “couch,” depending on context. From the Classical period through the Roman era, the word was used to refer to both beds for sleeping and couches for dining.⁴ This duality extends beyond terminology: one piece of furniture probably served both functions, sleeping and banqueting.⁵ The spaces in an Archaic Greek house and the furnishings within them were probably multifunctional: as Boardman puts it, the “sleeping-room was the eating-room, the living-room, and the dying-room.”⁶

Representations of *klinai* in Archaic and Classical Greek art underline this versatility, with the same standard types used in various contexts. *Klinai* are most familiar from sympotic, erotic, and funerary scenes, as even a cursory glance through the illustrations in this chapter will demonstrate, but they are also featured in some depictions of myths involving beds, such as the murder of Ismene (Plate 3)⁷ or the infant Herakles wrestling the snakes (Fig. 4).⁸ The fact that the beds in these myths were conceptualized as *klinai* by sixth- and fifth-century Athenian vase-painters does not



Figure 4. Herakles and Iphikles on a Type B *kline* on an Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, ca. 480–470 [B179]. Paris, Musée du Louvre G192. (Photo: Hervé Lewandowski, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)

necessarily mean that most Athenians were actually sleeping on *klinai*, but only that the *kline* had by this time become a standard feature in the imagined furniture of mythical households, especially in the context of the symposium, for which many of these decorated vessels were made.⁹ At the same time, we should not assume that Athenians lounged on *klinai* at symposia as often as the percentage of symposium scenes in the Attic repertoire would suggest, or even that all Athenians reclined while dining. The representations provide, rather, a coded guide to contemporary ideologies involving *klinai*. Even in the pictorial world of women and domestic activities, ideologically distinct from the symposium, *klinai* sometimes make an appearance, whether as allusions to the marriage bed or simply as household furnishings (see Fig. 19).¹⁰

This functional versatility imbues the *kline* with a multivalence particularly apt for funerary contexts. Beds are depicted in Geometric (and earlier) scenes of *prothesis*, the laying out of the dead before burial. Whether those beds were *klinai* in this multifunctional sense is questionable, since they pre-date our earliest evidence for the reclining banquet in mainland Greece and do not appear to represent the standard types used in sympotic scenes.¹¹ The first textual evidence for the use of *klinai* in funerary ceremonies comes from fifth-century Attica (Keos), but the practice was



Figure 5. *Prothesis* with Type A *kline* on an Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, ca. 450 [B316], two views. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.40). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)



Figure 6. *Prothesis* with Type B *kline* on an Athenian black-figure funerary plaque, ca. 520–510. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.11.5). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

evidently common by the middle of the sixth century, when *prothesis* scenes on black-figure pottery show the dead laid out on the same types of *klinai* used in symposia (Figs. 5–6). Herodotos also records a sort of *prothesis* tradition in Sparta: when a king died in war, an image of him was made and set on a “well-strewn *kline*.”¹²

The Keos inscription includes among other funerary regulations a restriction on the number of coverlets and vessels that may be used and a stipulation that the body be carried out from the house on a σφηνόπους κλίνη. It also requires that the *kline* be returned to the home after the burial, along with the coverlets.¹³ Such a sumptuary law implies prior extravagance, so one may assume that *sphenopous* (“wedge-footed”) describes one of the less ornate varieties—perhaps the more staid Type A, which also happens to be the most common in fifth-century *prothesis* scenes, though its feet are hardly wedge-shaped (see below).¹⁴ It is possible that the *-pous* suffix refers to the leg as a whole rather than just the foot (as will be suggested below also for *klinai sphingopodes* and *elephantopodes*), and in that case the term could refer to *klinai* with heavily tapering legs, though again we have no clear visual analogues. The Keos inscription also implies that *klinai* before that time had sometimes *not* been returned to the home but left in the tomb for eternity and so provides indirect evidence for the practice of *kline*-burial in Attica. The use of a *kline* as a permanent resting place for the dead is in fact attested in several sixth-century tombs in the Athenian Kerameikos (see below) and may also be suggested by the scenes on two fifth-century lekythoi attributed to the Tymbos Painter, both of which appear to show a deceased person lying on a *kline* in a tomb (Fig. 7).¹⁵

The earliest known literary reference to *kline*-burial in Greece is a passage in Plato’s *Laws* prescribing funeral celebrations for the “Examiners” in his ideal state: “When they die, their laying-out



Figure 7. Two Attic white-ground lekythoi attributed to the Tymbos Painter, ca. 450: (a) London, British Museum D35 (1842,0728.1002) [B302]; (b) Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität S.10/1715 [B304], detail sketch after CVA Tübingen 5, pl. 27.1. ([a] © Trustees of the British Museum; [b] drawing by author)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

[*prothesis*], funeral [*ekphora*] and interment shall be different from that of other citizens: nothing but white raiment shall be used at it, and there shall be no dirges or lamentations; a choir of girls and another of boys shall stand round the bier [*kline*], and they shall chant alternately a laudation for the priests in the form of a hymn in verse, glorifying them with their hymnody all the day long; and at the next dawn the bier [*kline*] itself shall be borne to the tomb. . . . Their tomb shall be constructed under ground, in the form of an oblong vault of spongy stone, as long-lasting as possible, and fitted with couches [*klinai*] of stone set side by side.”¹⁶ It is interesting to note that here the term *kline* applies both to the portable bier used in the *prothesis* and *ekphora* as well as to the furnishings made of stone, already present in the tomb chamber, onto which the dead will be placed. Prior to the discovery of vaulted tombs with stone couches in Macedonia, it was generally assumed that Plato must have gained knowledge of this burial custom while in Italy, where Etruscan funeral beds and couches of stone have long been known.¹⁷ Now it is more commonly assumed that Plato drew inspiration from Macedonian tombs, but one need only look to Asia Minor to find a tumulus chamber fitting Plato’s description, already before Plato’s time.¹⁸

The use of *klinai* for *prothesis*, *ekphora* (transport of the dead to the tomb), and sometimes burial or cremation became more common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Cremation pyres in Macedonia, South Russia, and western Phrygia have yielded burnt fragments of ivory-inlaid and bronze *klinai*, recalling the Homeric tradition of burning the corpse on the *prothesis*-bed.¹⁹ And by the second century CE the word *kline* was nearly synonymous with “funeral bed.” Xenophon of Ephesos and Chariton of Aphrodisias both describe funerals in which a *kline* used for *prothesis* and *ekphora* is placed in the grave, and Phlegon of Tralles records the opening of a tomb where corpses are found lying on their *klinai*.²⁰

THE RULES OF RECLINING

Pictorial and textual sources suggest that those who reclined on *klinai* while dining, drinking, or relaxing after a meal normally did so on their left sides, leaning on their left elbows.²¹ The left elbow was usually supported by pillows or a built-in armrest (or some combination thereof) on the right end of the couch. Stone *klinai* provided in dining rooms at Greek sanctuaries often have a raised armrest on the right end.²² This directional convention is seen in the earliest examples of reclining banqueters in Near Eastern and Etruscan as well as Greek art and persists throughout antiquity, with only a few exceptions. The scholarly vocabulary used to describe this conventional pose today is, however, much less consistent than the pose itself: “reclining to the right” or “zur Rechten”²³ is used interchangeably with “reclining on the left” or “nach links gelagert.”²⁴ In this book the usual posture will henceforth be described as “leaning on the left side,” where “left” refers to the reclining person’s left side, or “reclining toward the right,” where “right” refers to the viewer’s right when looking at a depiction of someone reclining.²⁵ The practical advantages of leaning on one’s left rather than right side may explain this pictorial and behavioral convention. Not only does reclining on one’s left side leave the dominant right hand “free to manipulate food and drink,” as Boardman notes, but it seems also to be “kinder to the digestion,” owing to the irregular shape of the stomach.²⁶ It is uncertain, however, whether the digestive benefit was known in antiquity, as it was recognized in western medicine only in the early twentieth century.²⁷



Figure 8. Attic red-figure kylix showing reclining symposiast from behind, attributed to the Painter of Brussels R330, ca. 440 [B318]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.192.67). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

Of the few exceptions to this pictorial convention, some have been explained by medium (reversal of direction in stamped decoration)²⁸ or a desire for symmetry when two symposiasts are paired.²⁹ Other depictions of symposiasts who seem to recline “to the left” (with head and torso toward the left of the scene) in fact show both recliner and couch from behind, a favorite twist of the vase-painters known as Late Mannerists (Fig. 8).³⁰ The goddesses (?) reclining toward the left at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the curious “Pontic” amphora in New York (Fig. 9)³¹ may also be depicted from behind, but their mantles cover their bodies too fully to say for certain, and the highly ornamented faces of their *klinai* were not likely conceived as “back” faces.³² Small proposes that the composition “might have been intentional and dependent on the theme itself”;³³ as one of the earliest examples of the reclining position in Etruscan art, it may also be explained as an early experiment in depicting this asymmetrical pose.³⁴ Another early exception occurs on a Middle Corinthian amphora in Philadelphia, with a single reclining figure flanked by several standing or seated figures.³⁵ But occasional later examples are also known: for instance, Dionysos reclines toward the left on an Attic black-figure cup in Florence dated ca. 525–500³⁶ and on a black-figure amphora of ca. 490–480,³⁷ as do most of the symposiasts depicted on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, ca. 500–470 (Fig. 10).³⁸ Still, the overwhelming majority of banquet or symposium scenes involving *klinai*—including all but a handful of the reclining figures in more than 600 illustrations of the motif in Dentzer’s catalogue—show people reclining on their left sides, with their heads at the right.³⁹

A similar consistency exists in representations of *prothesis* in Greek art (see Figs. 5–6): the



Figure 9. Etruscan “Pontic” amphora with reclining goddesses, attributed to the Paris Painter, ca. 540 [B131]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Gift of Nicolas Koutoulakis, 1955 (55.7). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

deceased is almost invariably shown from his or her left side, with head placed toward the right. This is true even in the earliest representations of the custom, from the Late Bronze Age and Geometric period (see Fig. 17),⁴⁰ and even the few scenes that seem to show the dead person lying on a *kline* in a tomb (see Fig. 7) also conform to this convention.⁴¹ It is possible that the orientation of the dead in *prothesis* scenes was governed by an artistic convention that placed the head of any protagonist toward the favorable right.⁴² Or, given the similar consistency of orientation in symposion scenes and others involving *klinai* (even when they are used as beds), it may be that the placement of this kind of furniture in real life around the walls of dining rooms—always with the raised, “head” end on the right—established a viewing convention that transcended dining function but remained crucial to the idea of a *kline* in artists’ imaginations. Inlaid *klinai*, moreover, were probably decorated only on a single (viewing) side.⁴³ The problem here is determining which function came first. *Prothesis* scenes begin to appear in Greek art earlier than reclining banquets, and the earliest instances show



Figure 10. Drawing of symposium scene on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, ca. 500–470. Poliyiros Archaeological Museum T1370. Kaltsas 2000, pl. 16. (Reproduced with permission of N. Kaltsas and the Sixteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Thessaloniki)

high beds of a different type than those seen in the earliest symposium scenes. In fact, the question of whether Greeks were already reclining to dine in the eighth century is more complicated than is often assumed (see Chapter 3). Perhaps an embedded symbolism of right as more auspicious than left, shared by most cultures, ancient and modern,⁴⁴ governed the placement of any asymmetrical furniture with the head end to the right as favorable for the occupant.

The traditional auspiciousness of the right side may also help to explain the favoring of the far right position on a *kline* as the most important or superior position. When a bearded man and youth are shown sharing a *kline*, it is almost always the older man who occupies the far right side and leans his left elbow on the raised armrest supplied by the couch (as in Fig. 11). Or when a man and woman share a couch, with very few exceptions the man occupies the rightmost position (e.g., Fig. 12).⁴⁵ The most favorable position in a Greek dining room (*andron*, or “men’s room”) was evidently the rightmost position on the first couch to the right of the doorway: the circulation of wine, song, and conversation began there and traveled in a counterclockwise direction (ἐπὶ δεξιὰ) around the room to the “last” couch, the host’s position.⁴⁶

The reclining goddesses on the “Pontic” amphora in the Metropolitan Museum are exceptional in another way: the very act of reclining. Both textual and pictorial evidence suggest that it was not customary for women to recline while dining in ancient Greece and that respectable wives would not participate in symposia.⁴⁷ Women who recline in symposium scenes on Greek vases appear to be *hetairai*, accompanying and entertaining men. Scenes of *hetairai* holding reclining symposia of their own, without men, are probably “fantasies painted for the gaze of male symposiasts” or other visual constructions, not snapshots of contemporary Athenian life.⁴⁸ Respectable wives, if shown in the company of male symposiasts at all, sit upright at the foot of the couch or on a separate chair or stool.⁴⁹ Of course conventional rules may not apply to goddesses, but goddesses other than Ariadne are rarely shown reclining, and even she is just as frequently shown seated while Dionysos reclines (Fig. 13).⁵⁰ Some exceptional examples of female reclining figures among small-scale bronze and

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*



Figure 11. Detail of banquet scene on the neck of an Attic red-figure dinoid volute krater attributed to the Meleager Painter, 390–380 [B350]. J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. © J. Paul Getty Museum)



Figure 12. Symposium scene on a Late Corinthian black-figure krater, early sixth century [B20]. Paris, Musée du Louvre E629. (Bridgeman-Giraudon / Art Resource, NY)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*



Figure 13. Dionysos and Ariadne banqueting on an Attic black-figure amphora near the Priam Painter, ca. 520–500 [B92]. University of Mississippi Museums 1977.3.62. D.M. Robinson 1956, fig. 28. (Reproduced with permission of the University of Mississippi Museum)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

terracotta sculptures have been interpreted as goddesses (especially Persephone), although a figure who holds *krotaloi* is probably a hetaira; some of these figures have recently been considered as representations of ritual banqueting or nuptial ceremonies.⁵¹ The rules of reclining seem to have differed in Etruria, where we are told by Aristotle and later sources that wives accompanied their husbands at banquets, and where images of men and women reclining together in funerary art have been understood as depictions of married couples.⁵² The level of women's involvement in convivial gatherings would later become a stereotypical means of distinguishing Greek and Roman culture.⁵³

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION

Like most ancient furnishings, *klinai* were normally made of wood and other perishable materials. Few remnants survive archaeologically, but texts and representations attest to their presence. Wooden *klinai* are mentioned in sanctuary inventories from Delos,⁵⁴ and representations of *klinai* in the red-figure technique sometimes include striations or patterns applied in dilute slip, suggesting the appearance of wood grain on the rails and legs (e.g., Fig. 14).⁵⁵ And wooden furniture legs that could belong either to *klinai* or stools (because the forms are indistinguishable) have been found in waterlogged contexts at the Heraion of Samos and in the Etruscan shipwreck near Giglio (ca. 580, Fig. 15).⁵⁶



Figure 14. Type C *kline* with pattern suggesting wood grain on an Apulian red-figure dinos attributed to the Group of Vienna 4013, 375–350 [B358]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., Rogers Fund, 1914 (14.130.13). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)



Figure 15. Top part of a wooden Type A leg from the Giglio shipwreck, ca. 590–580. (Photo courtesy of M. Bound; drawing by author after Bound 1991a, fig. 63)

Dining rooms in houses and sanctuaries of the Classical period sometimes contain platforms or sills encircling the room, probably to protect wooden couch legs from moisture damage during floor-washings.⁵⁷ In the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, cuttings for the legs of wooden *klinai* are found in such platforms (Fig. 16), arranged in rectangular groupings indicating the locations of eleven couches per dining room.⁵⁸ Some of the cuttings contain linings of lead or pins of bronze for securing couch legs in the sockets.⁵⁹ Often, though, only an off-center door may hint toward a dining function and the prior presence of portable couches of wood or other material, no longer preserved.⁶⁰ Because *klinai* were usually placed end to end, encircling the room without a break, wall lengths were normally some multiple of *kline* lengths plus a *kline* width, and doorways could therefore not be placed directly on the center axis. Arrangements of seven and eleven couches were canonical,⁶¹ but the physical evidence for *klinai* in Greek dining rooms is quite variable, with both even and odd numbers possible.⁶²

The horizontal surfaces of wooden beds and couches, as of stools and chairs also, were normally composed of *tonoi* (τόνοι), interlaced straps or cords of some pliant material such as leather or rope, either lashed around or looped into holes within the framing rails.⁶³ Interwoven bed surfaces have a long history in the Mediterranean and the Near East and are found on the earliest depictions of beds and other furnishings from Greece in the Late Bronze Age and Geometric periods (Fig. 17).⁶⁴ Evidence for such lacings on *klinai* comes from actual preserved remains of the straps or rails themselves and from representations in both three-dimensional form (replicas in other materials)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*



Figure 16. View of dining room in the stoa of the Sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, with platform for wooden couches, and detail showing cuttings for *kline* legs. (Photos by author)

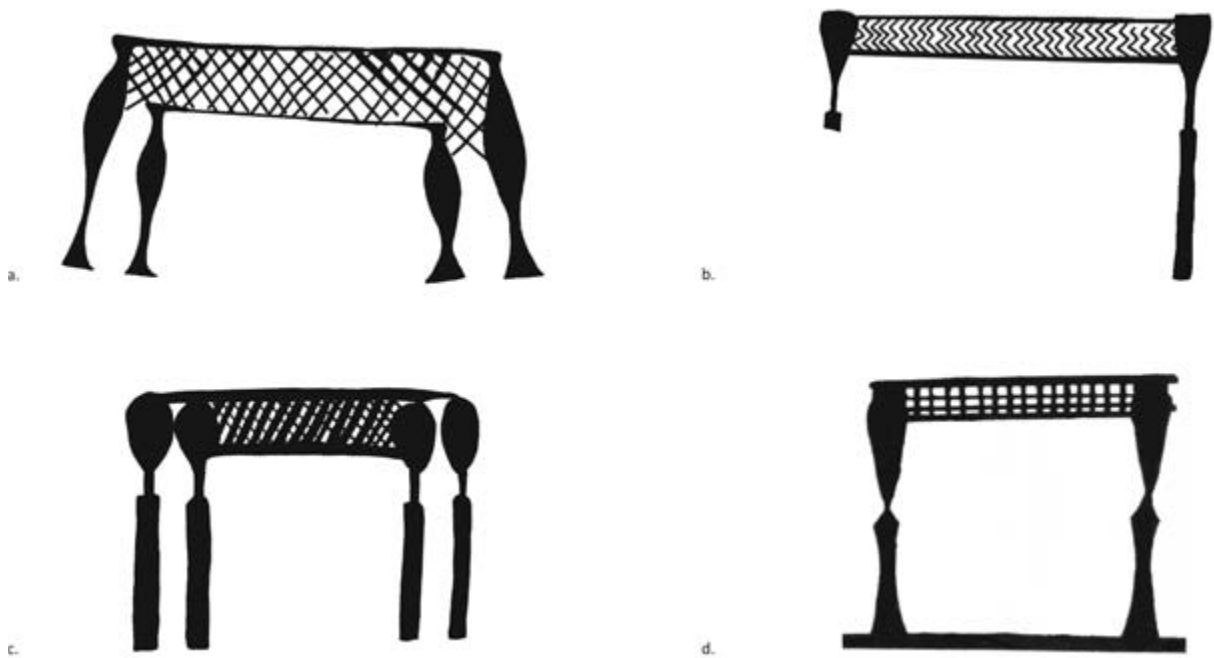


Figure 17. Details of beds in Late Geometric *prothesis* scenes, late eighth century: (a) Athens, National Museum 18062 [B1]; (b) Sydney, Nicholson Museum 46.47 [B3]; (c) Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1966.89 [B2]; (d) Samos, Archaeological Museum K76 [B11]. (Drawings by D. Weiss, after Ahlberg 1971, figs. 24b, 14d, 43e, and 51d)

and two-dimensional depictions. The rails of a small wooden bed from Duvanli in Bulgaria (see Fig. 31) and furniture rail fragments from Olympia and Samos each have a series of holes along their interior faces for the fastening of such lacings; hemp cords were found with the Duvanli rails.⁶⁵ Both holes and lacings are shown on an Attic red-figure amphora in Munich depicting the bed of Prokrustes, a variant *kline* type with animal feet and a raised back on one end (Fig. 18). Another latticed bed surface is shown from below in a perspectival rendering of a Type A couch on a red-figure pyxis attributed to the Washing Painter (Fig. 19). The Homeric description of beds as “perforated” (τρητοῖς λεχέεσι) may refer either to the latticed appearance of such bed surfaces or to the perforations in the rails in which cords were secured.⁶⁶ A reference to a couch frame without such lacings as a κλίνη ἀνέντατος (“unstretched”) in a sanctuary inventory from Delos underlines the elasticity of this construction feature,⁶⁷ and in some renderings the latticed surface appears to sag below the level of the frame.⁶⁸ None of the evidence for lacings so far presented occurs in connection with Type B *klinai*, but these couches probably also had bed surfaces composed of netted straps or cords. Another way of securing lacings to the rails was evidently to wrap them around the frames, as groups of thin parallel bands at regular intervals along the front rails of couches and stools of all types suggest (Fig. 10).⁶⁹

Like other types of wooden furniture in ancient Greece, *kline* frames were constructed with mortise and tenon joinery. In real wooden specimens as well as in representations of *klinai* in all media (in paintings, reliefs, and three-dimensional replicas in stone and bronze), small rectangular or half-round projections are often included near the top of the legs, where they meet the rails.⁷⁰ These seem to represent tenons extending from the rails on the short sides through mortises in the legs. They are usually placed horizontally but in some cases are vertical (see Fig. 33).⁷¹ In some three-dimensional representations as well as some vase paintings, corresponding through-tenons extend from the long front rails to the side; the two tenons are often staggered (one higher than the other), as they would have to be in real wooden joinery so as not to collide (see Fig. 35i).⁷² The level of detail and precision in representing these structural elements varied greatly among vase-painters, and even when included they may not align structurally with the level of the rails.⁷³ In the most careful and detailed representations, parallel vertical striations within the rectangles seem to replicate the end grain of the wooden tenons, which would be extensions of the rails themselves (see Figs. 3, 36a, g, 146 fragments 3 and 4, Plate 10).⁷⁴ But the projecting parts could also be understood as separate pieces, capping the holes carved for the tenons. On one of the earliest preserved wooden furniture legs, from the Giglio wreck (Fig. 15), the projecting “tenons” appear to be separate half-round pieces, with carved striations recalling an end-grain pattern.⁷⁵

As furniture tailored to a leisure pastime with connotations of luxury, wooden *klinai* were sometimes embellished with rare or costly materials. Ornamental inlays of ivory, bone, and amber found in several graves in the Kerameikos of Athens and in isolated cases in Germany and Italy have been attributed to *klinai* on the basis of their correspondence with decoration seen in vase paintings, particularly on *klinai* of Type B (see below). The idea of decorating couches with ivory probably came from the Near East, where ivory-encrusted beds and couches are known from literary sources as well as excavated furniture remains, but the ivory ornament of Greek *klinai* differs significantly in form and content from surviving Near Eastern inlays, few of which can be definitively assigned



Figure 18. The bed of Prokrustes on an Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Alkimachos Painter, ca. 470–460 [B275]. Munich Antikensammlungen 2325. (Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photo: Renate Kühling / Christa Koppermann)



Figure 19. Scene of bridal preparation on an Attic red-figure pyxis attributed to the Washing Painter, 430–420 [B327]. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 541. (© Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg. Photo: K. Öhrlein)

to couches or beds as opposed to chairs or thrones.⁷⁶ The primary decorative motifs of Greek *kline* inlays—double volutes and palmettes—derive ultimately from Orientalizing ornament, but their particular forms and combination in the Type B scheme have no direct parallels in Near Eastern furniture decoration.⁷⁷

Ivory decoration of Archaic Greek *klinai* must also be distinguished from the tradition of ivory and bone couches that became common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods as a development of the Type A scheme.⁷⁸ These later couches had lathe-turned moldings and carved reliefs secured on or around a rounded wooden and/or metal core, essentially elaborations of wooden turned legs. Archaic inlaid *klinai*, on the other hand, were of the Type B variety, with flat pieces and panels laid into rectangular wooden members (see Fig. 43). It is unclear exactly when Type A furniture legs began to be embellished with ivory or bone cladding, but it may have been as early as the fifth century: fragments of lathe-turned bone from fifth-century contexts at Olympia are suggestive of



Figure 20. Symposium scene on an Attic black-figure psykter attributed to the Leagros Group, ca. 520–500 [B85]. Munich, Antikensammlungen SL461. Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 36.2. (Reproduced with permission of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München)

Type A turnings.⁷⁹ But since Type B couches also persisted through the Classical period, as far as we can tell from visual evidence and sanctuary inventories (see below), we cannot be sure what type of couch the fifth-century comic poet Plato had in mind when he mentioned “ivory-footed” (ἐλεφαντόποδες) *klinai*,⁸⁰ nor do we know what type was produced in the workshop of Demosthenes’ father, stocked with timbers and ivory.⁸¹ Ivory-clad couches of either type would have been rare luxury items.

Metallic decoration was also sometimes applied to *klinai* and seems to have been particularly associated with the east in the Archaic and Classical periods.⁸² In Herodotos’s narrative of the fall of

Sardis, Kroisos includes gold- and silver-clad (ἐπιχρυσούς καὶ ἐπαργύρους) *klinai* in his holocaust offering to Delphic Apollo, along with golden vessels and rich purple cloths.⁸³ Herodotos uses the same adjectives to describe the couches confiscated from the Persians at Plataia.⁸⁴ Since by the time of the Persian Wars the Achaemenid empire encompassed Lydia, it is possible that some of what Greeks thought of as “Persian” luxury actually had roots in pre-Persian Lydia—or perhaps Herodotos’s portrayal of Kroisos was colored by his own knowledge of Persia. Either way, the fascination with which these gold- and silver-clad couches were greeted at Plataia, according to Herodotos, suggests that such luxury was not common in Greece at the time.⁸⁵ “Silver-” and “gold-footed” *klinai* continued to be associated with Persian and eastern luxury in later Greek sources.⁸⁶ Silver *kline* feet (ἐπάργυροι πόδες) and a silver-footed (ἀργυρόπους) *diphros* listed in the Parthenon inventories have been interpreted either as actual Persian spoils or as reflections of eastern-inspired tastes in Classical Athens.⁸⁷ But even those described as “turned” (στρογγυλόποδες), like the silver-footed *diphros*, could have been either of Persian type, with multiple, closely stacked turnings (Fig. 21) or of the Type A scheme, as both types are attested among preserved metal fragments: the silver sheathing of a Persian-style wooden leg was recently discovered near a fifth-century tumulus at Filippovka in the southern Ural region, and the remains of silver-clad Type A *diphros* legs were found in a fourth-century Macedonian tomb.⁸⁸ It is notable that in both cases the metal was conceived as overlay for a wooden core and the whole leg was clad with silver, not just the feet. Therefore, the -πόδες suffix was probably meant to describe whole furniture legs rather than just feet. Metallic decoration could also adorn Type B furniture. Several fragments of gold sheet decoration found in the Halos deposit at Delphi, along with the better-known chryselephantine statue fragments and silver bull, conform to the Type B leg scheme, with volute capital and opposed palmettes (Fig. 22).⁸⁹ The dimensions are somewhat small for either a couch or a throne, and the remains cannot be convincingly connected with the holocaust



Figure 21. Achaemenid Persian throne on a relief from the treasury of Persepolis. (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago)



Figure 22. Gold foil fragments from the “Halos” deposit at Delphi, reconstructed as Type B leg decoration. Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 20.3. (Reproduced with permission of H. Kyrieleis)

offering of metal-clad *klinai* by Kroisos to Apollo,⁹⁰ but they provide yet one more possibility for envisioning what “ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους” couches may have looked like.

Klinai composed of cast metal are rare before the Hellenistic period, when Delos becomes known for its bronze couches,⁹¹ and when bronze couch-fittings begin to appear in archaeological contexts throughout the Mediterranean, continuing into the Roman period.⁹² These are fairly consistent in form, a type with round legs that appears to have developed from a fusion of the Greek Type A *kline* with Persian-style leg moldings and the addition of curved armrests or *fulcra*, a variant of the ivory and bone couch type mentioned above (see Plate 2 for a stone version).⁹³ There are some indications, however, that cast metal couches were also known in the Archaic and Classical periods, before the later type developed. Thucydides records that after the siege of Plataia during the Peloponnesian War, bronze and iron fittings from the razed walls and buildings were recycled to make couches for dedication to Hera.⁹⁴ And an Archaic Type A *kline* (ca. 500) in the Getty Museum is made of cast bronze and hammered copper sheeting over an iron framework (Fig. 23).⁹⁵ Cast bronze beds were found in two early Etruscan tombs, but these were not necessarily *klinai*; the only one with preserved legs (from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Caere) more resembles the beds seen in Geometric *prothesis* scenes than Type A *klinai* and pre-dates the earliest evidence for the reclining banquet in Etruria (Fig. 24).⁹⁶ Bronze fittings for a wooden *kline* and stool from a fifth-century tomb at Tell

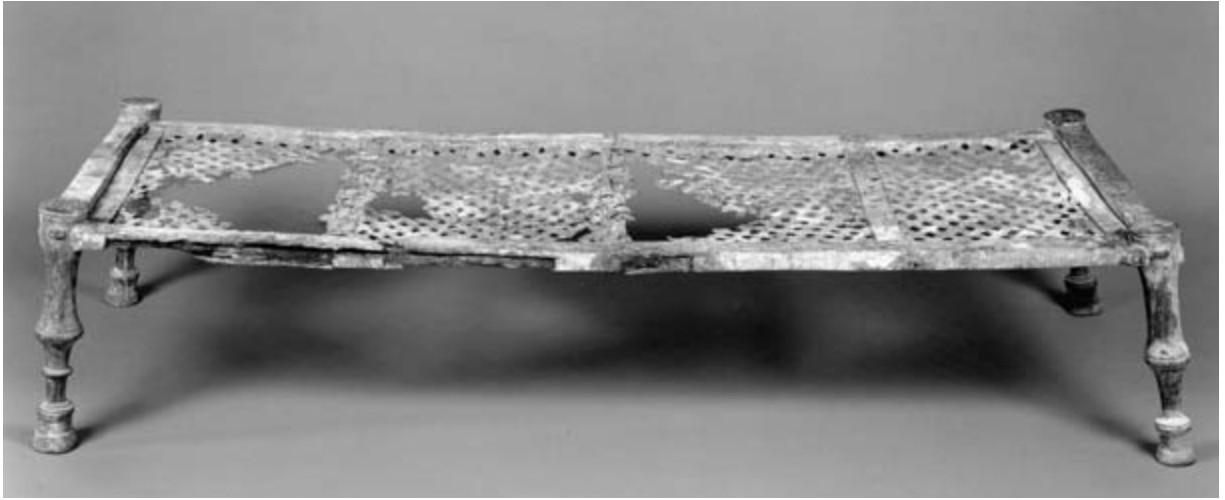


Figure 23. Bronze *kline*, ca. 500, probably from Lydia. J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AC.94. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California. © J. Paul Getty Museum)



Figure 24. Bronze bed from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere, eighth or seventh century. Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, inv. 15052. (Photo by author, used with the kind permission of the Vatican Museums)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*



Figure 25. Couch from Tell el-Far'ah South, Tomb 650, sixth–fifth century, bronze and wood, restored. Israel Museum, Jerusalem, Collection of Israel Antiquities Authority. (Photo by Avraham Hay © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

el-Far'ah in Palestine, on the other hand, were conceived as reinforcing or decorative sleeves, placed only at key points: attachment of rail to legs, central molding on the legs, and foot (Fig. 25).⁹⁷ When bronze couches eventually became common, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, they were not usually composed entirely of cast metal but rather had cast bronze reinforcements or decorative embellishments around a wooden frame or core.⁹⁸

Ancient wooden *klinai* could also have been decorated with paint.⁹⁹ Because physical remains of inlays and cladding have survived from various contexts, it is usually assumed that vase-painters

had such materials in mind when they articulated decorative details on couches, especially with the use of added red or purple, which recalls amber. Added color is most often found for details like the filling of volute eyes, for which amber and glass inlays are attested for real *klinai*.¹⁰⁰ But it is difficult to determine from representations on vases what materials the painters had in mind. Just as luxury inlays could be replicated in paint on the faces of stone *klinai* (as was often the case for Anatolian funerary couches), they may also have been emulated in paint on otherwise plain wooden couch frames. Without physical evidence for painted wooden *klinai*, however, this possibility must remain speculative.

In public dining rooms in sanctuaries or civic buildings, *klinai* built of stone or formed by continuous rock-cut benches are also known. These could consist of stone supports or legs on which wooden planks or stone slabs were laid¹⁰¹ or of monolithic blocks carved to resemble couches.¹⁰² Alternatively, they could be built up of stone or rubble and earth, as in the many dining rooms in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth.¹⁰³ These couches are essentially continuous earthen platforms supported by retaining walls and divided into individual couches by “armrests.”¹⁰⁴ Similar platforms are carved out of natural clay marl in cult caves at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia.¹⁰⁵ The platform type of couch is even featured in some Athenian vase paintings depicting banquets, always in a Dionysiac context, shared by Dionysos and Herakles or satyr and maenad.¹⁰⁶ These *klinai* of more permanent media share many traits with the stone and rock-cut funerary *klinai* collected here, such as simple raised borders and raised armrests on the right ends. Some were simplified or pared-down versions of wooden Type B *klinai*; others were entirely plain yet identifiable as *klinai* through spatial and use context.

SIZE AND PLACEMENT

Dimensions of extant *klinai* from Greek dining rooms are fairly regular—about 1.70–1.90 m long, 0.70–0.90 m wide, and 0.30–0.50 m high—with some exceptions on both extremes of length, from as short as 1.35 m to as long as 2.05 m.¹⁰⁷ *Kline* length was normally consistent within dining rooms but varied greatly from place to place, more than we would expect, given that the form is designed to accommodate the human body.¹⁰⁸ A few unusually short couches (0.75–1.25 m long) among those of more regular dimensions in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Acrocorinth are enigmatic, and it is questionable whether they were meant to be couches at all.¹⁰⁹ They could have been seats intended for women, who may have reclined only partially or sat upright during cult meals, but Bookidis has concluded on the basis of votive deposits that women were the primary diners/worshippers at this sanctuary, rather than exceptional or occasional participants.¹¹⁰ Bookidis and Stroud suggest that the “half-couches” could have provided seats “for someone directing the course of the meal” or “were intended for children holding a special position within the cult.”¹¹¹ Couches of extra width or double couches, with two resting places side by side, are common among Anatolian funerary *klinai* but are not well attested in actual dining rooms. Extra-wide couches (some 1.20–1.30 m wide) in the Hellenistic prytaneion at Tripytos, Crete, have been interpreted as intended for two diners reclining side by side,¹¹² but visual and written sources suggest that couches of single width often accommodated two diners (see Figs. 2, 9–12).¹¹³

Couch height was also variable but usually consistent within a single dining room.¹¹⁴ Although

the couch to the right of the doorway was the position of honor, it was not normally distinguished from the other *klinai* in any physical way, and the equality of participants' access to food, drink, and entertainment has often been seen as an element of egalitarianism in the ideology of the Classical symposion.¹¹⁵ The paradoxical coexistence of such egalitarian qualities with hierarchical aspects (including the designation of a place of honor) is typical of sympotic culture. That equality of couch height was an important element of Greek sympotic ideology is highlighted by contrast with Persian dining customs, which correlated physical height with status: when the Great King dined among others, he was said to have reclined on a gold-footed couch while his companions sat on the floor,¹¹⁶ and later Parthian kings occupied a "higher" couch than those of their table guests.¹¹⁷ This and other Persian dining fashions, like placing the position of honor in the center rather than to the right of the doorway, were evidently emulated by some members of the Macedonian elite.¹¹⁸

Visual evidence for symposia conforms for the most part to the ideology of couch equality, but there are a few notable exceptions in which one couch is higher than the others. Unsurprisingly, given the favoring of the right side we have already seen in seating arrangement as well as pictorial convention, the taller couch is always the rightmost couch in the scene. On the Early Corinthian krater with a banquet in the home of Eurytios (Fig. 26), it is Herakles, guest of honor, who occupies the rightmost couch. Herakles' couch is also somewhat higher than his companion's on a much later (ca. 470) red-figure psykter/krater attributed to the Troilos Painter in New York (Fig. 27),¹¹⁹ but this is surprising because the occupant of the other couch is Dionysos himself. Other exceptions occur on works by red-figure Pioneers and involve labeled "portraits" of the vase-painter Smikros. One is a "self-portrait" on a signed stamnos, and it shows three couches, each one higher than the one to the left, so that the highest is on the far right (Fig. 28). "Smikros" throws back his head in song on the middle couch while a man named Au[t]omenes embraces a woman named Rode on the rightmost couch. The other is a fragmentary krater attributed to Euphronios, with two pairs of men occupying two couches (Fig. 29). "Smikros" in this case is a blond youth sharing the higher of the two couches, on the right, with a bearded man who begins a *skolion*. The figure in second position on the lower couch, at the far left, labeled "Thodemos," stares out at the viewer as he raises his kylix to his mouth. His frontal, mask-like face is remarkable, a rarity in Greek vase painting that often signifies an altered state of consciousness (or death), and could be a subtle clue that the vase-painter is doing something clever here.¹²⁰ Neer has suggested that this figure is in fact a "stand-in" for Euphronios himself.¹²¹ The joke lies in the fact that vase-painters were probably not of the social class that enjoyed sympotic leisure.¹²² Euphronios seems to have depicted his rival as a privileged aristocratic youth and himself in a lower-status and compromised position, practically winking at the viewer. Smikros, perhaps in response,¹²³ placed himself on the middle couch, not the highest or lowest. This relative positioning plays upon the agonistic nature of sympotic culture while at the same time expressing the vase-painters' own self-conscious discourse of identity.

But not all such exceptions were necessarily so socially charged. Several column kraters attributed to the Leningrad Painter, contemporary with the Troilos Painter's psykter/krater, show symposiasts on pairs of *klinai* with the rightmost one slightly higher than the other, while other symposia by the same painter show couches of equal height (see Fig. 41).¹²⁴ Perhaps these exceptions are all visual constructions, intended to elevate the position of certain participants for one reason or another,



Figure 26. Early Corinthian krater with Herakles dining at the house of Eurytios, ca. 600 [B12]. Paris, Musée du Louvre E635. (Photo: Freres Chuzeville, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)



Figure 27. Dionysos and Herakles reclining on *klinai* on an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Troilos Painter, ca. 470 [B183]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., The Bothmer Purchase Fund, 1986 (1986.11.12). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)



Figure 28. Symposion scene on an Attic red-figure stamnos signed by Smikros, ca. 510 [B124]. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire A717. (Photo: Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et Histoire)



Figure 29. Symposion scene, Attic red-figure kalyx krater attributed to Euphronios, ca. 520–500 [B122]. Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935 etc. (Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Photo: Renate Kühling / Christa Koppermann)

regardless of the conventions of equality in actual contemporary dining rooms; or perhaps they recollect an era of sympotic history in which hierarchy was more physically expressed; or perhaps the ideology of sympotic equality was itself a construction, and the prevailing pictorial convention does not accurately reflect actual practices.

Klinai of unusual height are also found in some *prothesis* scenes. In these cases there is only one *kline* present, but its elevation above normal height may be indicated by the presence of large block-like supports beneath the legs (see Fig. 5).¹²⁵ In some cases a continuous platform supports the *kline*.¹²⁶ These risers seem to lift the *prothesis-kline* to a height more appropriate for standing mourners than for seated or reclining symposiasts. *Prothesis*-beds would need to be relatively high in order to allow standing mourners to attend to the body and the woman at the head of the bed to hold the head of the deceased.¹²⁷ But sometimes *klinai* on such risers appear to be *too* high for the principal mourner, who must stand on a footstool.¹²⁸ The earliest *prothesis*-beds, on Geometric vases, lack extra bases but hardly need them, as they are quite high on their own (see Fig. 17).¹²⁹ Extra bases can also occur in nonfunerary (or not obviously funerary) contexts, as under Herakles' *kline* on the Andokides Painter's bilingual amphora showing Herakles feasting in the presence of Athena (see Fig. 3). Such bases could have served another practical function: to elevate wooden *kline* legs above floors to prevent damage when the floor was washed, like the platforms or sills encircling the walls of many contemporary dining rooms.¹³⁰

DESIGN AND DECORATION

Evidence for the styles of *klinai* used in Archaic and Classical Greece comes primarily from vase paintings. These representations are more reliable as sources for details of form and decoration, which painters modeled on actual furnishings in the world around them, than for information about their use contexts, since they often occur in mythical narratives and since even "daily life" scenes are ideological constructions rather than representations of reality.¹³¹ Although there is much variability in the degree of detail and care with which vase-painters rendered furnishings, and although whimsical approaches were possible, a study of the many and varied depictions of *klinai* on Greek vases reveals some common features that provide a good sense of the most essential elements of their styles and decoration.¹³² These impressions are confirmed, in some cases, by corroborating evidence from physical remains preserved archaeologically. The following sections present the basic characteristics and most common features of the primary *kline* types attested in the Archaic and Classical periods and discuss their origins and development, along with a consideration of whether different styles of *klinai* carried different meanings or significance.

Type A

Type A *klinai* are characterized by round legs that appear to be lathe-turned, with an overall taper from top to bottom and a molding or swelling around mid-height.¹³³ This is the type that appears in the earliest scenes of the reclining banquet in Greek art, such as the Early Corinthian "Eurytios krater" (Fig. 26), and continues to occur in banqueting scenes on Greek pottery from the late seventh through the fourth century. Over time, the swellings and concavities on the legs become more balanced and a raised capital is added on one end. The type continues to evolve beyond the Classical



Figure 30. Map of Mediterranean basin, with findspots of physical remains of Type A and Type B wooden furniture from the sixth and fifth centuries. (Map by N.P. Niemeier)

period, with the addition of eastern-inspired moldings on the legs and *fulcra* above one or both ends, into the highly ornate couch of the Hellenistic and Early Roman eras.

The canonical, fifth-century Type A form is best illustrated by an actual specimen, though small in scale: within a stone sarcophagus buried in a tumulus near Duvanli in Bulgaria were the remains of a small Type A *kline* with an ash wood frame and a bed surface composed of netted hemp cords (Fig. 31).¹³⁴ Its turned legs are composed of four separate parts socketed together. Each leg has a central torus molding, concave foot, and convex disc-shaped top. The lower half of the leg shaft tapers toward the foot, and the upper half, above the central molding, is broader and gently concave. The legs on the head end of the *kline* have taller disc capitals that provide support for a headrest composed of a curved plank of wood, which is attached to the tops of the legs by means of wooden pegs.¹³⁵ The rails of the bed were attached to each leg via mortise-and-tenon joinery.¹³⁶ On the inner faces of the rails are small holes, regularly spaced, where the corded bed surface was

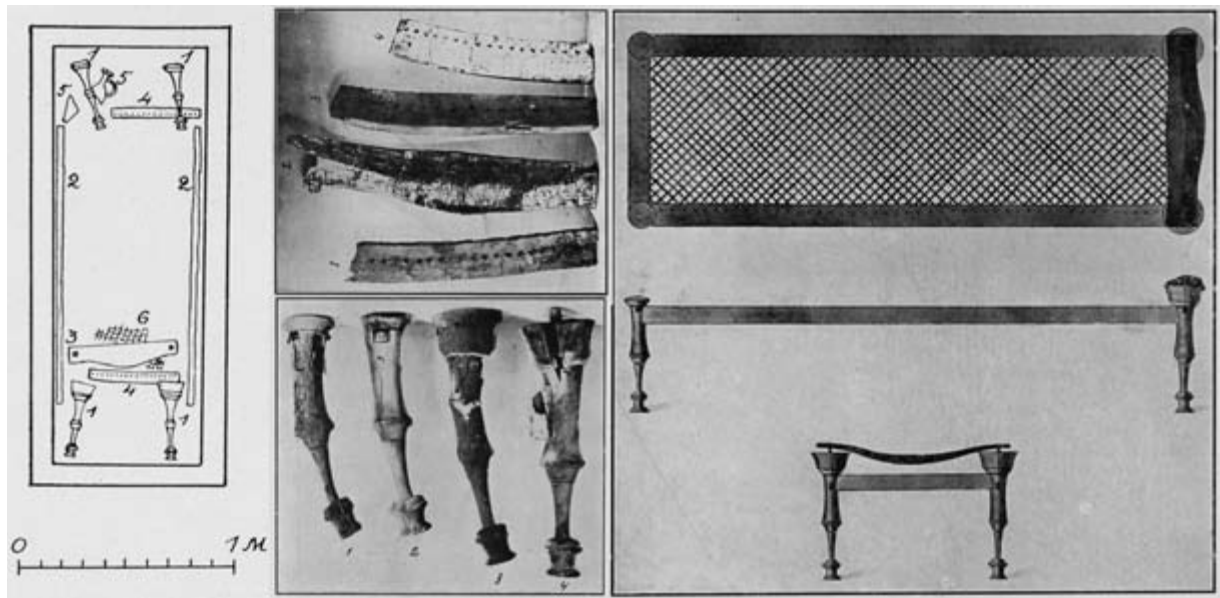


Figure 31. Small wooden Type A *klinē* from tumulus at Duvanli, Bulgaria, ca. 490–480: plan of remains in sarcophagus, views of rail fragments and legs, and reconstruction of couch. Filow 1934, figs. 146–50.

attached. Parts of this netting, composed of hemp, were preserved near the head of the bed, along with cremated human remains and an iron ring.¹³⁷ The grave has been dated ca. 490–480 on the basis of a black-figure palmette lekythos found near the foot of the couch, considered an example of the imported Greek luxury items that reached Thrace in the fifth century.¹³⁸

From both physical evidence and representations, it is clear that the Type A style of furniture leg was already widely known in the Mediterranean region by the first quarter of the sixth century. When Type A *klinai* first appear on Greek vases of the late seventh and early sixth centuries, about a century before the Duvanli burial, their legs appear much broader at the top and bottom and more severely undercut in the tapered lower section, which usually has a thin disc or torus molding at its thinnest point (Fig. 32a–d).¹³⁹ Sometimes thin torus moldings are indicated just above and below the indentation and at the foot, projecting slightly beyond the width of the leg, and the wide upper and lower portions of the leg are usually somewhat concave.¹⁴⁰ The couches depicted on the “Eurytios krater” (Figs. 26, 32a) are among the earliest known representations of this type.¹⁴¹ Similar Type A couches appear in symposion and related scenes (such as the Ransom of Hektor) on Lakonian and Attic vases of the early sixth century, with legs of varying width and degree of indentation (Fig. 32b–d).¹⁴² A Type A couch with more slender legs, closer in proportions to the Duvanli *klinē* and later examples, is represented on the gabled lid of a terracotta sarcophagus recently discovered at Klazomenai, dated by the pottery it contained and the style of its painted decoration to around 600 (Fig. 33).¹⁴³ It is therefore uncertain how faithful the early representations of Type A *klinai* on vases really were. The deeply indented legs shown on some vases may be artistic exaggerations of

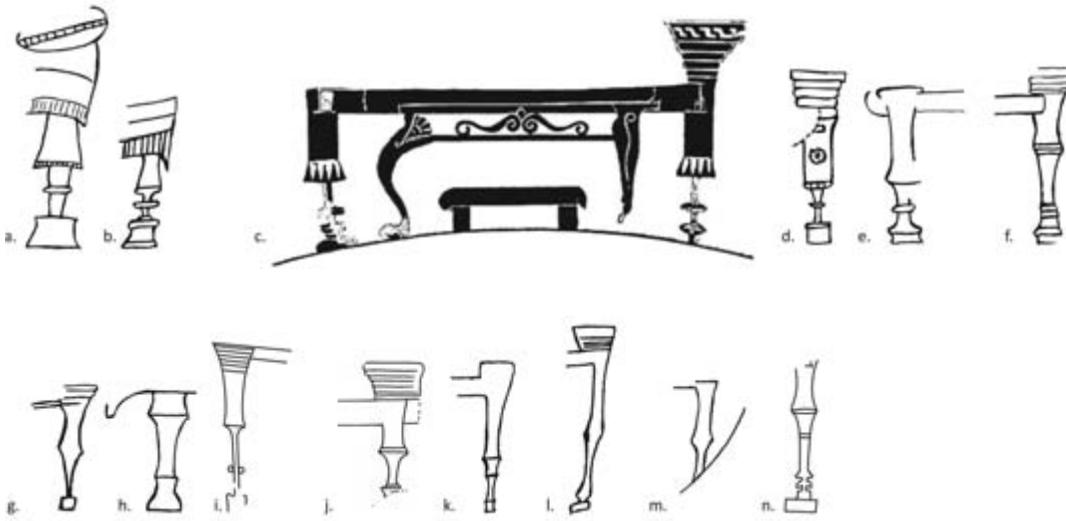


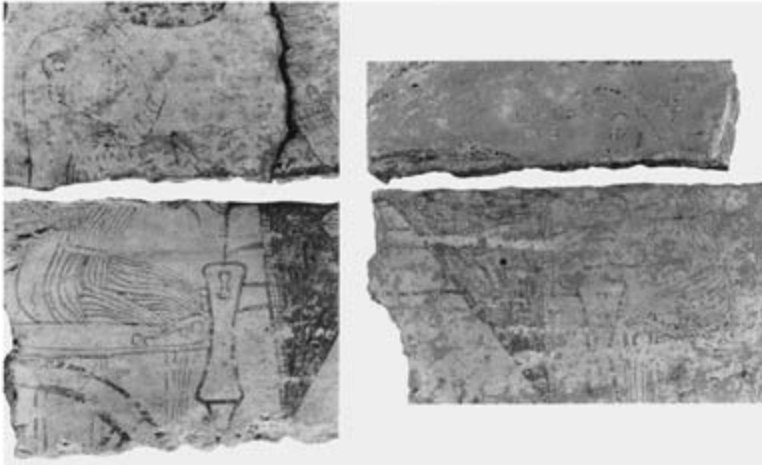
Figure 32. Detail drawings of Type A *klinai* in Greek, Etruscan, and Lycian art: (a) Early Corinthian krater [B12], Paris, Musée du Louvre E635, after Arias and Hirmer 1961, pl. XIII; (b) Attic black-figure krater attributed to the Ptoon Painter [B31], Louvre E623, after Richter 1966, fig. 616; (c) “Chalkidian” black-figure cup [B50], Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 354, after Boardman 1998a, fig. 479; (d) Attic black-figure olpe [B67], Agora P24673, after Cremer 1981, fig. 11; (e) terracotta revetment plaque from Tarquinia, after Cataldi 1993, fig. 10; (f) Etruscan limestone cippus, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1222, after Richter 1966, fig. 458; (g) Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Oltos [B119], Munich, Antikensammlungen 2618, after Richter 1966, fig. 297; (h) sarcophagus lid from Xanthos, Istanbul Archaeological Museum inv. 5239T, after Demargne 1974, pl. 25.1; (i) Attic red-figure krater fragments attributed to the Kleophrades Painter [B164], Copenhagen, National Museum 13365, after CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 331.1a; (j) banquet scene on rear wall of the Tomb of the Leopards, Tarquinia, ca. 480–470, after Art Resource photo (see Fig. 149b); (k) Tomb of the Diver, Paestum, after Napoli 1970, pl. 5; (l) Attic red-figure krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter [B289], Milan, Banca Intesa 354, after CVA Milan 3, Collezione “H.A.” 2 (1972) III I 5, pl. 4.1; (m) Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Kodros Painter [B323], London, British Museum E82 (1847.0909.6), after Avramidou 2006, fig. 3; (n) Attic red-figure/white-ground lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter [B330], New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13, after museum photo (Plate 7). (Drawings a–b, d–i, k–n by author and c, j by D. Weiss)

actual forms, and those that are rendered only in silhouette (without interior details added, whether incised or in added white or purple/red paint) are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the indented legs of the Type B scheme.¹⁴⁴ The wooden Type A leg from the Giglio wreck (see Fig. 15) is the only surviving physical evidence for this type from this early period, and it does not clarify matters as much as one would hope, because only the top half of the leg survives.¹⁴⁵ But the proportions of this upper part—from the middle swelling about 0.07 m wide through a concave shaft narrowing to a minimum diameter of about 0.059 m, to a cylindrical capital about 0.10 m in diameter—are more similar to the Duvanli bed and to representations of the late sixth and fifth centuries than to the *klinai* represented on contemporary vases.

In representations of Type A *klinai* of the later sixth and fifth centuries, the differences in thickness between the broad upper and lower parts of the leg and the indented lower-middle section are



Figure 33. Details and drawing of sarcophagus lid from Klazomenai with *ekphora* scene, ca. 600, Hürmüzlü 2010, figs. 46, 48. (Courtesy of Klazomenai Expedition)



less dramatic and the overall appearance is more harmonious (Fig. 32f–n).¹⁴⁶ The lowest part is a more clearly articulated foot, defined by a torus molding at top and bottom and a slight concavity between them. The focal point of the leg now becomes the swell between the broader upper portion and the thinner, tapered lower section, and it is often articulated (as before) with its own torus molding. This is the canonical form found at Duvanli and on the bronze *kline* of ca. 500 in the Getty Museum (Fig. 23).¹⁴⁷ Type A legs continue to appear on *klinai* and stools in vase paintings and reliefs of the fifth and fourth centuries, in Etruria and South Italy as well as in Greece and Anatolia, following the same basic design but with varying proportions. Over time, the middle torus tends to occur higher on the leg and is sometimes sharply carinated (Fig. 32g, l–m),¹⁴⁸ and the additional torus on the thinnest portion of the lower leg becomes quite rare.¹⁴⁹ As with the earliest representations, it is

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

likely that the very thin, elongated Type A legs seen on some vases (such as a pyxis attributed to the Washing Painter, Fig. 19; see also Fig. 32i, l) are not faithful renderings of real *kline* proportions, but thin Type A legs are found also in relief sculpture (such as at the Painted Tomb at Myra in Lycia),¹⁵⁰ and the occurrence of cross-rails between the legs on the Washing Painter's pyxis (Fig. 19) and other later Type A couches with very thin legs suggests a real need for extra structural support.¹⁵¹ Perhaps with the application of other materials (ivory, bone, and bronze) to the Type A scheme, which seems to have begun as early as the fifth century (as noted above), more attenuated varieties became possible or fashionable.

On the "Eurytios krater" and in most other early depictions of *klinai*, the tops of the couches are covered by overhanging cloths and appear to be flat, without raised headrests. Their occupants usually rest their left elbows on pillows placed above the right ends.¹⁵² After about the middle of the sixth century, however, the tops of Type A couches are rarely shown covered, and the legs appear to terminate at the top in round posts, with flat or convex disc-shaped tops. Often the leg on the right end is higher, with a sort of capital consisting of a flaring out of the top of the leg or a widening through a series of superimposed fasciae to a flat abacus (Figs. 32c–d, f–g, i–j, l, 55b).¹⁵³ A white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter in New York nicely illustrates this kind of three-stepped capital on a *prothesis-kline*, though it is unusual that the capitals on both ends of the *kline* are of equal height (Fig. 5). These capitals are not usually decorated, but occasionally there is a maeander pattern on the abacus (e.g., Fig. 32c).¹⁵⁴ Such decoration is, however, more often seen on the abaci of Type B *klinai*,¹⁵⁵ and its appearance on Type A couches suggests some cross-fertilization of decorative approaches among these types, at least in vase-painters' imaginations. Subtle decorative bands do, however, occur on the earliest surviving Type A leg, from the Giglio wreck (Fig. 15). On the cylindrical drum at the top of the leg are several thin bands for inlaid materials: a thin, recessed line, a ring of tiny copper or bronze studs, and a band of inlaid wood strips in a herringbone pattern.¹⁵⁶ More certainly inspired by the Type B decorative vocabulary is the occasional star or rosette on the upper part of a Type A leg (as in Fig. 32d).¹⁵⁷ More common but still rare surface decoration on Type A *klinai* occurs on or around the swelling torus at mid-height¹⁵⁸ or on the face of the front rail (a row of rosettes,¹⁵⁹ maeander band,¹⁶⁰ or confronted animals).¹⁶¹

Type B

Type B *klinai* are characterized by legs that are rectangular in section, with semicircular "cutouts" on each side that often take the form of back-to-back double volutes, with palmettes above and below.¹⁶² This is the same type of leg used for thrones in Archaic art, and its distinctive decorative elements were evidently achieved through inlays of precious materials (ivory, bone, amber, or glass). Type B *klinai* thus carried more overt associations with wealth and luxury than Type A couches. They first appear in Greek art somewhat later than Type A *klinai*, in the first quarter of the sixth century, but the wide distribution of the earliest visual evidence, from Corinthian and Attic vases to Etruscan terracotta revetments,¹⁶³ indicates their sudden popularity. Since the earliest physical evidence comes in the form of precious inlays corresponding with the motifs seen in artistic representations of this couch type, it is necessary to establish the main characteristics and development of the type

based on vase paintings and sculptural representations before considering the physical specimens, which have been assigned to *klinai* by comparison with the visual evidence.

Representational Evidence

In contrast to Type A legs, which experience a fluid development over time, Type B legs remain fairly formulaic from the sixth through the fourth century and even in archaizing works of later periods.¹⁶⁴ Stylistic approaches to the individual elements of the Type B vocabulary change over time, but the overall syntax (palmettes, side cutouts, and volute capital) remains the same. Also in contrast to the Type A form, which has precedents in earlier furniture types in Greece and the Near East, the Type B furniture leg is clearly a product of the Archaic period, one Richter calls “a typical Greek creation.”¹⁶⁵ Certain elements of its decoration (back-to-back volutes, palmettes) have Near Eastern roots, but their combination and use as applied surface ornamentation exemplify the Archaic aesthetic.¹⁶⁶

The basic form of the Type B leg was a broad, plank-like post with C-shaped “incisions” or “cutouts” in the lower portion, formed by the vertical joining of two opposing palmettes, above and below the indentations (see Fig. 37).¹⁶⁷ In some cases, the C’s terminated in spirals and so were clearly conceived of as addorsed volutes (Fig. 34).¹⁶⁸ In the second quarter of the sixth century, circular discs resembling volute eyes began to appear on the terminals of the C’s or in the centers of the volute spirals (e.g., Figs. 35a–b, i, 36a–b, d–e, h–i). This development seems to have coincided roughly with the articulation of eyes in architectural volute capitals (Aeolic and Ionic) in the second quarter of the sixth century and confirms that these indentations were conceived of essentially as volutes.¹⁶⁹ But there is great variation among vase representations in the tightness of volute spirals and disc-ness of the “eyes,” even in single scenes involving multiple *klinai*, and this probably has more to do with painter choice (or skill) than to variation of forms on contemporary couches. And Type B legs with plain, C-shaped incisions continued in Attic vase painting through the sixth



Figure 34. Symposion scene on Attic black-figure kylix fragments attributed to the KX Painter [B23], ca. 575: view and details showing Type B *kline* legs. Samos, Archaeological Museum 1184. (Photo: H. Wagner, D-DAI-ATH-Samos 1184. All rights reserved.)

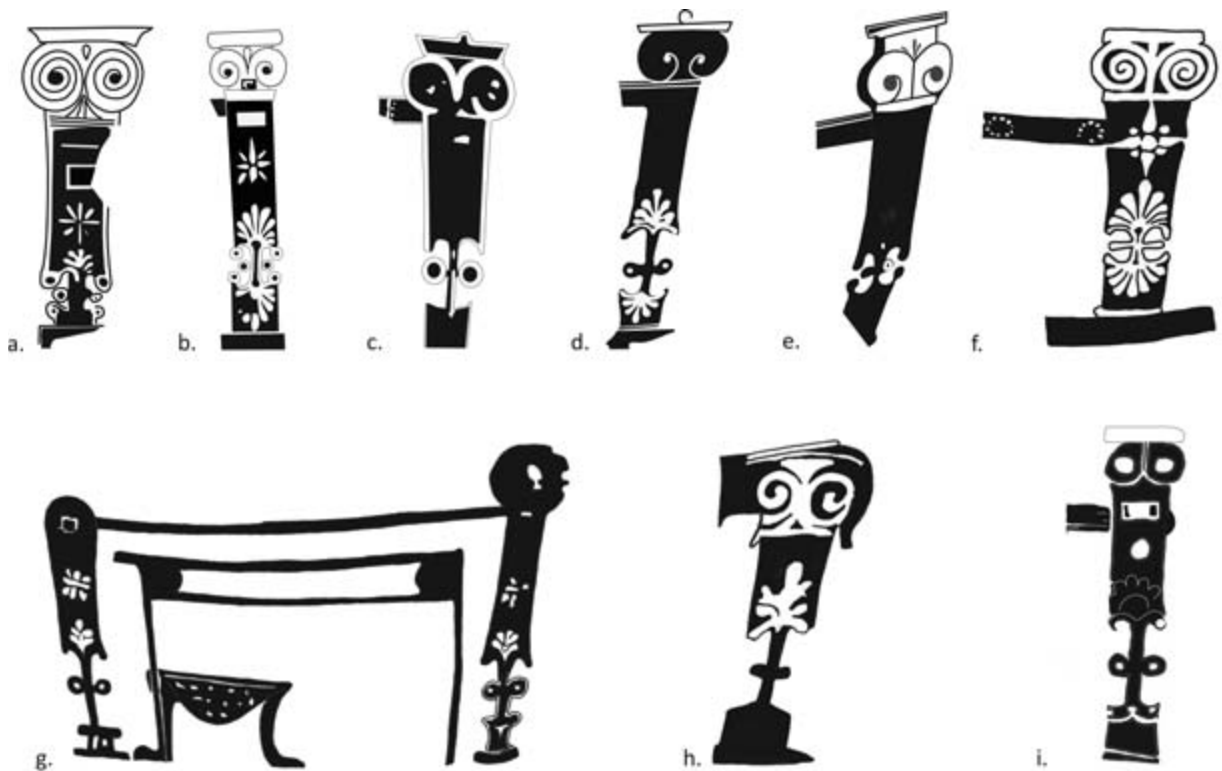


Figure 35. Detail drawings of Type B *klinai* on Attic black-figure vases and pinakes: (a) Attic black-figure pinax, Paris, Musée du Louvre L4, after *BAPD* image, vase no. 463; (b) Attic black-figure pinax with *prothesis* scene, Athens, Vlasto collection 321, after *BAPD* image, vase no. 9017778; (c) Attic black-figure loutrophoros with *prothesis* scene [B110], New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.228, after Vermeule 1979, fig. 1.8a; (d) Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter [B71], Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L207, after *BAPD* image, vase no. 302859; (e) Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Rycroft Painter [B93], Toledo Museum of Art 72.54, after *BAPD* image, vase no. 7276; (f) Attic black-figure amphora [B101], New York, Callimanopoulos collection, after Wolf 1993, fig. 25; (g) Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Class of New York 96.9.9 [B97], Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.125, after *CVA Oxford* 3, pl. 17.3 [B107]; (h) Attic black-figure hydria, Brussels, Musées Royaux R242, after *CVA Brussels* 2, pl. 16.3; (i) Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Edinburgh Painter [B142], Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland 1956.436, after *CVA Edinburgh*, pl. 14.3. (Drawings a–e by author and f–i by D. Weiss)

century, especially among the red-figure Pioneers and their black-figure contemporaries, and even into the fifth century (Figs. 3, 36c).¹⁷⁰

Often the indented C's or volutes are joined at the middle across the narrowest point of the leg by a horizontal bar or series of bands that seem to bind them together (Figs. 34, 39).¹⁷¹ Circular protrusions usually occur at the center or midpoint of each indentation, at the ends of the connecting band (if included). These protruding discs are similar to the volute eyes often added to the terminals of the C's but are only very rarely incorporated into spiraling volute designs.¹⁷² They may represent

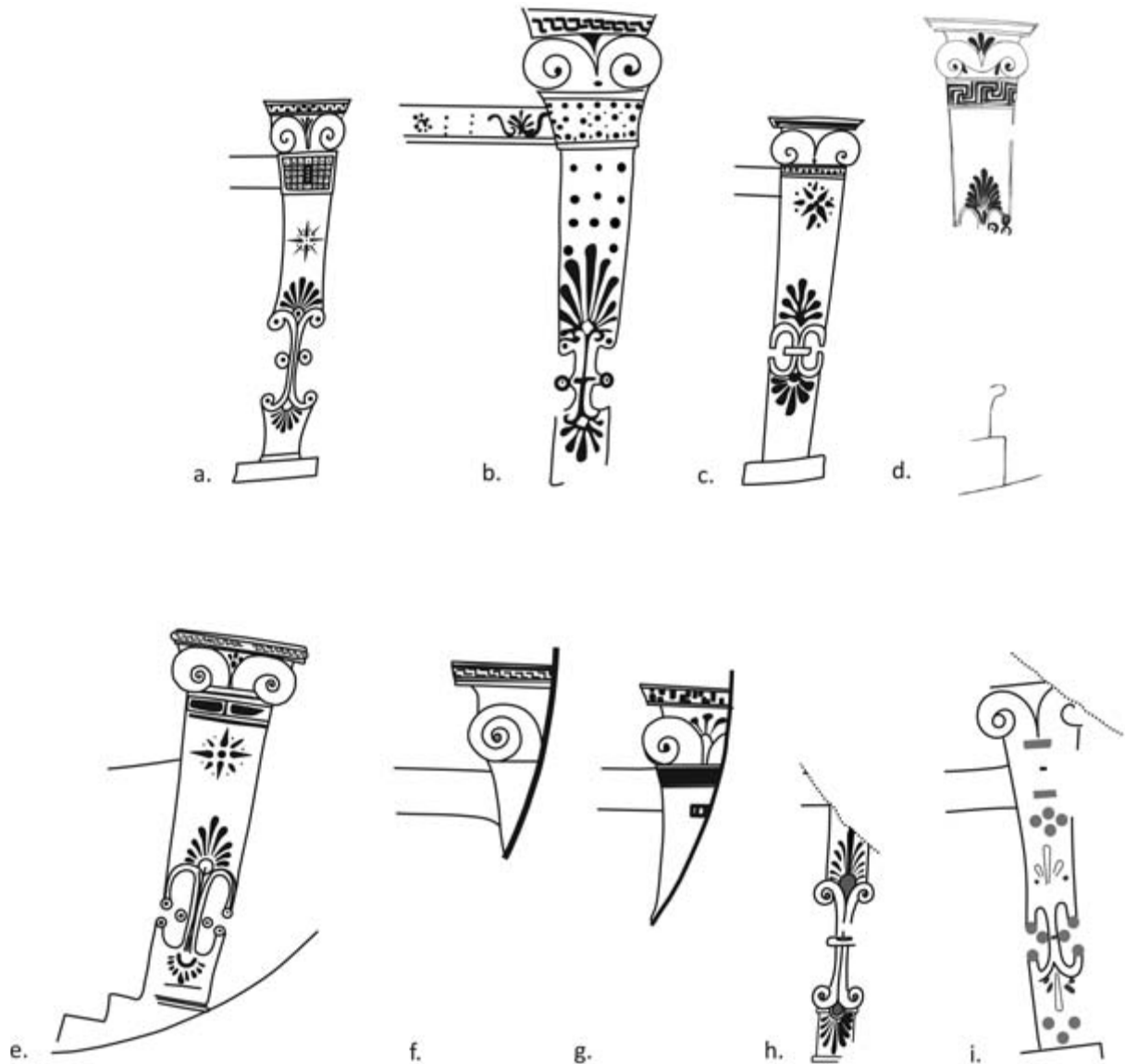


Figure 36. Detail drawings of Type B *klinai* on Attic red-figure and white-ground vases: (a) Attic bilingual amphora attributed to Psiax [B115], Munich, Antikensammlungen 2302, after CVA Munich 4, pl. 153.1; (b) Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Syracuse Painter [B279], Copenhagen, National Museum 9195, ARV² 519.21, after CVA Copenhagen 8, pl. 340.1e; (c) Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Kleophrades Painter [B166], Paris, Musée du Louvre CA453, after BAPD image, vase no. 201675; (d) Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228 [B287], Athens, National Museum CC1167, after CVA Athens 2, pls. 21.2, 24.4; (e) Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Antiphon Painter [B178], Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2303, after BAPD image, vase no. 203446; (f) Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris [B249], Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco V48, after BAPD image, vase no. 205103; (g) Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris [B259], Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L483, after CVA Würzburg 2, pl. 4.3; (h) Attic white-ground/red-figure kylix in the manner of the Pistoxenos Painter [B299], Athens, National Museum Akr. 445 / Berlin, Staatliche Museen F4059, after Mertens 1975, 36; (i) Attic white-ground/red-figure kylix from Vouni, attributed to the Boot Painter [B300], Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, after BAPD image, vase no. 202373. (Drawings by author)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

some sort of reinforcement at the weakest part of the leg, perhaps the end of a “cross-rail” connecting the front and rear legs on each end. Richter explains this “addition of knobs to the slender stem” as an effort “to minimize” the “unstructural effect” of the cutouts,¹⁷³ thus raising the question of why such indentations became fashionable in the first place. As one of the most common elements of the Type B design, the cutouts seem to have been essential components of it. While some representations on vases may of course give an exaggerated impression of the depth of the indentations and the thinness of the central “stem,”¹⁷⁴ any indentations would seem to undermine leg stability.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps, like the custom of reclining itself, it was simply a case of fashion taking priority over common sense (stability, ease of eating/drinking). The fact that a deep indentation on the lower part of the leg is the one feature shared by Type A and Type B *klinai* in the earliest representations of symposia seems to indicate that heavily undercut legs were both popular and visually associated with the new sympotic pastimes of the elite.

Other characteristic elements of the Type B scheme were palmettes above and below the indentations and, eventually, a volute capital on one or both ends. The palmettes are even more variable than the cutouts, often incised or rendered in splotchy added white in black-figure representations, but in the most careful renderings the one above the cutouts is usually somewhat larger than the one that hangs below (see, e.g., Fig. 29). As with Type A couches, the tops of Type B *klinai* in the earliest representations are covered with overhanging cloths but seem to be completely flat, with no indication of a raised capital.¹⁷⁶ A Late Corinthian hydria with Nereids mourning the dead Achilles (Fig. 37) provides the earliest known representation of a Type B *kline* with a raised volute capital, but its volutes hang “upside down.” By ca. 570 Type B *klinai* were regularly shown with tops uncovered and had a raised capital on one or both ends, decorated with a volute (Fig. 34).¹⁷⁷ This crowning element seems to have developed at the same time as or in connection with the extension of the leg on one side of the *kline* in order to provide a permanent arm- or headrest in addition to pillows or cushions, perhaps to aid digestion.¹⁷⁸ The fact that a raised volute capital is usually limited to the leg on the head end of the *kline* reveals its close connection with function (i.e., supporting the left elbow



Figure 37. Late Corinthian black-figure hydria with Nereids mourning the dead Achilles, attributed to the Damon Painter [B19], ca. 560–550. Paris, Musée du Louvre E643. (Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)

of a reclining symposiast), and the later adoption of similar volute capitals in Type B throne design supports this functional interpretation.¹⁷⁹ It may be that with the development of the characteristic Type B volute capital came a desire to “show off” its ornate decoration, with the result that vase painters placed less emphasis on overhanging covers. Interestingly, Etruscans (or at least Etruscan artists) seem to have solved the problem of adapting rich, overhanging textiles to *klinai* with raised ends in a different way: by draping cloths lengthwise over the couches and letting the ends hang in folds over the short sides.¹⁸⁰

The double volute that typically crowns the raised right end of a Type B *kline* can take a number of forms but is most commonly of the Aeolic variety, with volutes sprouting from the center of the baseline and growing upward unconnected, rather than being linked at the top as in Ionic capitals (Figs. 35b–c, e–f, h, 36a–c, e–g, i).¹⁸¹ Often the two volutes are linked in the middle with a connecting band (or bands) of some sort, as on some architectural Aeolic capitals (see Fig. 34).¹⁸² Sometimes they spring from a sort of trapezoidal shelf filling the space between the lower halves of the spirals.¹⁸³ This kind of volute may have evolved from the omission of the bottom of the connecting band(s); it is popular on Early Classical stele anthemia but is also a feature of the *kline* decoration from the South Mound of the Athenian Kerameikos, ca. 540 (see Fig. 43) and appears on some of the *klinai* depicted on terracotta revetments from Larisa on the Hermos.¹⁸⁴ Ionic-style volute capitals are much less common, with isolated occurrences on black-figure vases (Fig. 35d)¹⁸⁵ and sagging varieties (with a dip in the middle but without the full separation of Aeolic double volutes) on some red-figure vases (Fig. 36d).¹⁸⁶ Some volute capitals are difficult to classify as “Aeolic” or “Ionic,” and others are inconsistent (for example, with two halves spiraling in the same direction) or inverted, as if conveying the general idea of spiraling volutes was more important to the vase-painter than rendering a precise or accurate representation of an actual *kline* capital.¹⁸⁷ In one case the volutes are added (in purple over black-figure) above the flat top of the couch and so appear to float impossibly in front of the symposiast’s pillows.¹⁸⁸ Variant capital decoration may reflect the whim of the painter, as in the case of the lotus flowers flanked by flourishing tendrils on the capitals of the *klinai* depicted on the “Pontic” amphora in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 9).¹⁸⁹

The more common, Aeolic varieties usually have a small palmette or leaf at the top between the diverging spirals. Most frequent is a simple palmette composed of three petals (Figs. 3, 29, 35e, 36a, d, g, Plate 3).¹⁹⁰ More rarely, an arced base (“Palmettenkern”) is included (Figs. 4, 36e), and in the most detailed examples a “Palmettenkern” and five petals are delineated.¹⁹¹ For many painters, though, a single leaf or tongue would suffice, and these vary greatly in width and angularity (see Figs. 35a–b, f).¹⁹² Myson seems to have preferred a single teardrop-shaped leaf, and this has aided in the attribution of even small fragments to his hand.¹⁹³ Some painters varied their approach: Douris, for instance, painted some *kline* volute capitals with three-petaled palmettes and others with nothing between the spirals, even on the same vase.¹⁹⁴ Another optional element is a necking-band below the volutes, adding extra height and decoration to the capital. Some painters chose to include maeander bands, egg-and-dart patterns, or simple rows of dots in this location (Figs. 36b–e, 56).¹⁹⁵

Maeander bands are more often found decorating the top rectangular element or abacus of the volute capital (Figs. 36b, e–f, 37, 56, Plate 3), though these are sometimes left plain.¹⁹⁶ A wavy line across the middle or staggered rows of dots at the top and bottom of the abacus (e.g., Figs. 28–29,

36a) may be schematic renderings of more canonical maeander patterns, and some painters (such as Douris) evidently produced both types (Fig. 36f–g).¹⁹⁷ The abacus on a real, three-dimensional Type B *kline* probably constituted the front of a raised, shelf-like armrest or headboard, supported by a raised capital on each end. This is difficult to tell from most two-dimensional representations, but a rare depiction of the right end of a couch with volute capitals (though with plain legs) shows such a shelf continuing from one capital to the other across the head end; a wineskin pillow projects out from under the shelf and confirms that the space below was open (see Fig. 57 top).¹⁹⁸ Round projections that often appear above “abaci” in vase paintings suggest that these shelves were secured by means of projecting bolts or bosses (Figs. 29, 35c–d, Plate 3).¹⁹⁹

While the decoration of the raised right end is fairly formulaic, the treatment of the top of the left leg is much more variable—from a flat top level with or slightly above the bed surface (e.g., Figs. 6, 28),²⁰⁰ to a low square or rectangular “capital” with or without surface decoration (e.g., Fig. 39),²⁰¹ to a club-shaped top seen in other types of furniture legs, especially stools (e.g., Fig. 35g).²⁰² Sometimes the left leg carries a volute capital of its own, smaller and lower than that on the right.²⁰³ In rare cases, a volute capital of equal size decorates the left end, so that the couch is symmetrical (see below on *klinai amphikephaloi*).

Other aspects of Type B decoration that commonly occur in vase representations but are less essential and more variable are motifs at the top and bottom of the leg and along the front rail. Sometimes the lowest part of the leg is decorated with a horizontal double volute, resembling a flat Ionic or Aeolic capital (e.g., Fig. 34).²⁰⁴ This kind of “base” appears in the ivory decoration of real wooden Type B legs as well as on carved stone funerary *klinai* in Asia Minor and Greece (Fig. 43, Plates 4, 5, 9) and so must have been more common for Type B *klinai* than the vase corpus suggests. Decoration on the broad face at the top of the leg usually takes the form of a rosette, star, or lotus star (“Sternblüte”), composed of pointed buds alternating with elongated triangles (e.g., Figs. 3–4, 35a–b, f–g, 36a, c, e, 56).²⁰⁵ Only one known example has a figural ornament in this location: a lion, on a black-figure pinax in Athens.²⁰⁶ As with Type A *klinai*, the horizontal front rails are sometimes decorated with a series of rosettes, but such embellishment is found more often on Type B than Type A *klinai*, and many other motifs are possible: maeander bands, stars, and swastikas, occurring singly or in various combinations (Fig. 4);²⁰⁷ rosettes spaced at regular intervals (the right couch in Fig. 29),²⁰⁸ separated by vertical bands or small dots (Figs. 10, 34), or alternating with (or clustered with) palmettes, other floral elements, or swastikas (Figs. 3, 28, 36b).²⁰⁹ Figural decoration is less common and often occurs in combination with floral motifs: lions between rosettes (Fig. 38 top), or two lions facing a boar, with intervening floral patterns (Fig. 29 left couch).²¹⁰ In a scene depicting the Ransom of Hektor on a red-figure cup, the front rail of Achilles’ couch is decorated with a lion facing a bull, flanked by snakes (Fig. 39). It is possible that such figural decoration on Greek *kline* rails was inspired by earlier Near Eastern precedents, as suggested by several furniture rails from Nimrud with lion-combat imagery.²¹¹

The tops of Type B *klinai* legs in Greek art often have small rectangular elements that must represent projecting tenons, as on Type A *klinai* (Fig. 3). Occasionally, in place of such a tenon (or surrounding it) is a series of small square or rectangular elements, in a grid-like pattern (e.g., Figs. 34, 36a, Plate 3). This is schematized to a checkerboard pattern or grid of dots by some painters



Figure 38. Symposium scene on an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Epeleios Painter, ca. 500 [B125]. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, inv. Lu 35. *Above*: detail of Side A, symposium scene with Type B *kline*; *below*: Side B, symposium scene with plain couches. (Photo: Andreas F. Voegelin)



Figure 39. Ransom of Hektor on an Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 490 [B214]. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3710. (Photo: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

(e.g., Figs. 29, 36b),²¹² and larger rectangular panels with maze-like designs (concentric or spiraling rectangles) in the same location probably represent further abstractions of the original motif on real, inlaid *klinai* (Figs. 4, 28).²¹³ Painted Macedonian funerary *klinai* and thrones often have a grid of nine rectangular panels in this location (see Fig. 45),²¹⁴ and in one case the middle rectangle appears to protrude like a projecting tenon.²¹⁵ Therefore, it seems likely that the origin of a grid-like design in this location may lie in the incorporation of a projecting tenon within a larger pattern of some sort. The fact that Smikros painted couches with tenons on the legs of the left/foot ends and panels with concentric rectangles on the right/head ends (Fig. 28) supports the view that the rectangular panels or grids in this location are connected with tenons. Whether the surrounding rectangles had a structural role (e.g., additional bosses for structural reinforcement) is uncertain, but by the Macedonian era they certainly offered great decorative potential: the little rectangles

could even carry figural ornament in gold foil on glass, as indicated by actual remains and painted stone versions from tombs at Vergina.²¹⁶

The two ends of the front rails on Type B couches and thrones, near the points of attachment with the legs, often carry a series of horizontally elongated triangles or rays, stacked one on top of the other, creating a zigzag effect sometimes described as a “wolf’s-teeth” or “sawtooth” pattern (e.g., Figs. 3, 28–29, 34, 37, 38 top).²¹⁷ Knigge has suggested that this motif reflects some aspect of the fastening of the frame to the legs—“a practical form adapted to a decorative form.”²¹⁸ The fact that the same motif is sometimes depicted on the rail ends of stools and on the upper parts of stool legs, where they are attached to the rails,²¹⁹ underlines its structural origins, but it is clear from the majority of furniture representations and some physical remains that the primary method of joining legs to rails was mortise-and-tenon. Perhaps this elongated zigzag pattern was meant to recall the lashing of the cords or straps of bed or seat surfaces around the corners of rail frames. But it seems to have been a surface decoration from its initial appearances on *klinai*. On the inlaid *kline* from the South Mound of the Kerameikos (see below), the inner edge of this motif was bordered by a vertical row of round discs resembling the heads of bolts or bosses (Fig. 43), as if the interlocking rays were perceived as part of a panel secured by bosses.²²⁰ Similar vertical rows of dots flank the inner edges of the horizontal-ray pattern on the “Pontic” amphora in New York (Fig. 9), appearing on the front rails of the footstools as well as the *klinai*. These discs and dots seem to represent vertical bosses that could have served to attach some overlaid material on this part of the rail ends, perhaps as reinforcement, or to anchor straps of the corded bed surface, lashed around them for extra support (in which case the zigzag lines would represent the lashed cords). Other patterns or plain rectangles sometimes occur in this location on the rail ends of *klinai* represented in Greek vase painting.²²¹ And on later *klinai* (in Macedonia and at Tarentum), another rectangular element can appear between the far ends of the rail and the ray motif, as if representing another kind of reinforcing panel.²²² It is notable that while the ray motif is found on many Archaic depictions of Type B *klinai* and thrones, it is rare on vases of the Classical period but reemerges as a common element in Macedonian funerary furniture (as does the grid design on the leg tops, discussed above). This suggests that although the motif fell out of the vase-painters’ vocabulary or sphere of concern in the fifth century, it continued to be a standard part of the Type B scheme for real, inlaid couches. This, in turn, makes one wonder how common such luxury couches really were in fifth-century Athens, a question to which we will return at the end of this chapter.

Variants or abbreviations of Type B *klinai* also commonly occur on Greek vases, especially those of the fifth century. Some carry the characteristic volute capital on one end but lack the canonical side cutouts on the legs (Figs. 40a–b, 41).²²³ The legs may be entirely plain, with straight or tapering profile,²²⁴ or they may have rudimentary palmettes or volute eyes recalling the Type B formula.²²⁵ While the latter may be vase-painters’ shorthand for canonical Type B couches, the former is quite common in Attic red-figure vase painting and seems to represent a distinct or variant couch type, classified by Kyrieleis as Type C.²²⁶ Often the volute capitals are indicated only in silhouette, with little or no surface decoration, especially in the work of the Brygos Painter and contemporaries (see Fig. 57 right).²²⁷ The occasional occurrence of volute forms and small palmettes on couches of this type reveals the formal connection between the decorated and undecorated capitals, and both appear

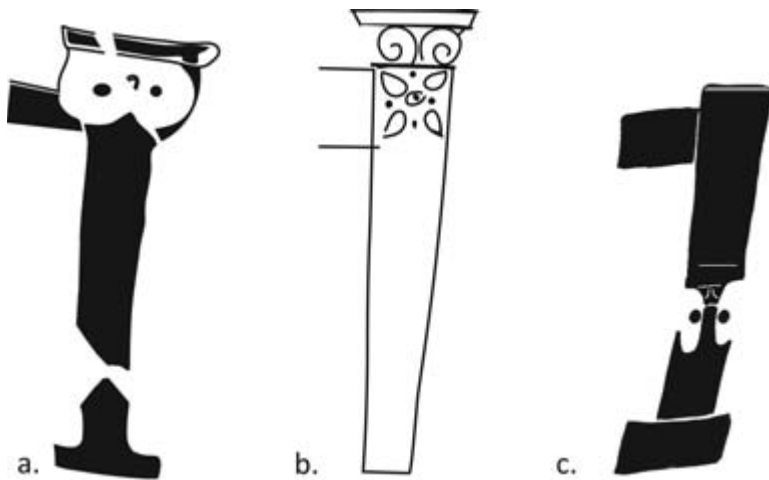


Figure 40. Drawings of Type C and abbreviated Type B couches: (a) Attic black-figure olpe attributed to the Daybreak Painter [B135], Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 12299, after author photo; (b) Attic red-figure pyxis [B314], Paris, Musée du Louvre CA587, after Bérard (1989) fig. 140; (c) Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Madrid Painter [B88], Athens, National Museum CC764, after BAPD image, vase no. 301768. (Drawings a–b by author, c by D. Weiss)



Figure 41. Symposium scene on an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter, ca. 460–450 [B290]. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 62.1.3. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund; photo: Ron Jennings. © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts)

together on a single stamnos in New York (Fig. 42).²²⁸ Alternatively, legs with side cutouts may be depicted with plain, rectangular tops rather than volute capitals (Fig. 40c).²²⁹ Such variation raises the question of whether real *klinai* varied in this way or, more likely, vase-painters differed in their opinions of what elements were necessary to convey the idea of a Type B *kline*. Even a couch with plain legs and plain capital can signal the Type B scheme with the simple addition of volute “eyes” — even when no volutes are delineated.²³⁰

In some of the earliest depictions of *klinai*, especially those that were covered at the top, it is difficult to determine whether the deep indentations on the lower part of the leg are meant to be Type B cutouts with projecting discs at the center or Type A contours with projecting molding on the thin “stem” of the leg (see Fig. 54).²³¹ The two design elements are remarkably similar when reduced to a two-dimensional representation, despite their essential differences in construction (rectangular versus round form). A fragmentary red-figure kalyx krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter clearly demonstrates this similarity, with the optional lower ring on the thinnest part of a Type A leg occupied by two projecting discs recalling the volute-eye center terminals of Type B side cutouts (Fig. 32i). It is possible that for early vase-painters it was not important whether a Type A or Type B couch could be identified by the viewer; rather, what mattered was that the furnishing was easily



Figure 42. Symposium scene on an Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, ca. 470 [B272]. New York, Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Robert B. Woodward, 03.8. (Brooklyn Museum)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

recognizable as an ornate *kline*. Stylistic cross-fertilization from one type to the other also underlines the similarities and coexistence of the two styles. In representations of Type B couches, a strong tapering or concavity on the sides of the legs (e.g., Fig. 36a) may owe something to familiarity with contoured Type A leg profiles.²³² Conversely, canonical Type B decorative motifs on some Type A couches—rosettes or stars in the upper portions of the legs,²³³ or crowning volute capitals²³⁴—surely reflect the popularity of the Type B decorative vocabulary.

Physical Remains

Pieces of ivory, bone, and amber conforming to the Type B decorative scheme have been found in contexts ranging from Athens to Sicily and Germany (Fig. 30). The identification of such fragments as decoration for Type B *klinai* relies mainly on parallels with the artistic representations discussed above. These finds in turn help clarify some questions that emerge from the pictorial evidence regarding proportions, relations of parts, and level of “realism” in the rendering of *kline* decorative schemes, and they help document the diffusion of this distinctive furniture type along trade routes in the Mediterranean (and beyond) in the sixth century as well as the later development of the type.

The earliest physical evidence for the Type B scheme so far known comes from a cult building at Polizzello in central Sicily, dated to the first half of the sixth century.²³⁵ In a deposit along with drinking vessels and other offerings were fragments of ivory and amber ornament characteristic of Type B leg designs, with C-shaped indentations and palmettes above and below (Plate 4). Notable details are an Ionic-style “foot” composed of an incised ivory panel and thin strips of ivory outlining the amber petals of the upper palmette. There is an amber-inlaid disc projecting from the center of each cutout, connected by a pinched amber band; the terminals of the side cutouts are not preserved, but it is likely that they were of the C-shaped rather than the voluted variety, since no further amber disc “eyes” were recovered. The lack of any elements that can be assigned to a volute capital is in keeping with the early date. It is uncertain, however, whether these fragments belonged to a Type B couch or throne.

The earliest Type B remains certainly attributable to *klinai* come from the Kerameikos cemetery of Athens, where Type B *kline* inlays have been identified in four graves, ranging from ca. 560 to 540. The best preserved and best known of these is the primary burial in the tumulus known as the South Mound (HW87), a shaft grave dated ca. 540 (Fig. 43).²³⁶ Along the left side of the body at the bottom of the shaft were numerous ivory plaques and bone and amber inlay pieces in the form of petals, discs, rays of stars, and other decorative elements. Traces of wood were found among these fragments, as well as surrounding the burial in a roughly rectangular formation.²³⁷ The body was evidently laid on a piece of wooden furniture whose single decorated face (the viewing side) was on the deceased’s left side. The inlaid ornament conforms closely to representations of Type B *klinai*: palmettes (with alternating amber and bone petals) on each leg, above and below volute side cutouts with amber eyes, a lotus-star with amber buds and rays at the top of each leg, and a raised volute capital at the head end. Each leg carried an abacus decorated with four rectangular amber panels, with an ivory kymation above (with amber leaves/eggs). As with the Polizzello remains, the palmette petals were outlined with a contrasting material (bone or amber, in alternation), and the legs terminated in an Ionic-style foot (here, with inlaid amber eyes). Elements not paralleled in

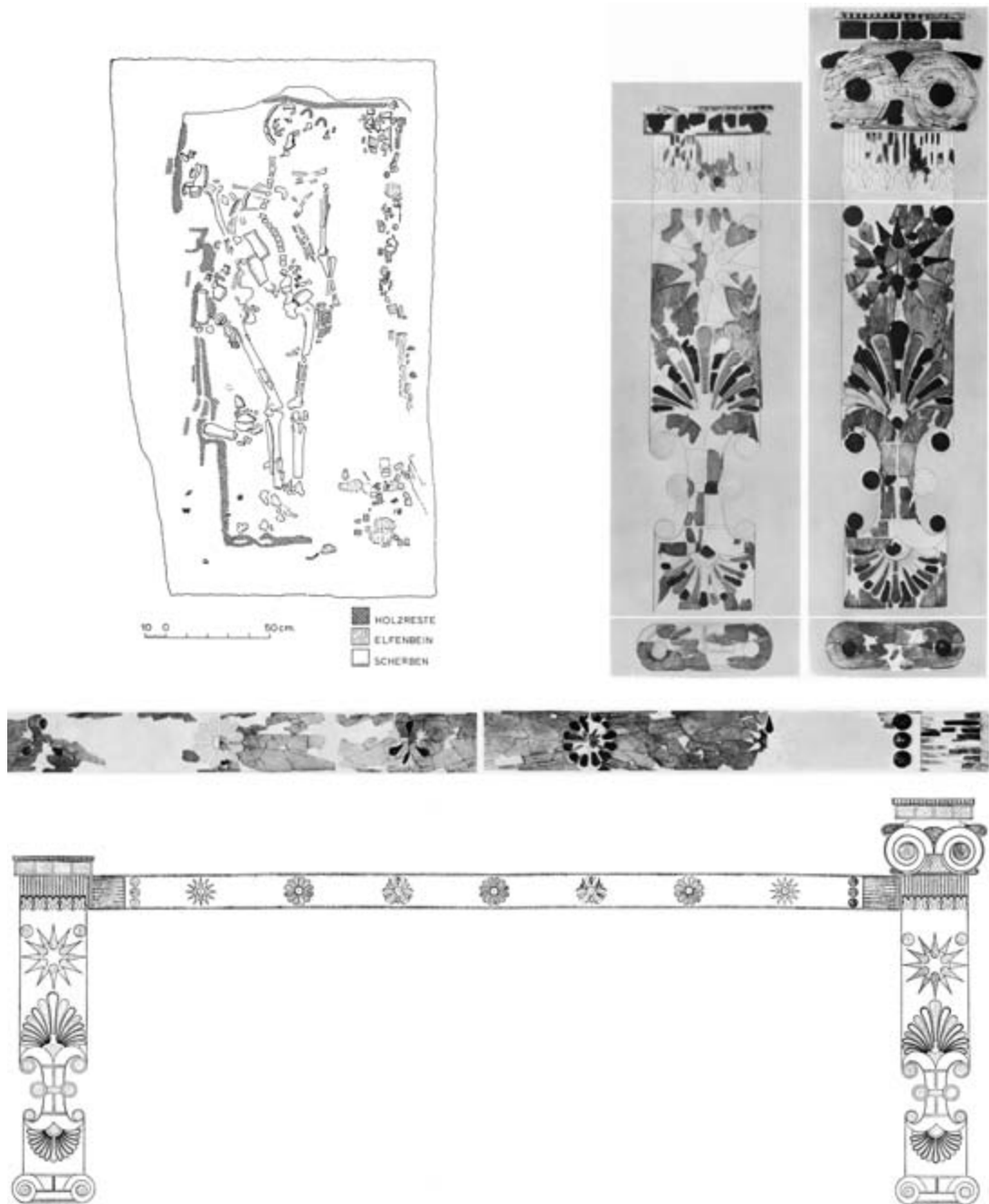


Figure 43. Kerameikos, South Mound, plan of primary shaft grave, ca. 540, with remains of inlaid *kline* (with ivory, bone, and amber pieces and wood remains) and reconstruction of *kline*, Knigge 1976, figs. 21–22, pls. 103, 109. (Reproduced with permission of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens)

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

vase representations of *klinai* are the pendant lotus bud-and-flower frieze and band of thin vertical stripes, assigned to the top of each leg, and the abacus decoration. The front rail was decorated with a series of stars, rosettes, and circular lotus chains, with stacked discs and horizontal rays at each end. The legs appear to have been straight-sided, with nearly vertical sides that taper only slightly from top to bottom.

Three other Archaic graves in the Kerameikos yielded similar inlaid decoration in smaller quantities. In the primary (central) shaft grave in Mound G (ca. 560), ivory and amber palmettes were found at the head and foot end of the burial, on the left side of the body as in the South Mound (Fig. 44).²³⁸ These palmettes were probably inlaid directly into wooden *kline* legs. Two of the shaft graves placed near the perimeter of Mound G in subsequent years yielded amber plaques and discs, in one case again on the buried individual's left side and concentrated near the head, as if remaining from the decoration of a raised capital.²³⁹ The lack of evidence for ivory facing among the Mound G remains highlights the exceptional luxury of the South Mound *kline*. And the lack of any inlaid fragments that can be assigned to a volute capital from the earliest, primary burial in Mound G supports the outline presented above for the development of the Type B scheme, with the addition of the volute capital as a secondary phase.

According to preliminary reports, an ivory- and amber-inlaid *kline* similar to the one from the Kerameikos South Mound was deposited in a “royal” Picenian tomb complex discovered near Numana in the “I Pini” nekropolis of Sirolo, dated to the late sixth century.²⁴⁰ The *kline* was not the burial location but was part of a closely related assemblage in a nearby chamber, along with other items relating to banqueting (vessels, firedogs, spits, etc.).²⁴¹ The presence of a *kline* along with a

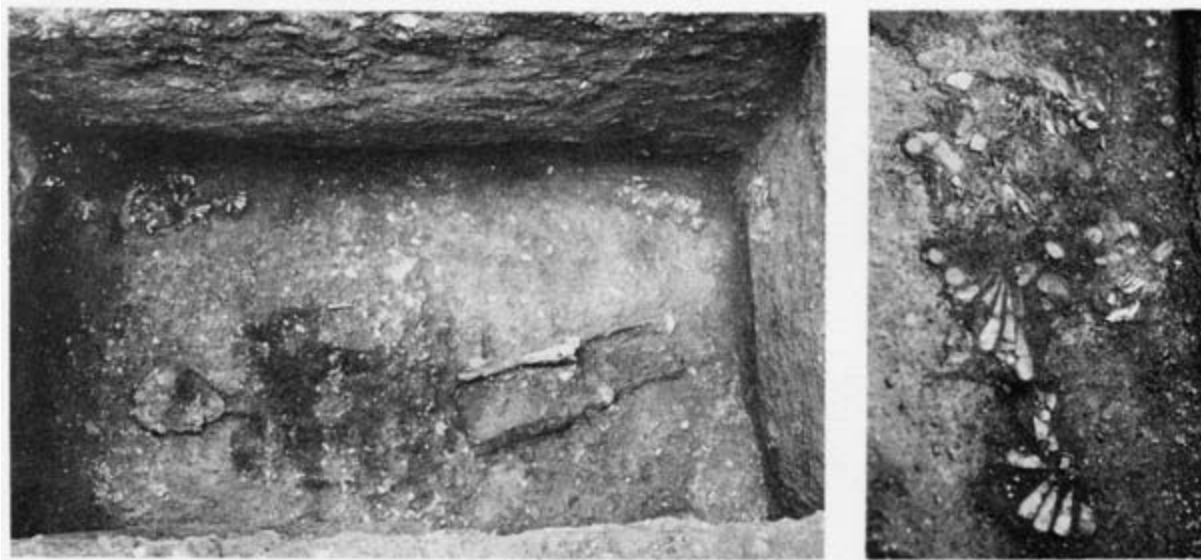


Figure 44. Kerameikos, Mound G, view of burial in primary shaft grave, ca. 560, with detail showing palmette inlays for a Type B *kline*, Kübler 1976, pl. 4.2–3. (Reproduced with permission of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens)

symposion service including Attic vases as well as metal vessels is seen as a strong indicator of Hellenization among the Picenian aristocracy of the period.²⁴²

Burial function is also uncertain for the *kline* identified among the remains of a Late Hallstatt (late sixth-century) tumulus at Asperg (Grafenbühl) in Germany (Plate 5).²⁴³ Small fragments of bone, ivory, and amber conforming closely to the Type B decorative scheme (palmette petals, star points, parts of volutes, etc.) were found in its much-disturbed wooden chamber. The decoration is very similar to that of the South Mound *kline*, with almost identical abacus and similar foot, but a series of amber diamonds and a thin bead-and-reel molding have been assigned to the tops of the legs. The fragments are also smaller than those that decorated the South Mound *kline*. The attribution of the fragments to a *kline* has thus been questioned,²⁴⁴ but the restored height of the leg (0.66 m high, including capital) is in fact *above* the average range for known *klinai* in other media (see above, p. 38). The identification of a *kline* among the Grafenbühl remains has also been questioned on the basis of the diamond-shaped amber inlays. Fischer assigns them to the top of the leg on analogy with a design seen on a Type B throne on an Attic red-figure pelike.²⁴⁵ Jung, in turn, argues that the item was more likely a throne than a couch,²⁴⁶ but the diamond-grid motif is also rare for representations of Type B thrones, and since the decorations of Type B couch and throne legs were evidently so similar and interchangeable, the presence of this motif should not preclude reconstruction as a *kline*. A grid of diamonds may well have been a variation on the more common checkerboard motif in this location. In addition, other items from the tomb suggest a banquet service: cauldron fragments, a tripod stand, and an ivory lion's foot, perhaps for a small table or footstool.²⁴⁷ An imported Greek *kline* would have fit well with this assemblage, expressing a strong message of acculturation with Greek dining fashions. The distribution of the finds and the disturbance of the skeletal remains make it difficult to determine whether the *kline* supported the corpse or was simply placed nearby in the chamber, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the Grafenbühl burial was placed on the *kline*.²⁴⁸ Amber pieces of similar form from two other tombs in the region have also been assigned to *klinai*, but their identification is less certain.²⁴⁹

Other fragments of ivory, bone, and amber from late seventh- and sixth-century contexts have recently been assigned to inlaid wooden *klinai* by Naso, but these were not necessarily of standard Type A or B form. Naso has identified at least five *klinai* from four different tombs in Italy (at Quinto Fiorentino, Cortona, and Castelnuovo Berardenga) as well as the Giglio shipwreck and the Artemision at Ephesos.²⁵⁰ This attribution is questionable for some of the pieces from Ephesos,²⁵¹ but plausible for others (ivory petals, pointed bud-shaped pieces, and elongated triangles), which could belong to palmettes or lotus-stars comparable to those on the South Mound *kline*.²⁵² Of the finds from tombs, all of the late seventh or early sixth century, only the bone fragments from Tomb B of the Poggione nekropolis at Castelnuovo Berardenga conform to known *kline* decorative schemes—including pointed petal- or bud-shaped pieces and a series of pointed rays like those that decorate the rail ends of Type B furniture (or the buds and rays may have alternated in a lotus star or Sternblüte motif).²⁵³ Even so, no evidence rules out the identification of a throne instead of a couch. Small petal-shaped inlays of bone or ivory from the Giglio wreck (ca. 590–580) could have decorated a Type B couch or throne or could possibly be connected with the Type A wooden leg from the same wreck (e.g., as part of the rail decoration), but they could just as well belong to

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

another kind of inlaid wooden object.²⁵⁴ Naso connects these early finds from Italy with a larger, Phoenician-inspired tradition of ivory-encrusted objects in seventh- and early sixth-century Etruria and suggests that this Italic tradition, for *klinai* at least, was augmented (and eventually replaced) by Type A and B varieties originating from Ionia by the middle of the sixth century. The Polizzello fragments would mark the earliest evidence for this transition, and Naso suggests that they belong to a *kline* imported to Sicily from East Greece.²⁵⁵

Glass and ivory fragments from fourth- and third-century tombs in Macedonia and South Russia attest to the persistence of the Type B decorative scheme well beyond the Archaic period and document its stylization and development: palmette leaves become thinner and more stylized and glass begins to be used more frequently than amber, especially for filling the volute “eyes” (Fig. 45, Plate 6).²⁵⁶ Other late developments of the Type B scheme, suggested by representations of inlaid *klinai* and thrones in the painted stone furnishings of Macedonian-style tombs as well as some ivory *kline* fragments, include the elaboration of the volute capital with additional tendrils spiraling inward above the primary volutes, lifting the abacus with an extra flourish and creating a two-stepped volute with leaves projecting on the sides;²⁵⁷ and the addition of a cross-rail around the level of the middle of the legs and a sunken panel filling the space between it and the main rail, providing more surfaces for figural ornament, often Dionysiac in content (Fig. 45).²⁵⁸ As noted above in reference to the horizontal rays at the rail ends and the grid of rectangles at the tops of the legs, painted Macedonian funerary furniture seems to have been closely modeled upon real luxury items.²⁵⁹

Other Couch Types and Related Furnishings

Representations on Attic vases also feature couches with simple rectangular frames and plain (round or rectangular) legs, sometimes with animal feet.²⁶⁰ Turned legs akin to those seen in Geometric art, with a club-shaped profile or with an offset, club-shaped post at the top, are also attested.²⁶¹ This type appears on several kylikes attributed to Douris in connection with a curved armrest or headrest on the right end (Fig. 47).²⁶² A form perhaps more related to chair construction is a chaise-longue type of couch, essentially a chair with flared back and elongated seat. This type is seen on black- as well as red-figure vases and is a particular favorite of Late Archaic cup-painters (Fig. 46; see also Fig. 38 bottom).²⁶³

It is unclear whether these other couch types were also referred to by the term *kline* or by related terms found in textual sources, such as *klinis*, *klinidion*, *klinter*, and *klinterion*. Nor do we know how these related furnishings compared with *klinai*, physically and functionally.²⁶⁴ Diminutive forms (*klinidion* and *klinterion*) probably reflect smaller size or lighter construction.²⁶⁵ *Klinter* is more ambiguous. A fourth-century inscription from Chorsiai listing the sacred property of Thespiiai records five *klinai* and fifty *klinteres*, along with an assortment of serving dishes and utensils.²⁶⁶ Pritchett proposes that *klinter* referred to the chaise-longue type of couch,²⁶⁷ but Tomlinson suggests that it may have been a smaller or lighter piece of furniture and that the *kline* perhaps occupied the “place of honour” in each dining room, to the right of the doorway.²⁶⁸ Either reading would imply that Thespiiai had quite a large *hestiatorion*, with five dining rooms equipped with eleven couches each, but Tomlinson himself notes that the vessels and utensils listed in the same inscription would not be sufficient to equip five rooms.²⁶⁹ Andrianou reiterates Pritchett’s point that most of the literary

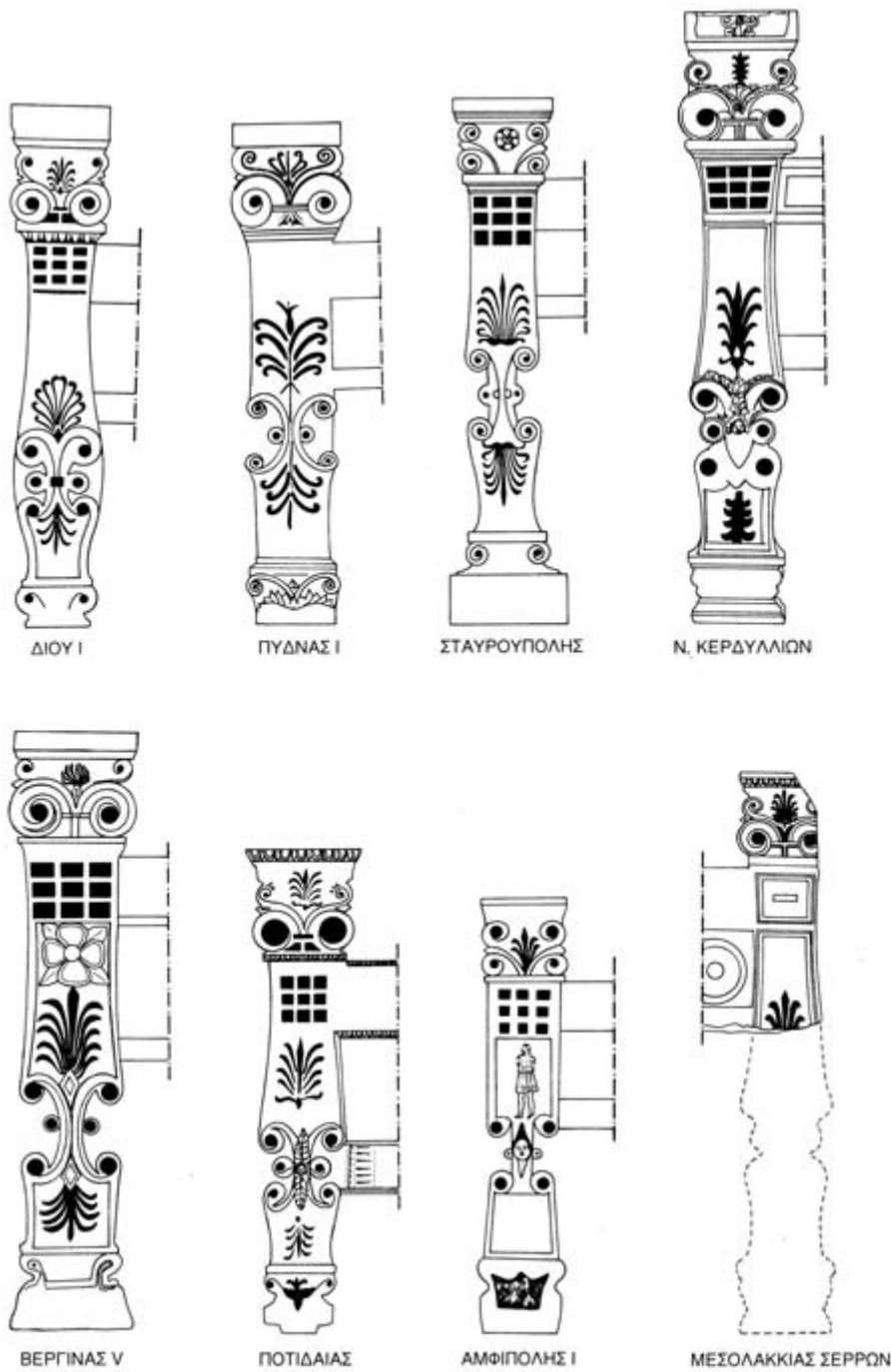


Figure 45. Drawings of Macedonian funerary *klinai*, fourth–third century, Sismanidis 1997, fig. 4. (Reproduced with permission of K. Sismanidis and the Sixteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Thessaloniki)



Figure 46. Symposium scene on an Attic red-figure kylix signed by Epiktetos, ca. 520–500 [B118]. London, British Museum E38 (1892,0518.1). (© Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 47. Symposium scene on an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris, ca. 485–480 [B251]. London, British Museum E49 (1843,1103.15). (© Trustees of the British Museum)

occurrences of this word “suggest that a κλιντήρ is an article of furniture for women” but implicitly acknowledges its ambiguity by including the word in lists of both seat and couch types.²⁷⁰ The fact that Plutarch called the “bed” of Prokrustes a *klinter* supports reading the term as a type of couch or bed rather than a seat and also suggests that it may have been lighter or of more traditional construction than the standard *klinai* because Greek artists often depicted the bed of Prokrustes as a simple frame or lounge-chair (Fig. 18).²⁷¹

Other terms mentioned only in epigraphic sources (sanctuary inventories) are *hemiklinon* and

klinteriskos. The first, a “half-*kline*,” could refer to a *kline* stored in two pieces,²⁷² or possibly to a *kline* roughly half as long as standard *klinai*.²⁷³ A *klinteriskos* could be equivalent to *klinterion* and therefore a small *klinter*. An ivory *klinteriskos* listed in an inventory from the Heraion of Samos is described as “not the same one that Maiandrios, the son of Charops, dedicated”; this places the type (and its embellishment with ivory) sometime prior to 346/5.²⁷⁴

Early *Fulcra*?

Various couch types represented on Greek vases (all but Types B and C) occasionally have straight or curved head-, back-, or armrests flaring out above one or both ends. These are generally understood to be predecessors of Hellenistic and Roman *fulcra*,²⁷⁵ but three different types can be distinguished: everted or flaring chairbacks; concave, solid curved armrests; and L-shaped pieces with scrolled or spiraling terminals on each end, similar to Hellenistic and Roman *fulcra*. The first type occurs on the lounge-chair style of couch in connection with animal-footed or plain, thin legs, from as early as the mid-sixth century (e.g., Figs. 18, 38 bottom).²⁷⁶ From the rare depictions of such couches from the side, it is clear that a horizontal slat of some kind spans the top of the “chair”-back but the space below is open (Fig. 46).²⁷⁷ In some cases a tenon or joint is indicated at the level of the rail, where the leg and headpiece must have been secured (Fig. 46).²⁷⁸ This type never occurs on both ends of a couch. Similar angled headboards are seen on some beds depicted in Near Eastern art,²⁷⁹ and the idea of extending the legs on one side of a bed to create a raised panel is found also in Nubian and Egyptian furniture (though there the boards are solid, more vertical, and located on the foot end, as is made clear when the bed is occupied or shown with a headrest at the other end).²⁸⁰

The concave, curved armrests are also found only on one end (the right) but appear to have been solidly constructed, enclosing the cushions and coverlets at the right end of the couch, as side views indicate (Fig. 47).²⁸¹ The raised armrest begins not above the right leg (as an extension of it) but further toward the middle of the couch, so that its upper/outer limit (and arm-resting surface) is supported by the leg. These are especially common in the work of Douris and his contemporaries and are always found in connection with thin legs with offset, club-shaped tops, as noted above.²⁸² The concave profile of this type of armrest recalls the in-curved headpieces of Assyrian couches and beds (see Figs. 133, 139–41), but the relationship of curved piece to the rest of the couch is different, and the leg type, at least, appears to have derived from Greek Geometric furniture styles.²⁸³

Flaring L-shaped armrests that are comparable to later *fulcra*, with spiraling terminals on each end, are common by the end of the fifth century in depictions of Type A *klinai* and are especially popular on South Italian vases of the fourth century.²⁸⁴ Like most later *fulcra*, they are normally shown on both ends of a couch.²⁸⁵ The earliest certain examples occur in the third quarter of the fifth century, in the work of the Washing Painter and Aison (Fig. 19, and see Fig. 50).²⁸⁶ One of the couches in the symposium scene on the sarcophagus from Golgoi (ca. 475–460, Fig. 48) may show an early form, with only the everted top half of the “L” on each end, though the one on the left end is somewhat smaller than that on the right.²⁸⁷ A three-quarter-perspective rendering on a red-figure chous attributed to the Eretria Painter confirms that the L-shaped pieces were connected at the top by a cross-rail or slat and that the space below was open (Fig. 49). Thus, while these early *fulcra* are similar in profile to the concave armrests favored by Douris, they are essentially different in



Figure 48. Cypriot limestone sarcophagus from Golgoi with symposium scene, ca. 475–460. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.2451). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

structure. They differ, also, from the “chairbacks” of the chaise-longue type of couch, which extend the line of the leg, in that they seem to be added to the top of the couch. Andrianou notes that the earliest depictions suggest that *fulcra* were “independent component[s],” capable of being added or removed like later examples.²⁸⁸ If such an element is what is meant by the term ἐπίκλιντρον, the earliest textual attestations would also be from the late fifth century: the inventory of property confiscated from Alkibiades and friends in 415/414,²⁸⁹ and a passage in Aristophanes’ *Ekklesiazousai* (906–10), where we learn how easily one “could be dislodged from the bed in a moment of passion.”²⁹⁰

Klinai Amphikephaloi

It is not exactly clear what is meant by the term κλῖναι ἀμφικέφαλοι, mentioned by ancient lexicographers and attested epigraphically.²⁹¹ These must be *klinai* with “heads” on both ends, but what type were they? The lexicographers define *amphikephalos* as a *kline* having an *anaklintron* (or *anaklisis*) on both ends.²⁹² If *anaklintron* was another word for *epiklintron*, as Pritchett once suggested,²⁹³ then this would have to be a movable headrest such as a *fulcrum*, and an *amphikephalos* would then be a couch with two *fulcra*.²⁹⁴ But ancient lexicographers were of course working at quite a remove from Archaic and Classical Greece, at a time when *fulcra* were no longer fashionable even for Roman couches. And in fact, *klinai* with two “heads” (or, rather, with no primary head end distinguished)



Figure 49. Symposion scene on an Attic red-figure chous attributed to the Eretria Painter, ca. 440–415 [B328]. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 15308. (© Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Tourism / Archaeological Receipts Fund)

are visually attested for both the Type A and the Type B scheme. As outlined above, Type B *klinai* usually have only one raised capital (typically on the right end). But occasional exceptions, with two volute capitals of equal height and elaboration, are found in Attic vase painting, and their contexts are usually related to couples: marriage beds or couches for other pairs, such as the infants Herakles and Iphikles or the Dioskouroi.²⁹⁵ When *fulcra* began to appear on Type A couches in the second half of the fifth century, they were usually featured on both ends, on couches associated with couples or marriage.²⁹⁶ It has therefore been suggested that couches with two head ends were “reserved for couples,”²⁹⁷ but both “amphikephalic” types can also occur in other contexts: as a *prothesis-kline*, occupied by a single corpse,²⁹⁸ or in more typical sympotic scenes;²⁹⁹ and even the bed of Prokrustes (hardly romantic) may be conceived as an “amphikephalic” couch with two



Figure 50. Detail of Attic red-figure kylix by Aison, ca. 435–425, showing Theseus and Prokrustes [B325]. Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 11265. (Archivo del Museo Arqueológico Nacional)

fulcra (Fig. 50). When Achilles sulks on a couch with two *fulcra* in a scene of Hektor's ransom on an Apulian volute krater, should we read it as an allusion to his longing for Patroklos?³⁰⁰ More probably, this type had become the luxury couch par excellence by this time, regardless of context, and so would have been an obvious choice for a painter wanting to imbue a scene with luxurious details.³⁰¹ Amphikephalic *klinai* are a special concern for this study because couches with two equally raised ends are especially common among stone funerary *klinai* of Lydia and Macedonia,³⁰² and possible explanations for this tendency in tomb contexts (such as axial symmetry and double occupancy) will be considered in Chapter 2.

Persian Turnings

Another development of the Type A scheme was the incorporation of Persian-style turnings and a bell-shaped element in the leg profile.³⁰³ Along with the characteristic *fulcra*, these features became hallmarks of the Hellenistic and Roman luxury *lectus*. Achaemenid Persian furniture legs, as seen on thrones and throne platforms in the reliefs decorating the palace at Persepolis and the royal tombs at nearby Naqsh-e Rostam, had closely stacked torus moldings or turnings at the top, over a lion's foot that in turn sat atop a downturned leaf crown and one or more additional tori (Fig. 21).³⁰⁴ The individual elements (leaf crown, lion's paw, and torus moldings) have precedents in Assyrian and Urartian furniture, but their combination in this arrangement is typically Achaemenid.³⁰⁵ Few representations of couches are known from the Persian heartland, but couches with multiple turnings are found in Achaemenid-era art of the western satrapies (see Fig. 118),³⁰⁶ and real specimens of couch legs with Achaemenid-style turnings and hanging leaf crowns have been found in Macedonian graves.³⁰⁷ The earliest known evidence for the fusion of Achaemenid features with the Greek Type A leg scheme comes from the Dedetepe tumulus in the Troad (Cat. 61), not on the *klinai* but in the remains of wooden table legs found beside them: one of the legs appears to have been of standard Achaemenid type, with three tori above a lion's paw resting on a leaf crown, while another has a Type A profile, with the addition of a hanging leaf wreath above the foot (Fig. 51).³⁰⁸ A similar downturned leaf molding adorns the lower leg of a Type A couch on a lekythos, attributed to the Eretria Painter, showing the funeral of Patroklos (Plate 7). Around the same time, multiple thin disc



Figure 51. Table or stool legs from Dedetepe (Cat. 61), wood, Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 1998, figs. 10–12. (Reproduced with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

moldings appeared on the legs of some Type A *prothesis-klinai* on Attic white-ground lekythoi.³⁰⁹ Persian features became more common in Greek furniture over the course of the fourth century,³¹⁰ and the hanging leaf crown eventually evolved into the downturned bell-shaped element typical for Hellenistic and Roman bronze and ivory couch legs, which usually have multiple turnings of various sizes (see Plate 2).³¹¹

Sphingopodes Klinai

In some Hellenistic furniture representations, the lion's paw that typically appears on Persian throne-platform legs between the turnings and the leaf crown is replaced with a crouching sphinx (e.g., Fig. 51).³¹² “Σφιγγόποδες κλῖναι” mentioned in Hellenistic sources may refer to

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

couches with such embellishment, though visual evidence for this type of furniture leg is more common for thrones and chairs than for couches.³¹³ Andrianou has proposed that this type of *kline* may have developed in connection with Egyptian cult, since the epigraphic attestations all come from the Sarapeion on Delos and the one literary reference occurs in a description of Ptolemy II's grand banquet at Alexandria.³¹⁴ It is also possible that the term *sphingopous* may refer to a furniture leg with a sphinx figure incorporated in other ways. Furniture supports in the shape of sphinxes, rather than legs decorated with sphinxes, have a long history in the Near East, often associated with royalty. In Near Eastern sphinx thrones (e.g., Fig. 53), the sphinx commonly constitutes the whole of the side support, rather than serving a subsidiary role as *part* of a furniture leg.³¹⁵ The sphinxes carved out of upright slabs that served as supports for the funerary *kline* in the tumulus at Harta in Lydia (Cat. 36, Fig. 85) and another from Sardis in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Fig. 86) seem to belong to this Near Eastern tradition. There are no parallels for this kind of sphinx support in Greek vase painting, though sphinxes do occasionally appear beneath thrones or stools, supporting the seat but subsidiary to standard legs, or on the side, as if in openwork relief between a stretcher and the throne seat.³¹⁶ Hellenistic representations of thrones with solid sides, the front parts of which are composed of sphinx figures, offer closer parallels to Near Eastern and Lydian sphinx supports,³¹⁷ and legs formed by sphinxes or other felines are also known from the western Mediterranean.³¹⁸ It is difficult to determine which type of sphinx leg, then, is meant by the term *sphingopous*, and it is conceivable that the term could have been applied both to couches with full sphinx supports and to those with legs decorated with sphinxes.³¹⁹ The fact that, according to the visual record, sphinxes incorporated into furniture legs were not on the foot but either were higher up or made up the whole leg offers support for interpreting other *-pous* compounds as descriptors of furniture *legs*, rather than strictly the feet.



Figure 52. Throne leg with Persian-style turnings and sphinx element on grave stele from Thasos, third century. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 380. (Photos by author, used with permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum)



Figure 53. Detail of sphinx throne on sarcophagus of King Ahirom from Byblos, limestone, tenth century. National Museum, Beirut. (Photo: Gianni Dagli Orti / The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY)

Origins of the Type A and B Schemes: Milesian and Chian?

The *klinai* listed in the Parthenon inventories of the late fifth century are distinguished by two adjectives: Μιλησιουργής and Χιουργής (“Milesian-made” and “Chian-made”).³²⁰ The same adjectives were used by the fifth-century author Kritias to describe *klinai* in a list of furnishings quoted by Athenaios.³²¹ Kritias also noted that Miletos and Chios were known for the fine quality of their “marriage beds.”³²² *Milesiourgeis klinai* were also among the goods confiscated from the estate of Alkibiades and others after the affair of the herms in 415/4.³²³ Since an adjective indicating place of origin was enough to distinguish these couches, we can assume that these two types were easily recognizable from their outward/visual characteristics.³²⁴ The adjectives need not have literally indicated the place of manufacture but could have signified styles associated with certain places, like “Adirondack chairs” today.³²⁵ Did the two main types of *klinai* visually attested in the sixth and fifth centuries correspond to the types known as Milesian- and Chian-made in the late fifth century, and did the Type A and B schemes thus originate in these Ionian cities? If so, which is which? These questions are not easily answered. Before considering the arguments for and against associating one type or another with Miletos or Chios, we must first examine the stylistic affinities of the distinctive aspects of each scheme in order to consider whether an origin in eastern Greece is plausible in the first place.

Concerning the origins of the Type A style, there have been two main schools of thought. One holds that the couches with turned legs in the earliest Greek banqueting scenes in the late seventh century evolved from the beds with high, contoured legs seen on Geometric vases.³²⁶ This supposed

ancestry lies implicitly behind Boardman's use of the word "*klinai*" for the *prothesis*-beds in Geometric art; he also finds their remarkable height comparable to both later *klinai* and Near Eastern couches.³²⁷ It is difficult to draw conclusions about the appearance of real beds in the Geometric period from conventional and schematic vase paintings (e.g., Fig. 17).³²⁸ The leg profiles in vase depictions, though sometimes rendered with the sharp angles typical of the Geometric style, often swell toward the top or in the middle, as if shaped with a lathe.³²⁹ The question of when the lathe was invented and when lathe technology reached Greece is itself controversial, but there is a general consensus that it was known in the Mediterranean at least as early as the seventh century, when Type A legs first appear in Greek art.³³⁰ Whether it was already in use in Greece in the Geometric period is less certain. Beds and chairs are sometimes described as "turned" (δινωτός) in Homeric poetry, but the meaning of this term is not always clear, and furnishings described this way are otherwise special (Paris's bed, Penelope's chair decorated with ivory and silver) and perhaps conceived of as rare luxury items.³³¹ Moreover, a surviving wooden furniture leg from Samos reveals that one of the most common Geometric profiles (Kyrieleis's Form I, with a rounded, club-shaped top offset from the rest of the leg by an indentation) could have been achieved even with plank-like legs, cut in silhouette.³³² Even if Geometric beds had turned legs, Type A *klinai* did not necessarily evolve from them. The turnings on Geometric beds usually focus on the top of the leg, where they swell into a rounded or triangular top, sometimes offset from the rest of the leg by an indentation or carinated molding.³³³ As Kyrieleis has noted, this style of leg seems to be the direct ancestor of a style with offset, club-shaped top that continues into the Archaic and Classical periods, especially on stools but sometimes also on couches of lighter construction with a raised back.³³⁴ The Type A scheme, on the other hand, is defined by a swelling in the middle of the leg and an indented lower section.³³⁵ Even the few Geometric beds with swellings in the middle of the leg profile (e.g., Fig. 17d) may be seen as elongated versions of the type with offset top rather than precursors of the Type A scheme.³³⁶

The other school of thought sees Type A as a new, fundamentally different style that emerged in connection with the fashion of the reclining banquet and the institution of the symposion, perhaps inspired by Near Eastern furniture. Although it is difficult to find precedents or corollaries for Type A legs in Near Eastern art, where couch legs have hanging-leaf crowns and conical feet, Kyrieleis presents a case for a gradual development from these distinct Assyrian types, based on the continuity of several fundamental design principles (solid base/foot, a middle swelling, and funnel-shaped shafts).³³⁷ His transitional example—what he calls the earliest Type A leg represented in Greece (on a Cretan bronze "mitra" from Olympia)—resembles the developed Type A form only in the swelling at mid-height; the downturned bell-shaped element above its indented foot is reminiscent of the hanging leaf wreath of Urartian and Assyrian furniture legs.³³⁸ But the distinctive curved headboards of Assyrian couches are not found in the earliest representations of Greek Type A couches, and even when curved or angled headboards do begin to appear on Type A couches, in the fifth century, they are essentially different in form.³³⁹ The swelling at mid-height is, however, paralleled in some representations of furniture legs in Urartian art,³⁴⁰ and indented feet are found in representations of couches on Cypro-Phoenician bowls and on other metalwork from Crete (see Figs. 134, 137–38).³⁴¹ Close precedents for Type A furniture legs are also found in eighth-century Phrygia: round wooden stool legs from the northeast corner of Tumulus MM at

Gordion, the so-called Tomb of Midas, have an overall taper from top to bottom, with a slight flare toward the foot and a ring molding at the waist.³⁴² And the hourglass concavity characteristic of the Type A profile was used for furniture legs already in the Bronze Age Near East.³⁴³ So the Type A scheme that emerged in Greece by the end of the seventh century seems to have drawn more upon Near Eastern than earlier Greek precedents, and its earliest traces are found in Ionia (Fig. 33). An East Greek origin for Type A *klinai* would make sense, since Ionia was both receptive to eastern fashions and influential in the emergence of sympotic culture. The early occurrence of a Type A furniture leg in an Etruscan shipwreck would also suggest an origin in a place with ties to Etruria, for which Ionia is again a good candidate.

The Type B scheme is more obviously a creation of the Archaic aesthetic, and it offers details that can be more closely linked with the East Greek world. Kyrieleis draws comparisons between the rhythm of its rather illogical leg profile and the principles of antithesis and contrast in Archaic art and concludes that the side cutout as a principle of structure is a purely Greek concept, not connected with Near Eastern models.³⁴⁴ Certain elements of Type B ornament do have Near Eastern roots, but they are applied in different ways. Double volutes with palmettes sprouting up at the top derive ultimately from the Near East, but on Syro-Phoenician ivory furniture inlays they are usually shown singly or stacked in succession in tree-like schemes rather than addorsed or opposed, as on Type B *kline* legs.³⁴⁵ And on Near Eastern furniture inlays, these elements usually fill rectangular panels,³⁴⁶ whereas on Type B *klinai* the volute forms themselves define the (indented) exterior contour of the legs. A few examples of “cutout” ivory reliefs with voluted “sacred tree” motifs from Late Bronze Age Ugarit (Ras Shamra) and Megiddo are comparable, most notably the framing reliefs of the ivory headboard (or footboard) of a bed from Ugarit (see Fig. 142).³⁴⁷ Even when Near Eastern volutes are addorsed or opposed rather than stacked, one set of volutes is usually smaller than or subsidiary to another.³⁴⁸ For symmetrically addorsed double volutes, the closest parallels are the volute bundles that often decorated stretchers of Urartian and Assyrian thrones and stools.³⁴⁹ Here, though, the resemblance is a formal one only, since the location, orientation, and function of the furniture parts decorated with this motif differ. In addition, the motif of symmetrical back-to-back double volutes existed in Orientalizing Greek pottery ornament well before its appearance on Type B *klinai* in the sixth century and continued to occur in a variety of contexts, from shield ornament to thunderbolts.³⁵⁰ The lotus-star that often decorates the top of Type B legs, on the other hand, is an Archaic Greek motif with no known parallels in Near Eastern art. Knigge finds the closest analogues in East Greek Vroulian ware and in architectural terracottas of western Asia Minor.³⁵¹

The Aeolic-style volutes of Type B leg capitals have often been compared to those in architectural contexts, despite some structural and formal differences. The relatively late addition of the raised capital to the Type B scheme, as outlined above, makes it more likely that architectural forms inspired furniture-makers, rather than the other way around. While Betancourt stresses the differences between architectural Aeolic capitals and those on furniture and argues that in furniture the “paired volute” plays a “nonsupporting role,”³⁵² it is important to note that when it enters the Type B scheme, it *does* act as a structural member, supporting the raised arm- or headrest. It is likely that this addition to the Type B scheme took place in an area where furniture-makers would have been familiar with Aeolic-style volutes in architecture: in the eastern Aegean or western Asia Minor.

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

In addition, the areas in which the physical remains of Type B *klinai* have been identified in sixth-century contexts are also ones in which East Greek material has been found.³⁵³ Numana, for instance, was a center for Adriatic trade and has yielded East Greek imports.³⁵⁴ And the East Greek character of the finds of the primary burial in the South Mound of the Athenian Kerameikos, which contained the most complete Type B *kline* known, was so pronounced—with almost exclusively East Greek or Lydian pottery (lydia and Samian lekythoi)—that its occupant has even been identified as a person of East Greek origin.³⁵⁵

Both the Type A and the Type B furniture styles, then, may be plausibly traced to the East Greek world. Although East Greece offers neither the earliest pictorial representations nor the earliest physical evidence for either type, its prominent position in the development of the symposion and the transmission of the custom of the reclining banquet, as suggested by literary sources,³⁵⁶ gives further support for localizing the origins of these distinctive and specialized *kline* types in this region. But can either type be linked with Miletos or Chios? Scholars have debated this question for over a century. Rayet was the first to suggest that rectangular legs were associated with Miletos, while turned legs were a Chian specialty.³⁵⁷ Ransom proposed that Type B *klinai* should rather be associated with Athens, owing to their frequent depiction in Athenian vase painting.³⁵⁸ Conceding, however, that the apparent popularity of Type B couches in sixth-century Attica coincided nicely with a period of flourishing trade contacts for Miletos, she deemed Rayet's supposition "plausible but not indisputable."³⁵⁹ Watzinger found additional support for the Milesian theory in the ivory Type B volute capitals from Kul Oba in South Russia, an area of Milesian colonization (Plate 6).³⁶⁰ Though he assigned the pieces to a sarcophagus rather than a *kline*, he noted their striking parallels with Type B *kline* decoration. Others have proposed an origin for the Kul Oba material in western Asia Minor, on other grounds.³⁶¹ Knigge, in her publication of the South Mound *kline*, reviewed the issue and tentatively followed Rayet's original classification.³⁶² The prominent role of amber in the decorative scheme of inlaid Type B *klinai* (as volute eyes, palmette petals, etc.) strengthens the possibility of a connection with Miletos, which had a strong colonial presence in the Black Sea, one of the points of entry for Baltic amber to Mediterranean trade networks.³⁶³ And Naso has recently suggested that Miletos played an important role in the diffusion of the Type B furniture style to both the Black Sea and the western Mediterranean.³⁶⁴

Two textual details complicate a Milesian identification for the Type B scheme but do not solve the matter conclusively. First is the mention by Kritias of a "Milesian-made *diphros*" along with Milesian- and Chian-made *klinai*.³⁶⁵ Type B legs in Greek art usually support couches and thrones, not stools, while Type A legs are nearly as common for stools as they are for couches.³⁶⁶ But, as with most norms in Greek art, exceptions can be found. The interior of a red-figure cup attributed to Onesimos, for instance, shows Amphitrite seated on a backless seat with Type B legs.³⁶⁷ Could Amphitrite's seat be considered a *diphros*? Or has the painter simply neglected to indicate the back of her throne behind her veiled arm? The second complicating detail occurs on one of the Attic Stelai recording the goods confiscated after the affair of the herms: the inventory of Alkibiades' property includes a κλίβε Μιλεσιουργὲς ἀμφικέφα[λος].³⁶⁸ Therefore, a "Milesian *kline*" must have been a type that could be amphikephalic, and in the late fifth century this was most likely to be a Type A couch with newly fashionable *fulcra*.³⁶⁹ But, as noted above, Type B

couches sometimes had a raised capital on each end and so may also have been considered “amphikephalic.”

As for associating Type A couches with either location, Studniczka connected the sphinx elements sometimes incorporated into turned throne legs (see above) with the prominence of sphinx imagery on Chian products (coins and stamped amphora handles) and suggested that σφιγγόποδες κλῖναι may have been synonymous with, or a particular variety of, “Chian-made” couches.³⁷⁰ If this is true, then the turned (i.e., Type A) variety would be the Chian type, while the Type B variety would be Milesian. The most recent considerations of the matter have refrained from making definitive judgments: Naso reports simply that Rayet’s distinction has not been accepted in subsequent studies,³⁷¹ while Andrianou concludes that it is “impossible to say with certainty whether these adjectives refer to the location of the beds’ production, to their style, or to the origin of their artists.”³⁷² Whatever the case, the association of *both* major *kline* types with the East Greek world provides compelling evidence that these furniture forms first developed in the eastern Aegean region.

Context and Coexistence

Just as epigraphic evidence attests to the coexistence of “Chian” and “Milesian” couches in sanctuary inventories, Type A and Type B couches are sometimes shown together in the same representational contexts or are juxtaposed on different zones of a vase. This raises the questions of whether couch type carried any special significance in terms of wealth, status, or use-context and to what extent the types were interchangeable. Both begin to be depicted in Greek art around the beginning of the sixth century and continue to appear through the fourth century, but their relative frequencies vary, and this variance may have some implications for the popularity (actual or imagined) of these types.

Instances of Type A and B couches together in the same pictorial space are rare but do occur. Two examples from the early fifth century are a remarkable Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos in northern Greece and a sarcophagus from Golgoi on Cyprus (Figs. 10, 48).³⁷³ In both cases the context is sympotic, and it is difficult to determine whether the variation was meant to enliven the scene or carried some meaning. It is notable that on the Klazomenian sarcophagus the Type A couch is considerably lower than the three other couches, which are all Type B. Does this mean that Type A couches were typically lower than Type B couches, or was the painter trying to create a spatial illusion of some sort? The symposiasts who occupy the Type A couch appear to be depicted partly from behind, so it is possible that the painter meant to depict a space in which participants were facing in different directions, as they would in a real andron. The Type A couch on the Golgoi sarcophagus has a lower rail than the Type B couches surrounding it, but the mattress is thicker, so the figures reclining and seated on it appear at the same level as the other symposiasts. The variation in type on the Golgoi sarcophagus seems to be more for its own sake, since even couches of the same type (the three Type B couches) all differ slightly from one another. It is as if each symposiast or couple has been given an equally ornate but unique couch.

An earlier case of Type A and B couches coinciding in the same visual context is found on a black-figure dinos attributed to the Atalante Group (ca. 550) where seven couches (corresponding with the canonical number of *klinai* in an andron) are shown in a continuous band around the



Figure 54. Symposium scene on an Attic black-figure dinos attributed to the Atalante Group, ca. 550 [B61]. London, British Museum B46 (1867.0508.956). (© Trustees of the British Museum)

exterior (Fig. 54). Five are of the Type B variety, with C-shaped cutouts and small projecting discs in the centers of the indentations, while another has plain legs. The other is a Type A *kline* with relatively thin legs and three moldings (as opposed to the usual one) on the thinnest, indented section. The two occupants of this couch are distinguished from the others by holding a kantharos and phiale, while the other pairs hold rhyta or phialai (or, in one case, one sings while other plays the aulos). Was the Type A couch therefore meant to identify the seat of honor in this symposium? Because the pictorial space is a continuous band with no beginning or end, we cannot say that the Type A couch was at the far “right” of the scene, where the couch of honor would have been located, but it is clear that the painter wanted to distinguish this particular couch in some way.

What is surprising on the Atalante Group dinos is that it is the Type A couch that is singled out in this way. It has often been assumed that the inlaid Type B style was more closely associated with wealth and luxury than the Type A style, which could be achieved entirely in wood. A slight decline in Attic representations of Type B couches in the early part of the fifth century was noted by early scholars and attributed either to a shift in taste away from Archaic luxury, perhaps under Spartan influence,³⁷⁴ or to a shift from ornate mythological subjects toward “daily-life” scenes, with simpler furnishings.³⁷⁵ It is now, of course, understood that even the “genre” scenes of the fifth century were not faithful renderings of contemporary life in Athens, and we cannot glean information about actual furniture use from vase paintings, but the relative frequencies of the different types

still may carry some significance. The most pronounced shift occurs in funerary art: while Archaic *prothesis* scenes normally involve ornately decorated Type B *klinai* (e.g., Figs. 6, 35a–d, 36b–d),³⁷⁶ the white lekythoi of the fifth century almost invariably show *protheseis* on couches with turned legs (e.g., Fig. 5). Can the preponderance of Type A couches on white-ground lekythoi perhaps be connected with the Keos inscription, which prescribed the use of “wedge-footed” (σφηνόποδες) *klinai* in funerary rites?³⁷⁷ The only known exceptions to the trend of showing Type A couches in white-ground *protheseis* involve composite couches that have volute capitals over Type A legs.³⁷⁸ Perhaps this novel combination was a way to retain the luxury of Type B ornament while still abiding by sumptuary regulations. But it is not certain that *sphenopodes klinai* were in fact Type A couches, and *prothesis* scenes on red-figure loutrophoroi of the fifth century continued to feature Type B *klinai* (Figs. 36c–d), or the simpler Type C variant.³⁷⁹

In fact, Type B *klinai* never disappeared from the furniture repertoire of Greek vase-painters, and the Type C variant (with volute capital over plain leg) is the most common type represented on fifth-century vases. The popularity of Type C couches may reflect a move toward simplification, whether on real couches or for the purposes of representation. But the fact that the same painters who depicted Type C couches also occasionally painted Type B *klinai* or couches of other types seems to indicate that their frequency cannot entirely be explained by pictorial abbreviation. Why, then, did some painters choose to depict different couch types at different times or even on different parts of the same vase?

One explanation could be change in stylistic preference over time, whether for the painter or for users of actual *klinai* in the world around him. Douris, for instance, seems to have favored the type with club-shaped finials on the legs and curved, concave armrest (Fig. 47) during his Middle Period, but Type C couches with volute capitals and plain legs in his Late Period.³⁸⁰ But his work overall shows a remarkable variety and versatility: of twenty-eight symposion scenes attributed to the painter that are well enough preserved to determine the mode of reclining and for which published images are available (some on different zones of the same cup), six take place on couches with club-topped legs,³⁸¹ six on Type C *klinai*,³⁸² two on Type B *klinai*,³⁸³ six on Type B or C *klinai* (which are indistinguishable when the legs are not fully preserved or shown),³⁸⁴ one on the lounge-chair type of couch,³⁸⁵ one on a Type A *kline* (Fig. 55), one on a solid bench or platform,³⁸⁶ and three directly on the groundline.³⁸⁷ An additional three cup tondi show only the front rail of the couch, as if the type of leg did not matter.³⁸⁸ Sometimes he juxtaposed symposiasts reclining directly on the ground with those reclining on couches, as on a cup in the Vatican, the exterior of which shows figures reclining on the groundline, while the tondo shows a man on a Type A *kline*, vomiting into a basin below it (Fig. 55).

Could the variation, then, be related to spatial or narrative/thematic context? No clear pattern emerges in the work of Douris. Most of his other symposion scenes on cup exteriors *do* include *klinai*,³⁸⁹ and another symposion scene without *klinai* is found on a head kantharos.³⁹⁰ (Symposia on head vases or figural rhyta, whether by Douris or other painters, are usually depicted without couches.³⁹¹) In the work of Douris, *klinai* appear most often on cup tondi, but there is no apparent correlation between the nature of the sympotic activity and the type of couch shown. Even nonmortal “symposiasts” are not distinguished by lavish couch types: a satyr and maenad occupy



Figure 55. Symposion scenes on Side B and interior of an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Douris [B257]. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16561. (Photo © Vatican Museums)



a plain bench, while the couch of Herakles and Dionysos is of indeterminate type, with only the rail shown.³⁹²

Like Douris, the Kleophrades Painter seems to have limited depictions of symposiasts reclining without couches to certain shapes (a psykter and a lebes rim).³⁹³ But in his representations of *klinai*, there is a clearer correlation between type of couch and thematic or narrative context. On red-figure vases attributed to him, Type B *klinai* are found only in a scene of Hektor's ransom and in funerary *protheseis*, as if their luxury was appropriate only to mythical and funerary contexts.³⁹⁴

A closer look at the works of two other Late Archaic painters, however, challenges this idea. In works attributed to the Brygos Painter, Type B *klinai* appear not only in mythical scenes (like the Ransom of Hektor, Fig. 39)³⁹⁵ but also in profane symposia, for which other types are equally common: of twenty symposion scenes attributed to him for which published images exist and in which the mode of reclining can be determined, two feature Type B *klinai*,³⁹⁶ two have simpler Type C couches with plain, rounded capitals,³⁹⁷ one shows Type A *klinai*,³⁹⁸ one shows the lounge-chair type,³⁹⁹ four show only a couch rail or parts of legs, making the couch type uncertain,⁴⁰⁰ and five (all on head or figure vases) show symposiasts lying directly on a groundline.⁴⁰¹ Makron's work shows less variability but also seems to include Type B *klinai* in nonmythical settings. Of around seventy vases with symposia or *klinai* attributed to his hand, only twelve have couches of determinable type preserved; of these twelve, seven are Type C,⁴⁰² one has legs with club-shaped tops,⁴⁰³ and one is the lounge-chair type with everted back.⁴⁰⁴ The one kylix attributed to Makron with a certain Type B *kline* shows, in the tondo, Achilles reclining over the body of Hektor (Fig. 56). Two other tondo fragments show ornate, sagging Ionic volute capitals that probably belong to Type B *klinai* (the volute capitals otherwise attributed to Makron, on Type C couches, have schematic, inverted Aeolic volutes).⁴⁰⁵ These two cups are so fragmentary that we cannot be sure of their narrative context, and it is tempting to wonder whether they might also have shown the Ransom of Hektor—an elevated, mythical feast, for which the most luxurious couch type was deemed appropriate. But other evidence suggests that their subject matter was not mythical: it is unlikely that Makron put a Ransom of Hektor on the interior of a cup with a courtship scene on the exterior, as is clearly the case for one of the fragmentary examples (the other preserves only a single foot on the exterior). Although Makron did evidently like to juxtapose different themes on his cups (such as courtship of hetairai and women working wool, or courtship of women and courtship of boys), there is usually some relation between themes that makes some kind of statement—a form of narrative. On the Louvre cup Hektor's ransom is paired with the sacrifice of Polyxena, which takes place over both exterior zones.

Thematic juxtaposition may help to explain the occurrence of three different couch types on a single cup painted by a contemporary of Makron and the Brygos Painter. A red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter in Cambridge features three symposion scenes in its three pictorial zones, with three different styles of *klinai* (Fig. 57). Side A shows two pairs of bearded symposiasts reclining on two couches with raised backs (the lounge-chair type), being entertained by a nude aulist while one of them sings along. The other side (B) shows four bearded men arranged on three Type C *klinai* with volute capitals; these men are somewhat more reserved, though they are all clearly drinking or have already had too much. The interior tondo features a balding man reclining on a Type C couch



Figure 56. Ransom of Hektor on the interior of an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to Makron, signed by the potter Hieron, early fifth century [B226]. Paris, Musée du Louvre G153. (Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)

with plain, rounded capital and playing an aulos while a boy dances. All three scenes are equally sympotic, with elements suggesting heavy drinking as well as musical entertainment, though entertainers are lacking on Side B and tables are lacking on Side A. On Side A two couches are depicted side by side, while on Side B two Type C couches are shown from the front and a third, at the far right of the scene, is shown from behind the short/head end, suggesting a Γ-shaped arrangement of couches in the space of a real andron.⁴⁰⁶ But these details do not help us decode the significance of this variation. Perhaps it is a form of the “repetition with variation” that characterizes the work of one of the masters of Attic black-figure, Exekias, and his red-figure legacy.⁴⁰⁷ The variation is striking when compared with another cup attributed to the Foundry Painter in Boston, where the symposiasts of all three pictorial zones occupy similar lounge-chair-type couches.⁴⁰⁸

So, on the Cambridge cup, was the painter simply experimenting with depicting different types of furniture or showing off his skill? Was he presenting something for every possible user to identify with, as Osborne implies when he discusses this vase as a model for “projecting identities in the Greek *symposion*”?⁴⁰⁹ Or was the type of couch dictated by the location of the scene on the vase? Of the six known cup tondi with symposion scenes attributed to the Foundry Painter, four show couches with plain legs and rounded capitals, but this type never occurs on cup exteriors attributed to the painter.⁴¹⁰ Or did the type of couch on which one reclined at early fifth-century symposia carry some meaning, so that there is a juxtaposition here of different modes of sympotic



Figure 57. Symposium scenes on Sides A–B and interior of an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter, ca. 500–470 [B190]. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Loan Ant. 103.18, Lewis Collection, courtesy of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (© Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge / Art Resource, NY)

activity? Was the interior scene perhaps meant to appear more homely or unpretentious, since the Type C couch with plain capital seems to have been the type most commonly represented in fifth-century vase painting?

An even starker juxtaposition of couch types occurs on the two sides of a kylix attributed to the Epeleios Painter (Fig. 38): on one side two youths occupy plain couches of the lounge-chair type, while the other shows a single symposiast on a highly ornamented Type B *kline*, replete with figural decoration on the rail like the one on which Achilles reclines over the body of Hektor on a skyphos by the Brygos Painter (Fig. 39). Two attendant figures direct their attention to the single symposiast and seemingly enhance his status. Were Type B *klinai* associated with heroic monoposiasts like Achilles, and could they therefore have conveyed an extra measure of status and luxury to their occupants? But even Achilles could be shown reclining on a simple version of a Type C couch like the one on the Foundry Painter's tondo (Fig. 57), as he does in two places (interior and exterior) on a contemporary kylix signed by the potter Brygos.⁴¹¹ In fact, the couches featured in scenes of Hektor's ransom, from the earliest depictions through the Classical period, show the same variety found in the wider field of sympotic scenes, though they mostly correspond to the Type A and B schemes (see Figs. 32g, 35e, i, 39).⁴¹² This is perhaps to be expected, since Achilles was conceived of by Greek

Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*

artists as a reclining symposiast—but that conception is itself interesting, given that Achilles sits on a *klismos* (chair) in *Iliad* 24 and that his feast is decidedly noncommunal, at least until Priam is persuaded to join him.⁴¹³ And if there is any narrative thrust to the juxtaposition of couch types on the Epeleios Painter's and the Foundry Painter's cups, perhaps it is simply an expression of different male roles or identities: the interior tondo of the Epeleios Painter's cup shows a typical citizen male, draped and leaning on a staff.

A final possible explanation for variation among couch types on Greek vases is medium. On a fragmentary red-figure/white-ground kylix from the Athenian Akropolis made about 450, the symposium shown on the red-figure exterior takes place on simple couches with plain, rectangular legs, while the couch on the white-ground interior has elegant Type B side cutouts composed of spiraling volutes (Fig. 36h), and its rail is covered by a long polychrome cloth.⁴¹⁴ Perhaps the painter gave more detail and a “more monumental character”⁴¹⁵ to the interior scene because of the decorative potential of the white-ground technique. But it is also possible that different types of banqueting were imagined. The fragmentary condition of this cup prevents us from making a full comparison of the different elements present at each symposium depicted, but existing fragments suggest that the banquet on the interior was meant to be more luxurious, with embroidered cloth, a dinos, and a phiale rendered in plastic relief.

This discussion of the variety of couch types represented in the works of particular vase-painters has shown that although some types were associated with certain scenes by some painters or on some classes of pottery (such as Type A and white-ground lekythoi), the same *kline* types occur in a wide range of contexts on Archaic and Classical vases. Even if the attributions are not secure, many of the vases considered here are still closely contemporary and demonstrate a remarkable variety of couches in the repertoire of Late Archaic vase-painters.

Still, the question of how common these types actually were in fifth-century Athens remains. Physical evidence for inlaid, Type B *klinai* is limited to sixth-century funerary contexts. Sanctuary inventories attest to their presence in cultic contexts in the fifth century (if our understanding of the terms *Milesiourges* and *Chiourges* is correct), and replications of this type in stone in monumental tombs of dynastic cultures in Asia Minor and Macedonia reveal familiarity with actual inlaid *klinai* in these areas in the fifth and fourth centuries, but neither of these contexts gives any indication of the prevalence or frequency of such *klinai* at Classical symposia. Ornate Type B couches remained prominent through the fourth century in South Italian vase painting and are the most common type of *klinai* found in Macedonian-style tombs.⁴¹⁶ As suggested above, this may indicate that they remained common as actual luxury objects, whether in private contexts or in sanctuary inventories, or that they were frequently featured in theatrical settings, or both.

PLATO'S *KLINAI*

The variety of couch types outlined above may be surprising to those familiar with Plato's *Republic*, where the *kline* is used as an exemplum in the discussion of ideal forms and *mimesis*. In a much-cited passage, Plato has Socrates explain that “god, whether because he so willed or because some compulsion was laid upon him not to make more than one couch in nature, so wrought and created one only, the couch which really and in itself is”; that is, the ideal form of the *kline*, as opposed to

the *kline* that the carpenter (*klinopoios*) makes and the image of a *kline* that the painter paints.⁴¹⁷ What type of couch did Plato have in mind?

Plato must have been just as familiar with different *kline* types as late red-figure vase-painters were, if not more so, considering the sympotic contexts of this and other Socratic dialogues. And the kind of image Plato most likely had in mind was one painted on a vase, where one would most easily find a representation of a couch in contemporary art (symposion scenes were not common in architectural decoration or in Classical mural painting, at least not in those attested in written descriptions). As Burnyeat has noted, a couch painted on a sympotic vessel was particularly apt to exemplify Plato's point about the double-remove of artistic representation from ideal form, since it is implicitly connected with the sympotic context of poetry, and the discussion of painting in Book 10 is really a "paradigm that Plato uses to explain the meaning, and the menace, of poetic mimesis."⁴¹⁸ The reference to a *kline*, as opposed to some other type of furniture, can also be understood as appropriate and natural in a dialogue set at a symposium and perhaps also as a nod to the primary social pastime of Plato's primary audience. Burnyeat also calls attention to Plato's emphasis on viewpoint: the idea that an image of a couch can "appear otherwise" (φαίνεται δὲ ἄλλοῖα) if depicted from the side or from another perspective (ἐάντε ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτὴν θεᾷ ἐάντε καταντικρὺ ἢ ὀψηθεῖν), though the couch itself would be no different.⁴¹⁹ This suggests Plato's familiarity also with the pictorial convention mentioned above of showing the long sides of some couches and the short end of another in order to indicate the Γ-shaped arrangement of real *klinai* in an andron.

Plato surely cannot mean that there is only one ideal type of couch. So why did he choose such a variable object to demonstrate the uniqueness of an ideal form? Perhaps for its very variability. By choosing a familiar class of object for which any of his contemporaries could visualize a number of different types, Plato ensured that his audience would understand that an ideal form was not particular. This assumes, of course, that we are right in applying the term *kline* to different varieties of couch, rather than to a single type only (while *klinter* or other terms referred to the different types described above). The use of qualifying adjectives (*Milesiourges*, *Chiourges*, *sphenopous*, etc.) to describe *klinai* in the various textual sources supports this view. What all these differently designated *klinai* shared was that they were couches: the idea of the *kline* transcends particular style. This point gets lost if one takes it for granted that Plato had *one kind* of couch in mind. The one ideal form is the couch-ness of the *kline*, regardless of what the couch looks like. Appearance is, after all, what the carpenter and the painter produce, and it is inherently variable. The great variety of appearances of *klinai* in contemporary Greek art must lie behind Plato's discussion of artistic representation in this passage. It was not only the sympotic associations but also the familiar variation of couch styles that made the *kline* a perfect paradigm for Plato's discussion of forms and *mimesis*.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

The Kerameikos burials discussed in Chapter 1 are among the earliest attestations of *klinai* used as burial receptacles, but they are exceptional in Greece, and their associated finds point strikingly toward a West Anatolian cultural affiliation. In fact, it is in western Anatolia that the practice of burying the dead on a *kline* is best attested in the Archaic and Classical periods. This chapter presents the rich and varied evidence for this burial tradition in sixth- and fifth-century Anatolia and explores its symbolic significance.

Funerary *klinai* usually differ from the actual *klinai* presumably used in households and banquet halls in one important respect: medium. Wooden *klinai* may have been the same items used by the deceased during their lifetimes, but since wooden objects are poorly preserved in the archaeological record, such finds are very rare.¹ Replicas in stone and bedrock, on the other hand, are so durable that evidence for them often survives even after willful destruction by would-be looters who find tombs already emptied of more valuable grave goods (as seems to have been the case at Lale Tepe [Cat. 25], where the *klinai* were smashed into more than 175 pieces).² Perhaps the better survival of stone *klinai* gives a skewed impression of their relative popularity, but even so the decision to replicate wooden forms in stone at all deserves explanation. Were these stone and rock-cut representations of *klinai* conceived of as cheaper alternatives to wooden luxury furniture that would not normally have been relegated to the tomb and thus removed from household use? Or were they intended as furnishings that would better withstand eternity? It is uncertain whether the decay of wooden tomb furnishings was a concern in the sixth or fifth century, but there are later (Hellenistic-period) examples of stone or brick platforms placed beneath wooden *klinai*, perhaps as “back-up” support for the dead once the wooden furniture collapsed.³ Or do stone representations of wooden *klinai* reflect a desire for monumentality? Some examples are monolithic,⁴ and even those built from three separate slabs (the most common arrangement) required the transport and manipulation of large blocks, to say nothing of the care put into their decoration. They were monumental—and probably not cheap.⁵ The stone *klinai* known from some sanctuary dining halls in Greece are not monolithic (they are composed of stone and wooden elements), and they are usually undecorated.⁶ A single example of a bronze funerary *kline* is known in Anatolia (Fig. 23), and while it certainly replicates a wooden Type A couch, it is difficult to determine whether it was a replica made specially for funerary use or was used in the lifetime of the deceased.⁷ Using one medium to emulate another, funerary *klinai* are usually representational, and it is important to keep this in mind when considering their significance: a representational quality underlines a symbolic as opposed to a purely functional significance.

It is also important to consider the bases for the identification of tomb furnishings as *klinai* and “funeral couches” as opposed to “funeral beds.” The term *kline* is widely used in Anatolian scholarship for any bed or couch found in a tomb—even for plain rock-cut benches—regardless of its formal connection to known *kline* types. This is misleading, but it avoids the problem of implied symbolic meaning that comes with using the terms “couch” or “bed.” For the sake of clarity, in this study I reserve the term *kline* for furnishings that display features attributable to standard *kline* types, as outlined in Chapter 1. For plain burial benches or those with nonstandard details or simple borders, I use the less specific term “couch” in the most basic sense of the word: as “a place to lie down or recline,” rather than in the sense of “banquet couch.”

EVIDENCE FOR WOODEN COUCHES IN ANATOLIAN TOMBS

Couches made of wood and other perishable materials were presumably more numerous than the archaeological record indicates, but the occasional pieces of wood and nails recovered in excavations are difficult to assign with certainty to coffins, *klinai*, or simple biers.

Phrygia

Evidence for wooden furnishings is most rich and varied in Phrygian tombs, but it is often difficult to determine when a bed is just a bed and when it is a bed-couch or *kline*—or indeed to distinguish the remains of a bed from those of coffin. The burial furniture in Tumulus MM at Gordion, the so-called Tomb of Midas (now dated ca. 740 BCE and thus a generation earlier than the legendary king), was initially heralded as a “bed” but was more likely a log coffin, as Simpson has shown.⁸ She recognized that the supposed “headboard” is actually a horizontal ledge that once projected from the end of a massive, hollowed-out log, and that iron bars had been attached to ledges on both ends as reinforcements, “to keep the huge log from splitting.”⁹ Log coffins are known in several other Gordion tumuli as well as in Scythia and northern Europe.¹⁰ But the initial identification of a bed among the wood remains found beneath a child’s burial in the somewhat earlier Tumulus P (Fig. 58) seems to be correct.¹¹ Its form (with head- and footboard) seems more like a bed than a couch, yet it was accompanied by a full banquet service.

Other Phrygian tumuli seem to have contained bed-like platforms or bedding, but as with the Tumulus P “bed,” it is uncertain whether these remains had anything to do with *klinai*, and they may be seen rather as “funeral beds.” The burials in two of the earliest tumuli at Gordion (W and G) were evidently placed on textile padding or bedding, and those in Tumuli H and J were placed on platforms made of planks.¹² Outside Gordion, fragmentary remains of wooden beds have been reported in several other Phrygian tombs, but none are well enough preserved to confirm this identification, and some may in fact belong to coffins. Identification of wood remains under or near skeletal material in tumuli excavated around Ankara and at Bayındır near Elmalı in the 1960s and 1980s as traces of “beds” may have been influenced by the sensational discoveries at Gordion and the early presumption that the “Midas” tumulus contained a bed. Preliminary reports of excavation in the “Great Tumulus” and METU Tumuli I and II mention the presence of wooden beds,¹³ though the records of excavation in the METU Museum indicate no furniture remains.¹⁴ The burial in METU II was located atop a “thick layer of felt-like materials” that may reflect the presence of “a woolen bed

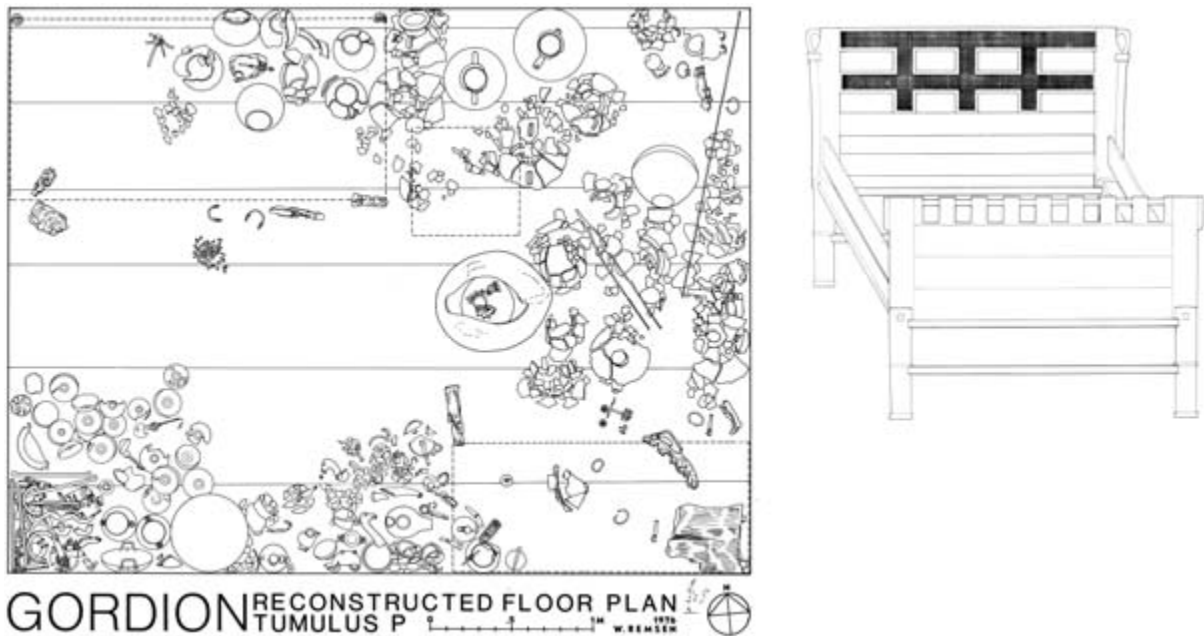


Figure 58. Tumulus P, Gordion, eighth century: plan of chamber and reconstruction of burial bed. (Courtesy of Gordion Project Archive, University of Pennsylvania Museum)

or cloth,” similar to the bedding layers in Tumuli W and G at Gordion.¹⁵ Kohler, however, notes that “iron bands and T-shaped lead bars” suggest that the METU II burial was placed in a log coffin like that in the “Midas” tumulus.¹⁶ Similarly, the fragments of decayed wood found in 1987 beneath the skeleton of a woman in the timber chamber of Bayındır Tumulus D have been hailed as the remains of another Phrygian “bed” (and most recently even described as a *kline*), though not enough survives to link them with an identifiable bed or *kline* form.¹⁷ As with METU II, the presence of two iron bars found parallel to each other, one at each end of the burial and the area of disintegrated wood, suggests comparison with the split-log coffin in Gordion’s Tumulus MM.¹⁸

Several of the later tumuli at Gordion, on the other hand, contained fragments of ivory inlays that are suggestive of Type B *kline* decoration comparable with the more securely identified *klinai* from the Athenian Kerameikos.¹⁹ Pieces of ivory inlays found in one of the cremation pits and an associated charred area under Gordion Tumulus D have long been associated with a coffin or bier,²⁰ but certain features of these remains allow us to speculate that the cremation receptacle took the form of a Type B *kline*. Petal- or bud-shaped ivory pieces with pointed ends (Fig. 59) are comparable to the amber lotus-bud elements of the rosette-stars (“Sternblüten”) decorating the tops of the legs and the rail of the *kline* from the South Mound in the Kerameikos.²¹ The size of the Tumulus D buds (0.022–0.024 m long) falls somewhere between the large Sternblüten on the tops of the Kerameikos *kline* legs (with buds 0.044 m long) and those on its rail (buds ca. 0.019 m long); they are close to the size of the buds from Grafenbühl that have been assigned to a Sternblüten motif

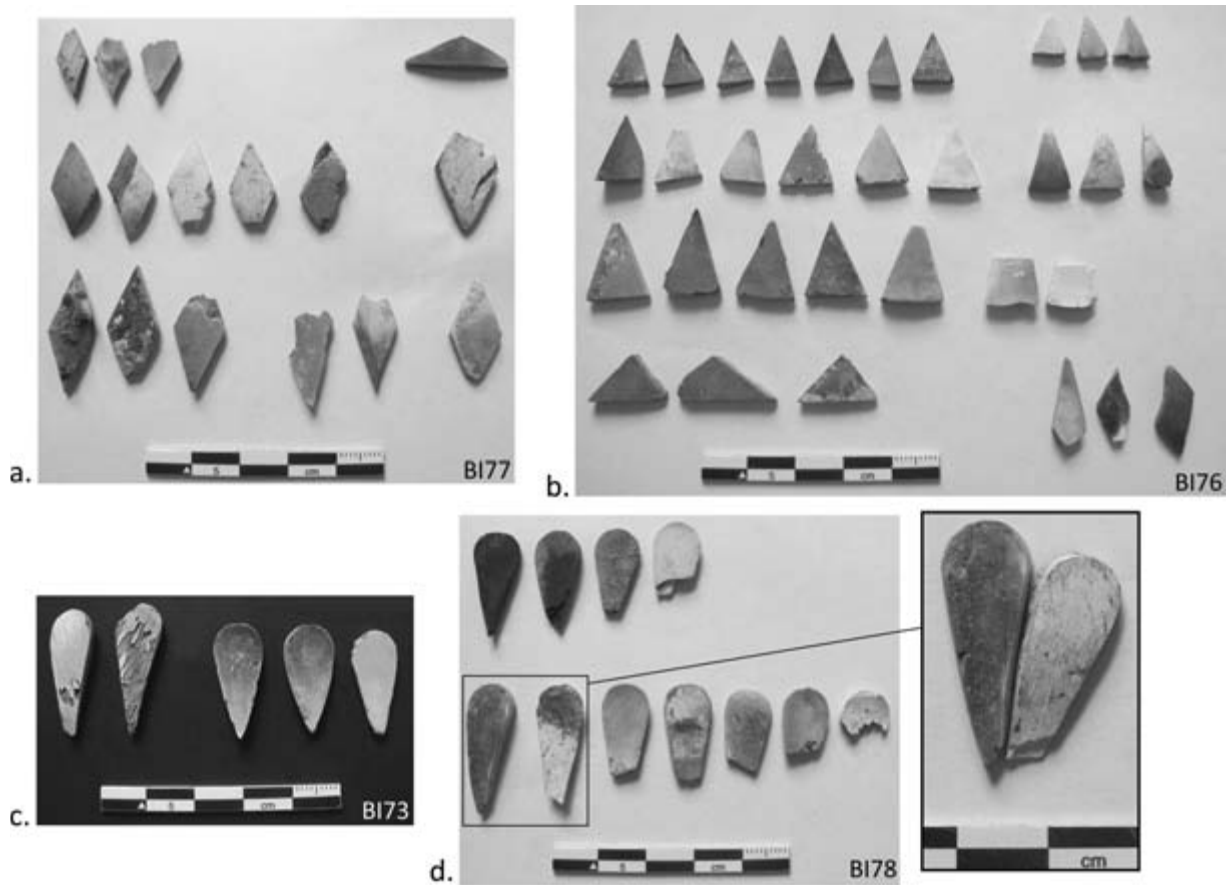


Figure 59. Ivory pieces from Tumulus D, Gordion, sixth century, Ankara Museum. (Photos by author, used with permission of the Gordion Project)

at the top of a Type B leg (0.028 m long; see Plate 5).²² Some of the small ivory triangles among the Tumulus D remains (in three sizes, 0.13, 0.15, and 0.19 m long, Fig. 59b) could have alternated with the pointed buds in a similar design, or they could have been stacked horizontally, as in the formulaic motif on many Type B rail ends.²³ More slender petals of slightly greater length (est. max. length ca. 0.028 m) were also found (Fig. 59d). None are preserved all the way to the tip, so it is uncertain whether it was pointed or flat, but a slight asymmetry and curvature on the long sides of the most complete pieces suggest that these were part of a palmette design. Palmettes were standard in Type B furniture leg decoration, above and below the side cutouts that were usually embellished with volute designs. In most cases the palmette above the cutout was slightly larger than the one that hung below it. The longer petals are smaller, however, than even the smaller of the two palmettes on each leg of the Kerameikos *kline*, the longest (central) petal of which is ca.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

0.045 m long. But they are comparable to the smaller of the two sets of amber petals from Grafenbühl, the longest of which (in the center of the palmette) measures 0.026 m.²⁴ Eighteen small ivory diamonds, in three sizes (ca. 0.017, 0.022, and 0.026 m long), are comparable to amber pieces assigned to the top of the Grafenbühl leg (0.019–0.023 m long; see Plate 5).²⁵ Other fragments, including ivory cylinders and grooved strips, several glass fragments, and a piece of cut amber, could also belong to the decoration of a *kline* but are unattributable to particular members and could equally have decorated other items in the burial assemblage.²⁶ Overall, the Tumulus D ivory inlays are comparable in both form and size to the ivory and amber inlays from the Grafenbühl tumulus that have been assigned to a Type B couch or throne. Tumulus D has been dated generally to the mid-sixth century; current study and future publication of the cremation tumuli at Gordion may refine this chronology.²⁷ Similar pieces (triangles, diamonds, and petals) from a late seventh-century cremation under Tumulus F are also suggestive of *kline* decoration but are more difficult to assign to a *kline*.²⁸

In both Tumuli D and F, many of the ivory pieces were burnt, and it appears that the furnishings they decorated were thus included in the cremation; that is, if they belonged to *klinai*, these were cremation-*klinai*. The lack of any evidence for an Aeolic volute capital, a typical feature of Type B *klinai*, may be inconclusive because *klinai* did not begin to carry volute capitals until the second half of the sixth century. The earliest representations of Type B *klinai* do not have raised capitals, and the earliest Kerameikos burial with evidence for an inlaid Type B *kline* (ca. 560) also does not have any evidence for a raised capital.²⁹ If a tighter chronology can be determined for Tumulus D, the lack of evidence for a volute capital may become a more significant indicator.

The tumuli excavated by the Körte brothers at Gordion in 1900 also contained fragments of wood and ivory that must have belonged to wooden furnishings of some type. In Tumulus III (now known as K-III, ca. 770 BCE), the Körte brothers identified pieces belonging to a “sarcophagus” and a “*kline*” as well as two stools,³⁰ but only a few fragments were illustrated in their report, and the pieces that survive in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum “cannot now provide much additional information.”³¹ The piece assigned to a *kline* is described as a “round foot of 0.13 m height and about 0.08 m diameter, which soon after extraction was completely destroyed”; its attribution was made on the basis of its size, which was judged too big for it to belong to the “stools.”³² The accuracy of this identification cannot be assessed, but if the accepted eighth-century date for the tomb is correct, we should not expect this piece of furniture to have been a *kline* of standard type, and as with the Tumulus P “bed,” the term *kline* may be anachronistic. The Körtes’ excavation of the later Tumulus II (now K-II, ca. 550 BCE), on the other hand, yielded a large quantity of ivory inlay fragments, pieces of wood, and two small pieces of amber that were assigned to a sarcophagus but bear a striking resemblance to Type B *kline* ornament.³³ The ivory decoration includes a kymation frieze, stars composed of lotus-bud rays, and thin plaques decorated with rosettes, maeander bands, a guilloche band, and part of a lion’s head (Fig. 60).³⁴ The lotus stars are readily comparable with the decoration of the Type B *kline* from the South Mound in the Kerameikos (Fig. 43), as Knigge has noted.³⁵ Two types are represented by two examples each, all ca. 0.11 m in diameter; smaller lotus-bud petals may belong to at least one more, of slightly smaller dimensions. The larger are the same size as those decorating the tops of the legs of the Kerameikos *kline*, and the smaller would be

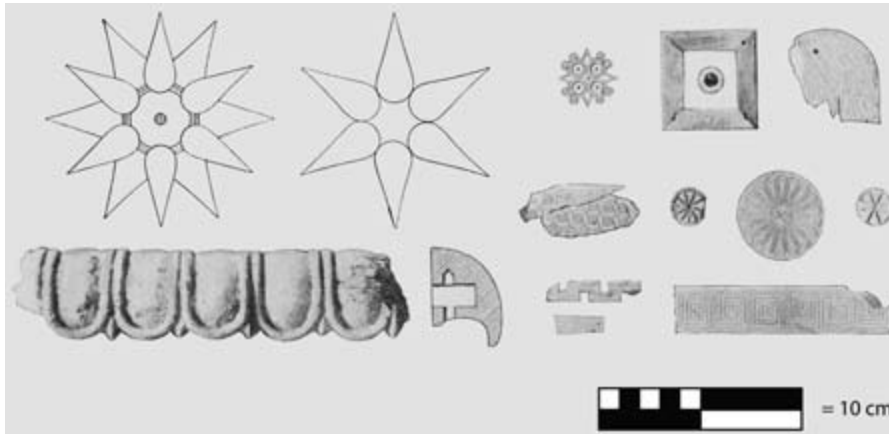


Figure 60. Ivory pieces from Tumulus K-II, Gordion, ca. 550, scaled according to published dimensions, Körte and Körte 1904, figs. 87–94.

roughly the size of the stars and lotus wreaths decorating its front rail (estimated diam. ca. 0.07 m; those on the Kerameikos *kline* measure ca. 0.055 m in diam.).³⁶

Another strong point of comparison between the K-II ivories and the Kerameikos *kline* is the kymation frieze, although the Gordion kymation is larger and apparently more extensive. While the Kerameikos pieces are 0.008–0.010 m high and 0.008–0.009 m deep (foot end to head end, respectively), the Gordion fragments are 0.034 m high and 0.022 m deep. Moreover, the Kerameikos pieces span only the tops of the legs, each ca. 0.15 m wide; whereas some 0.93 m of kymation frieze pieces were recovered in the K-II tumulus, the largest single piece being 0.10 m long. The kymation fragments were found in two locations: near the north wall of the chamber and along the south wall, along with the remains of a wooden plank in a straight line leading eastward from the west wall for a length of ca. 1.32 m (including gaps).³⁷ Also found with the line of kymation frieze pieces along the south wall were thin plaques decorated with maeander and guilloche patterns as well as some of the lotus-bud rays of the stars and skeletal remains. This was apparently the burial location, and G. Körte proposed that here stood the long side of a sarcophagus, the rest of which was scattered when the ceiling of the chamber collapsed under the weight of the tumulus.³⁸ If these ivory pieces decorated a *kline* rather than a sarcophagus, perhaps the kymation frieze ran along the entire length of the long rail. It may have served as an upper or lower border for another frieze composed of small lotus stars and possibly figural decoration, as indicated by a fragment with a lion's mane. In Greek representations of *klinai*, there are some parallels for *kline* rails decorated with floral patterns and lions and/or other animals in alternation.³⁹

Many of the K-II ivory fragments have holes for attachment. Next to the holes on the back of the kymation pieces are incised Greek letters, identified as Corinthian script.⁴⁰ The Körte brothers thus supposed that the inlaid item was imported from Corinth. Watzinger pointed, however, to parallels with ivory inlay fragments from Kul Oba and other tombs in South Russia and identified the piece as a Milesian import, like some of the vessels found in the tomb.⁴¹ Watzinger's comparison with the Kul Oba material underlines the resemblance of the K-II fragments to *kline* decoration, even though he believed that the Kul Oba fragments belonged to a sarcophagus rather than a *kline*.⁴² While many

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

questions remain unanswered, it is quite possible that a Type B *kline* served as the burial bed in the K-II tumulus, contemporary with the Kerameikos South Mound.

These hints of Greek-style *klinai* in Phrygian tumuli—whether as cremation biers or as burial beds—suggest that Type B *klinai* may have been known and used at Gordion in the sixth century, during the era of Lydian control, as prized elite possessions transferred to tombs along with the dead as a display of wealth. Earlier evidence for the placement of the dead in Phrygian tombs on soft bedding or bed-like platforms suggests that Phrygians had long conceived of burial-places as beds or resting-places, and it is possible that the use of imported *klinai* served a preexisting funerary idea. The question of when this idea may have taken on new meaning, with the multivalence of the *kline* form as both bed and banquet couch, will be explored in Chapter 3.

Lydia and Other Regions

Several Lydian tumulus chambers have yielded wood remains, but these are not associated with ivory or other inlay fragments and cannot be assigned with any certainty to *klinai*. Spiegelthal's exploration of the Tumulus of Alyattes yielded decayed wood fragments, and with no other indication of a burial-place, Vollmoeller speculated that the body of the Lydian king had been laid on a wooden *kline* in the finely wrought marble chamber of this most spectacular Lydian tumulus.⁴³ Of course the wood pieces no longer survive, so it is impossible to assess Vollmoeller's supposition or even to determine whether the wood pieces belonged to the original burial assemblage or were the remains of equipment left by ancient looters, since the tomb had obviously been disturbed. Choisy also found pieces of wood in two of the tumuli he explored,⁴⁴ but these are likewise of uncertain function. In more recent times, robbers are said to have removed "parts of a wooden couch" from the limestone chamber of a tumulus known as Canbaz Tepe, but there is no evidence of what these pieces were like, and their whereabouts today are unknown.⁴⁵ Wood and nails from other Lydian tombs may belong to *klinai*, but in most cases there is not enough surviving material to identify a couch. Fragments of wood and nails from a cist grave near Sardis (Tomb 61.2) could belong either to a couch/bier or a coffin. In a tumulus at Gözde, fragments of wood found within a limestone sarcophagus probably belong to a piece of furniture of some sort.⁴⁶

The best evidence for a wooden couch or bed in a Lydian tomb comes from the chamber of a tumulus excavated by the Sardis Expedition in 1963 (BT63.2, Cat. 10). On the floor of the chamber, part of a wooden leg and two fragmentary planks joining it at a right angle were found near one of four rectangular cuttings that appear to have received the legs of a substantial wooden object of rectangular shape (Fig. 61).⁴⁷ The wooden pieces recovered seem to represent a corner of the object that collapsed at the point where the leg once stood. Smaller fragments of wood were found elsewhere in the chamber, and a series of iron plates (two squarish plaques and ten smaller fragments, Fig. 62) preserving pseudomorphs of wood and textile, with nails for attachment, were found near one of the rectangular cuttings and in other scattered locations.⁴⁸ At the time of excavation and in the preliminary reports, the item was identified as a couch, and the preserved wooden portions were thought to be parts of a leg and one long and one short side rail. Hanfmann suggested that the iron plates could have reinforced the angle joinery and that the textile remains could belong to cloth straps that formed the lattice-like network ("slung webbing") of a bed surface.⁴⁹ Majewski,

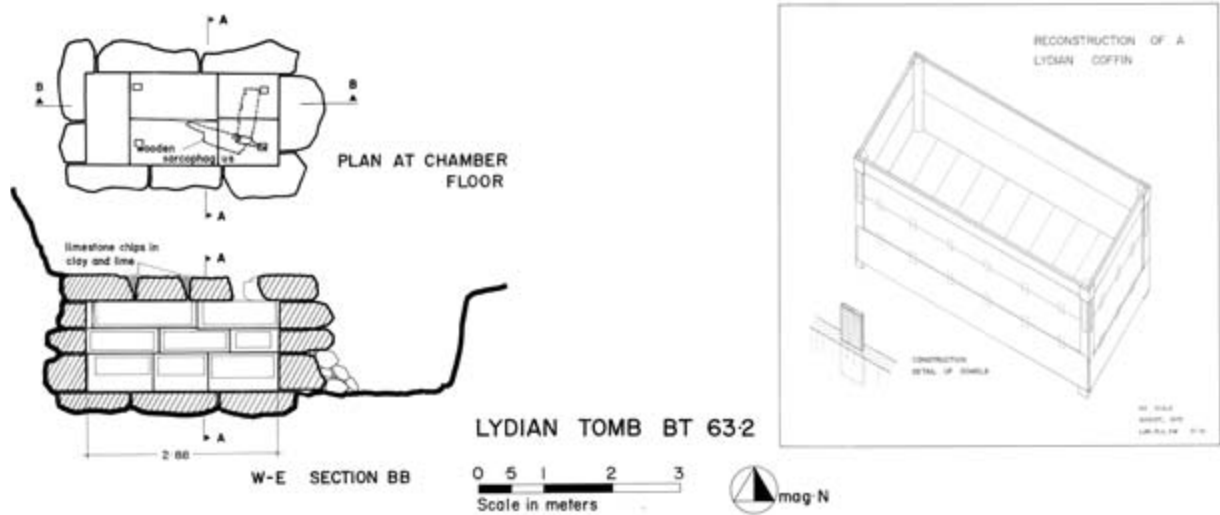


Figure 61. BT63.2 (Cat. 10): plan, elevation, and reconstruction of wood and iron remains as a coffin. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University)

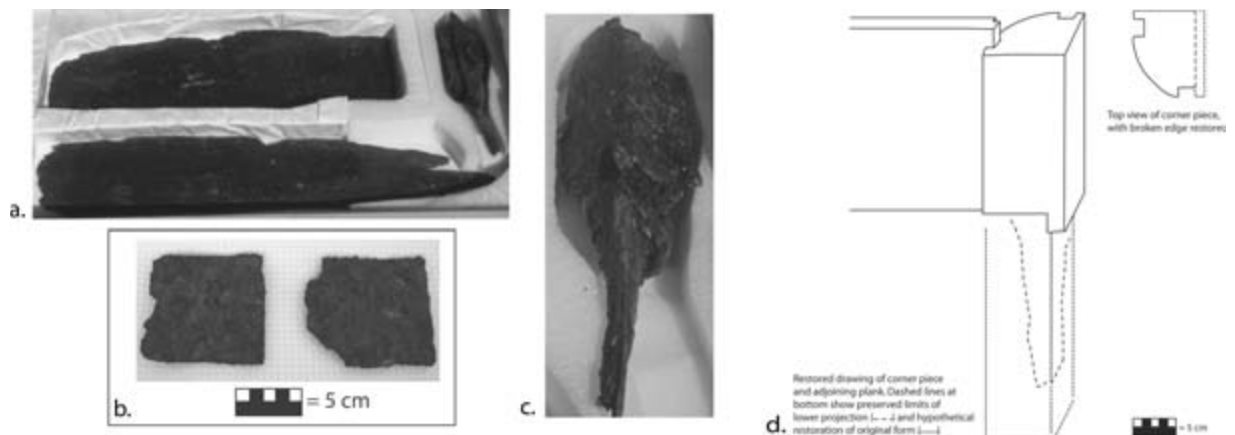


Figure 62. BT63.2 (Cat. 10): views of wood and metal remains, with alternative reconstruction. (Photos and drawings by author)

however, analyzed the wood and metal fragments and concluded that they belonged to a coffin with decorative fabric-covered iron plates reinforcing the corners.⁵⁰

The function of the wooden item in BT63.2 is difficult to determine, since so little remains. McLauchlin cited Thucydides' mention of *λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνιας* as possible support for the sarcophagus theory, since it attests to a tradition of coffins made of cypress wood.⁵¹ There are, however, many problems with Majewski's reconstruction of the item as a coffin, seen here in Figure 61. Figure 62 illustrates the preserved portions of wood on which the reconstruction is

based and how they fit together. Key to any reconstruction is the unusual stepped cutting on the lower part of the upright leg, where the outer surfaces of the leg are recessed. The leg is roughly square (ca. 0.09 × 0.08 m), with a squared exterior corner, rounded interior, and a vertical slot or groove (ca. 0.02 m wide and 0.01 m deep) on the outer edge of each inner side for the insertion of perpendicular rails/planks in a tongue-and-groove corner joint. One of the preserved planks (0.02 m thick) has a very shallow rabbetted edge on the end that would have been inserted into one of the grooves in the leg, and this relationship of planks to leg was immediately apparent upon excavation, since the three most substantially preserved pieces were found together still practically joined. The top of the leg is not preserved, so it is unclear how long the grooves once were (one is at least 0.17 m long, the other at least 0.21 m long), but the bottom of each groove is certain: each slot ends abruptly where the exterior surfaces of the leg are cut back ca. 0.02 m, beyond the depth of the grooves. In Majewski's reconstruction, this stepped recess is clear—below it, the lowermost of the planks that make up the sides of the sarcophagus in his restoration are inset, flush with the outer surfaces of the leg, rather than mortised into grooves on the inner surfaces of the leg as the planks above are. There is, however, no indication of how these bottom planks would have been attached to the leg, and their placement is therefore not structurally plausible. In Majewski's reconstruction, these planks are joined with other members of the piece only by rectangular dowels connecting the edges of the side boards. Evidence for such dowels is very scarce,⁵² but even if they had existed, they would not, by themselves, have provided sufficient support for these otherwise apparently “floating” planks. A Hellenistic wooden sarcophagus from a tumulus near Elaia offers a good parallel for the kinds of dowels Majewski restores, but it should be noted that *all* the side planks of the Elaia sarcophagus are inserted into closed slot mortises.⁵³

How else could the stepped recess and open-ended mortises of the BT63.2 leg be explained? Perhaps the bottom, cut-back portion of the leg (which extends at least another 0.20 m toward the foot) was not a recessed surface against which perpendicular planks rested but rather a low foot or projecting tenon for insertion into some other vertical member. Wooden couch legs composed of separate pieces socketed together by means of tenons are known from Duvanli (Fig. 31).⁵⁴ This corner piece could have been inserted into a leg of some other type of wood or even another material, along the lines of the silver- and gold-footed *klinai* mentioned in literary sources.⁵⁵ The leg was found, however, practically still inserted in the floor cutting in which it stood, so it would be difficult to explain how an additional *lower* part could be lost without the upper portions' being shifted from their original location, or why another type of wood would have decayed while the cypress portions survived. Still, the simplest explanation may in this case be the best—reconstructing the item as a coffin necessitates restoring a much greater quantity of decayed wood (a much greater amount of missing material) than restoring the item as a bed/couch. The iron plates, roughly matching the width of the outer (flat) surfaces of the leg, could have reinforced the tops of the legs in either scenario. The textile remains on their outer faces could belong to a cloth spread over a couch and hanging over the corners.⁵⁶ Thus, the wooden furnishing in BT63.2 may best be restored as a low bed, couch, or bier, reinforced at the corners with iron plates and covered with textiles at the time of burial. Still, we are left with uncertainty as to its symbolic

function because there is no indication that it fits into a standard *kline* type. It may have been conceived simply as a bier or bed for the deceased, rather than a couch with implications of banqueting; but even a nonstandard bed or couch type could, of course, be perceived as a locus for reclining luxury. The disturbed state of the chamber does not allow us to draw conclusions about the overall nature of the burial assemblage, but recovered items include lekythoi, a lydion, a hydria, and a skyphos.⁵⁷

The dating of tomb BT63.2 depends upon our understanding of its position in the broader development of the Lydian tumulus tradition. Radiocarbon analysis of wood samples carried out in the 1970s did not produce reliable results. The date range initially suggested (1100 ± 250 BCE)⁵⁸ must now be calibrated to account for fluctuations in radiocarbon levels and against dendrochronological and climate data, and a calibrated date range would fall even earlier (approximately 1360 ± 306 BCE).⁵⁹ The wood itself could of course have been older than the object for which it was used, as Majewski originally suggested, but the approximate calibrated range seems *too* early and calls into question the viability of the sample and the relevance of this dating evidence. Associated finds—most notably, two Lydian streaky-glaze lekythoi, a streaky-glaze skyphos, and an amphoriskos with swirled, banded, and wavy-line decoration—suggest a date for the burial within the sixth century.⁶⁰ Refinement of this date to the first half of the sixth century is suggested by the architectural style of the tomb, a single chamber with no door of any kind, bearing a strong formal resemblance to the timber chambers of Phrygian tumuli.⁶¹ Given that Lydian tumulus chambers seem to have developed over time from single-occupancy tombs sealed at the time of burial to multiple-occupancy tombs that remained accessible via *dromoi* for some period of time after burial,⁶² BT63.2 would seem to be fairly early in this spectrum.

Possible remains of a wooden couch have also been identified among the finds from the Lion Tomb at Kazartepe, near Miletos in Ionia, excavated by von Salis in the early twentieth century. His work was reexamined in the 1990s, and the results of this study were published along with the original excavation notes and drawings.⁶³ The rock-cut burial chamber, dated ca. 550 BCE, was approached by a long dromos flanked by two Archaic marble lion statues at the entrance.⁶⁴ A single skeleton was found lying before the rear wall with the head at the left and with a silver phiale in the right hand and another near the middle of the body, along with traces of wood and iron fastenings that may belong to a wooden burial bed or platform of some sort.⁶⁵ Lead plates found around the perimeter of the chamber at the base of the walls may have served to protect this wooden structure from ground moisture but are not fully understood.⁶⁶ Fragments of bone and amber found near the entrance, next to a Milesian transport amphora, have recently been identified by Naso as belonging to a *kline*, rather than to a chest as previously thought, on the basis of their similarity to the Kerameikos *kline* decoration.⁶⁷ This identification is possible; even so, the findspots of the pieces indicate that the inlaid item did not serve as the burial location.

More promising are the remains of wooden furniture recently discovered in the Koru Tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 59). Though their function has not yet been determined and they have not yet been published, preliminary reports suggest that they may belong to a couch that stood against the right wall of the chamber in addition to two marble *klinai* (against the left and rear walls). If so, this tomb will be important to questions of medium and style—whether one medium or another was

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

preferred, and why couches of different styles may have been juxtaposed (since the wooden legs appear to have Persian-style turnings while the marble *klinai* are of the Type B design).

There is also possible indirect evidence for the use of wooden biers or couches in rock-cut tombs. In some Lycian tombs, grooves or sockets in chamber walls may have held wooden bed surfaces in place of rock-cut couches,⁶⁸ and floor cuttings in a Lycian-style tomb in the Elmalı basin may have held the legs of wooden couches.⁶⁹ Remains of or cuttings for wooden items have also been found *atop* couches or benches in rock-cut tombs in Lydia as well as Lycia. In the Sardis Nekropolis, Butler's team found remains of wood and nails on top of some rock-cut couches.⁷⁰ These could belong to biers or possibly to coffins, since terracotta sarcophagi were found atop other couches.⁷¹ Squarish cuttings in the surfaces of some rock-cut couches in Lycian tombs may have held the legs of coffins, biers, or *klinai*.⁷² The placement of portable furnishings atop rock-cut couches in Lycian tombs is confirmed by epigraphic evidence. Several Lycian funerary inscriptions, in addition to naming the occupants of the tomb and those who had it built, refer to the placement of portable objects in them. One inscription reads: "This tomb, Medemudi and his wife have built [it]; and they shall put *cm̄mis* herein and one shall not put anyone upon them (*viz.* the occupants)."⁷³ *Cm̄mi* (or *km̄mi*) is here understood as a "portable object where one could place the corpse."⁷⁴ The discovery of wood remains atop a low, rock-cut platform in one of the rock-cut tombs at Kaunos in Caria led Roos to suggest that a wooden *kline* or bier stood there, and that other low platforms may have held similar furnishings.⁷⁵ But in all these cases it is impossible to distinguish traces of wooden couches from those of wooden coffins.

A BRONZE *KLINE* FROM LYDIA

Only a single bronze *kline* has been associated with a burial in Anatolia. In 1979 a bronze bed or couch was reportedly looted from the central chamber of a three-chambered tumulus at Alahıdır, near Ahmetli just west of Sardis (Cat. 24). Police reports outline the removal of the item and give some indication of its approximate size (ca. 1.90 m long, 0.80 m wide, and 0.50 m high) but no hint as to its form or appearance. Small pieces of bronze with fragments of linen textile adhering were found during rescue excavation of the tomb after the looting, along with scraps of wood and remnants of the grave assemblage. The looters also mentioned removing from the same chamber numerous bronze and silver drinking and serving vessels and a bronze ladle with calf's-head decoration.⁷⁶ The tomb was dated in initial reports to ca. 575–540 BCE on the basis of excavated material.⁷⁷ In 1982 an ancient bronze *kline* of similar size (ca. 1.91 m long, 0.79 m wide, and 0.40 m high), with substantial pieces of linen textile adhering, was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 23).⁷⁸ It replicates a wooden Type A *kline* with turned legs, projecting tenons at the corners, and a latticed bed surface. The legs and rails are composed of cast bronze over an iron framework, and the bed surface consists of perforated copper sheets riveted together and wrapped around the iron rail cores. Although Type A *klinai* are otherwise not well attested among Lydian funeral couches, several details of the decoration of the Getty *kline*—incised lotus friezes and rosettes on the rails and the tops of the legs—suggest a Lydian or eastern Greek provenance, and particular comparisons can be made with the stone *klinai* of the Lale Tepe tumulus, also near Ahmetli (Cat. 25).⁷⁹ The overall style of the couch is also compatible with a date in the mid- to late sixth century. In addition, the

linen textile remains adhering to the Getty bed appear to be identical with those found at Alahıdır.⁸⁰ These specific parallels, in conjunction with the general rarity of ancient bronze *klinai* and the timing of the Getty's acquisition of the *kline*, strengthen the likelihood that the bronze bed looted from Alahıdır is the piece now in the Getty collection.

This bronze couch is important testimony to the range of media employed in ancient Lydia to outfit the dead with *klinai*. It is not certain whether this piece was used as household furniture before burial, but the careful replication of *all* parts of the couch in metal suggests that it, like the stone *klinai* discussed below, was conceived as a representation of a wooden couch and therefore probably meant as funereal furniture recreating household forms in more durable and more costly materials. Unlike many Hellenistic bronze couches and the Type A couch from a sixth- or fifth-century tomb at Tell el-Far'ah in Palestine, which had decorative fittings and/or structural reinforcements of bronze over a wooden frame (see Fig. 25),⁸¹ the Getty piece translates all parts of the couch, even the netted straps of the bed surface, to metal. This approach is also found on the bronze bed from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb in Etruria (see Fig. 24) and in a few other contexts, all funerary or ritual.⁸² Furthermore, the parallels between the incised decoration on the Getty *kline* and the painted decoration on the Lale Tepe rear *kline* (see below) suggest some conceptual connection between *klinai* in different media in different tombs in the same region and support an inclusive analysis of all types of funerary couches in this region.

STONE AND ROCK-CUT COUCHES IN TUMULI

About forty funeral couches built of stone are known from Lydian tumuli (Fig. 63), and other examples come from tumuli in Ionia, Mysia, the Troad, Caria, northern Lycia, and northwestern Pisidia (see Fig. 1). Several more tumuli in Lydia contain couches carved from bedrock in chambers composed partly or entirely of cut bedrock.⁸³ The similarities in form and conception of the built and rock-cut couches in tumulus chambers, and the built-in nature of some of the built *klinai*, merit the consideration of both types of installation together, as different manifestations of the same idea(s). These similarities also allow us to view plain rock-cut benches in tumuli as couches of sorts.

Most tumuli in Lydia were probably constructed between the middle of the sixth and middle of the fifth century.⁸⁴ Their outward form seems to have been inspired by earlier Phrygian tumuli, which Alyattes may have seen when he campaigned in Phrygia ca. 585 BCE.⁸⁵ The largest of the tumuli in Bin Tepe, the royal cemetery of Sardis, has since antiquity been identified as the tomb of Alyattes, and it is commonly supposed that the other two very large tumuli there were also associated with Lydian royalty.⁸⁶ Most of the smaller tumuli in Bin Tepe and elsewhere in Lydia, however, probably postdate the Persian conquest of Lydia. As Roosevelt suggests, these tumuli were likely built "by social groups perhaps seeking to affirm familial ties through inclusion in an otherwise exclusive burial tradition in a significant and ideologically charged landscape," one that contained remnants of earlier Bronze Age settlements as well as the burials of Lydian kings, as a "means of linking high-status kin groups to the heroic past."⁸⁷

Establishing a precise chronology for Lydian tumuli is hampered by several factors. First and foremost is looting (both ancient and modern), which has left most tumuli devoid of their original grave assemblages. Second is the lack of precise chronology for Lydian pottery styles, so that

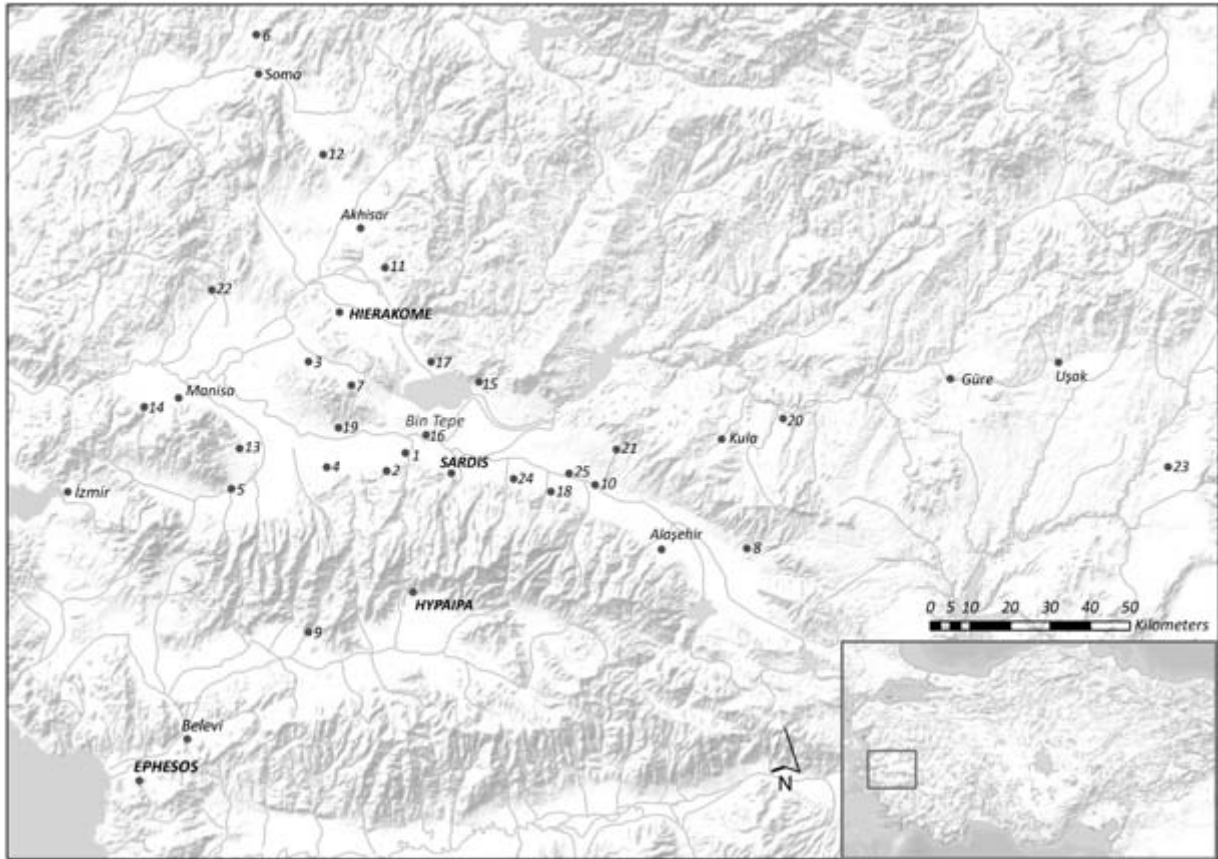


Figure 63. Map of Lydia with sites of *kline*-tombs and locations mentioned in the text: (1) Ahmetli; (2) Alahıdır; (3) Alibeyli; (4) Avşar; (5) Bahçetepe; (6) Beyce; (7) Büyükbelen; (8) Caberburhan; (9) Falaka; (10) Hacı; (11) Harmandalı; (12) Harta; (13) Karaoğlanlı; (14) Kayapınar; (15) Kemerdamları; (16) Kendirlik; (17) Kılcanlar; (18) Kordon; (19) Musacalı; (20) Ortaköy; (21) Paşa Çiftliği; (22) Sarıçam; (23) Selçikler; (24) Yabızlar; (25) Yeşilova. (Map by N.P. Niemeier)

even when a few scraps of pottery are recoverable, it is difficult to date them more precisely than “Archaic” or “sixth century.”⁸⁸ Even with a well-defined destruction horizon at Sardis firmly linked with the Persian conquest (ca. 545 BCE), it is often difficult to determine on which side of the “mid-sixth-century” mark particular items fall.⁸⁹ Other complicating factors are the practices of multiple interment and reuse. Sometimes the fragments of pottery that remain are so varied in date that they attest to a long-continued use of the tomb. At Mitrlyöztepe (Cat. 31) near Manisa, for instance, finds within the chamber range in date from the second half of the sixth century through the Roman era. Archaic Lydian finds are often lacking or scarce in tombs which in design, construction, and concept appear to be Archaic in origin. In a tumulus near Kordon Köyü (Cat. 43), the remains of some twenty individuals were found on a single couch (of double width) along with exclusively Hellenistic

finds (Figs. 64–65). It appears that each occupant (or pair of occupants, since it is of double width) was successively pushed to the rear half of the couch during each phase of reuse.⁹⁰ The Hellenistic material, then, may belong only to the latest occupant(s) of the tomb. Indeed, the architecture and *kline* type accord well with the general characteristics of Lydian tomb chambers in the late sixth to early fifth centuries. But Lydian masonry styles likewise provide only a relative chronology. Certain features, like the use of anathyrosis, traces of the claw chisel, and the use of clamps (as well as the shapes of the clamps and their cuttings), have counterparts in Greek architecture, but the history of the adoption of these methods may have been different in Lydia, and may have varied within Lydia as well. The appropriation of new techniques was probably a gradual process, without strict “watershed” dates.⁹¹ The claw chisel appears to have been introduced for use in architecture in Ionia and Lydia sometime around 530 BCE, but some monuments built after that time preserve no trace of

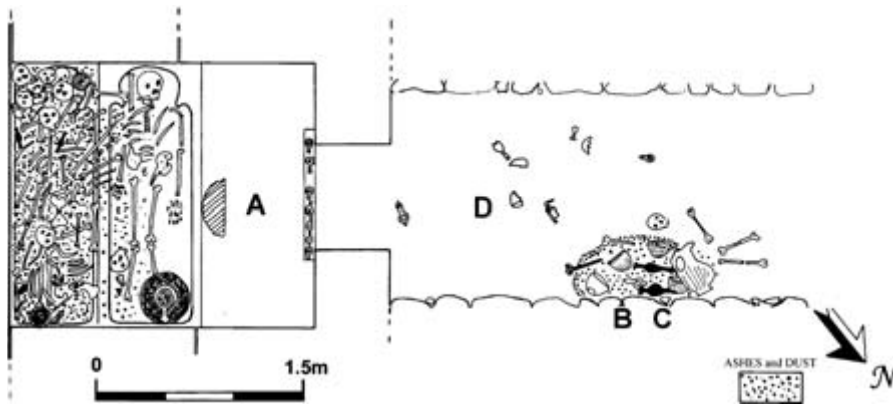


Figure 64. Kordon Tumulus (Cat. 43): plan of chamber and dromos, Aydın 2007, fig. 2. (Reproduced with permission of B. Aydın)

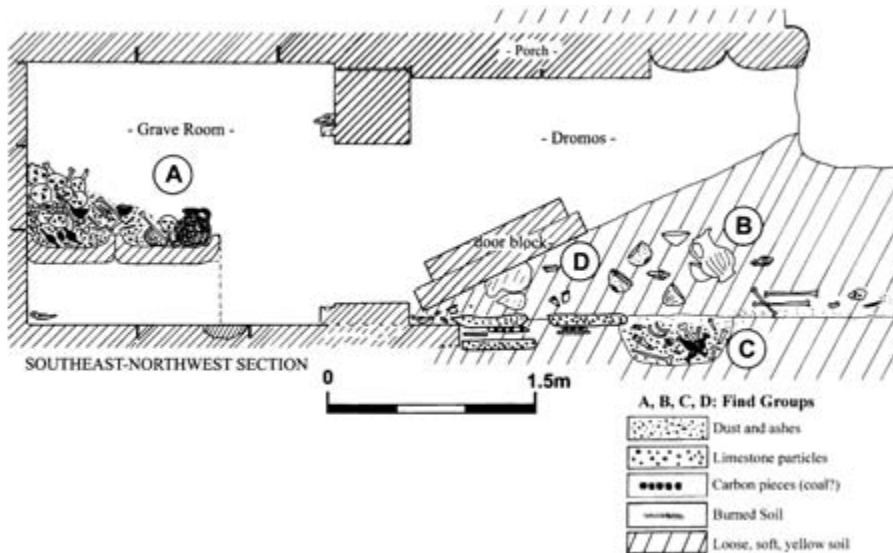


Figure 65. Kordon Tumulus (Cat. 43): section of chamber and dromos, Aydın 2007, fig. 3. (Reproduced with permission of B. Aydın)

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

the tool.⁹² Certainly the presence of claw chiseling, anathyrosis, or particular clamp cuttings is more telling than their absence; and limited areas of use may indicate early occurrences of the technique.⁹³

That *klinai* were usually planned from the beginning and so contemporary with the construction of tomb chambers is evident in a number of ways. Sometimes they are physically integrated with the surrounding architecture. At Lale Tepe (Cat. 25), for instance, the rear supports for its side *klinai* are formed by projections from wall masonry blocks, and portions of the walls in the rear part of the chamber were specially treated (with anathyrosis) to receive the parts of the rear *kline* that abutted them (Fig. 66). *Kline* bedslabs could also be socketed into grooves or slots in chamber walls.⁹⁴ Though such grooves could have been secondary, cut for the later insertion of shelf-like beds, most were probably contemporary with chamber construction.⁹⁵ This integration reveals a strong connection between the interior conception of the chambers in rock-carved and tumulus tombs.⁹⁶ Differential treatment of masonry finish on the lower parts of chamber walls (which would be covered by *klinai*) also reveals that *klinai* were in many cases intended, whether or not any fragments remain today.⁹⁷ Additional bed-like cuttings in floor blocks beneath *klinai* (“floorbeds”) could also have been secondary, reflecting a need for more burial locations than predicted, but in some cases even the floorbeds seem to have been contemporary with the original construction of the tomb chamber.⁹⁸ The size of a *kline* itself can also indicate that it was in place in the chamber before construction was completed.⁹⁹

Form and Arrangement

Basic features of funeral couches in tumulus burials are summarized in Table 1. Most are made of limestone, but at least twelve tumuli held marble couches, several others had couches made of



Figure 66. Lale Tepe (Cat. 25): view of right rear corner showing treatment of wall for built-in *klinai*. (Photo by author)

Table 1. Tumulus chambers with benches, couches, or *klinai*

Cat.	Region	Tomb name	Number of <i>klinai</i> and arrangement	Material	Dimensions in meters (if known)		
					Length	Width	Height
10	LYDIA	BT63.2	1 middle	wood	ca. 1.90	ca. 0.85	at least 0.32–0.48
3	LYDIA	BK71.1	1 side	limestone	2.10	0.88	0.52
44	LYDIA	Tombaktepe	1 side	limestone	1.98	0.86	0.55
48	LYDIA	Saraylı Boğazi	1 side	bedrock	1.99	0.90	0.55
68	MILYAS	Kızılbel	1 side	limestone	1.85	0.74	0.43
5	LYDIA	BT Choisy A	1*	limestone?		ca. 0.70	
7	LYDIA	BT Choisy D	1*	stone	1.90–2.00	0.75	
17	LYDIA	Kendirlik 2	1*	marble and limestone	at least 0.995	0.83	0.59
19	LYDIA	Büyükbelen D	1*	limestone			
21	LYDIA	Kemerdamları B	1*	limestone?			
24	LYDIA	Alahıdır 1	1*	bronze	1.5–2.0	ca. 0.80	
29	LYDIA	Hamantepe	1*	limestone	at least 0.88	0.63	
49	LYDIA	Kadırcop W	1*	limestone or marble?		ca. 0.65–0.70	
51	LYDIA	Ortaköy B	1*	stone			
34	LYDIA	Kumtepe C	1*	limestone?			
63	IONIA	Belevi	1* double?	marble			
8	LYDIA	BT Dennis A	1R	marble or limestone?			
9	LYDIA	BT62.4	1R	limestone	2.15	0.80	0.50
11	LYDIA	BT66.1	1R	limestone	2.03	1.01	0.69
12	LYDIA	BT66.2	1R	bedrock	2.00	1.12	0.62
13	LYDIA	BT66.4	1R	unknown		0.58?	
14	LYDIA	BT89.1	1R	limestone	2.06	0.815	0.66–0.72
15	LYDIA	BT05.58	1R	marble or limestone	ca. 2.10	ca. 1.00	
16	LYDIA	Kendirlik 1	1R	marble	at least 2.04	0.85	0.59
22	LYDIA	Gävür Fırını A	1R	bedrock	1.90	0.86	0.70
28	LYDIA	Karaoğlanlı C	1R	limestone?			
46	LYDIA	Hacılı A	1R	limestone or marble			
50	LYDIA	Tekçam	1R	tuff or conglomerate	2.05	0.93	0.75
52	LYDIA	Aktepe	1R	limestone	2.05	0.85	0.54
53	LYDIA	Toptepe	1R	bedrock	1.88	0.78	
31	LYDIA	Mitralyöztepe	1R	marble			
35	LYDIA	Harmandalı	1R	marble			
69	MILYAS	Karaburun II	1R	limestone	2.14	0.99	0.58
58	MYSIA	Daskyleion	1R (lengthwise in niche)	marble?			
42	LYDIA	Yabızlar Tepesi	1R double	limestone	1.85	1.25	0.70

43	LYDIA	Kordon	1R double	limestone	1.90	1.29	0.68
33	LYDIA	Mangaltepe	1R double	limestone	2.18	1.38	0.485–0.50
36	LYDIA	Harta	1R double	marble	2.18	1.22	0.80
45	LYDIA	Pasa Çiftliği	1R double?	limestone or marble?	1.93	1.16	
20	LYDIA	Kılcanlar B	1R?	marble			
41	LYDIA	Nizam	1R?	unknown	2.21?	1.00?	0.20?
54	LYDIA	İkiztepe	2 middle / 1*	tuff; marble	1.75 / 1.90	0.84 / 0.76	0.74 / 0.67
1	LYDIA	Tomb 77.1	2 sides	limestone	2.23	ca. 0.70	0.60–0.70
2	LYDIA	Tomb 82.1	2 sides	limestone		at least 0.765	
57	MYDIA	Üçpınar	2 sides	marble?	1.92–1.95	0.70	ca. 0.60
60	MYDIA	Yağclar	2 sides	stone		0.75	0.50
26	LYDIA	Musacalitepe	2 sides, both double	limestone			
6	LYDIA	BT Choisy B–C	2*	limestone?	1.90–2.00	ca. 0.75	ca. 0.70
18	LYDIA	Belenovası B	2+*	marble	2.08	1.19 (combined)	
56	LYDIA	Selçukler 2	2I	limestone or marble?	2.20 / 2.05	ca. 0.70 / ca. 0.45	0.59
32	LYDIA	Bekçitepe	2I	marble	1.98	0.74	0.76
39	LYDIA	Soma C	2I	bedrock			
61	TROAD	Dedetepe	2I	marble	ca. 2.05 m	ca. 0.92 m	
59	MYDIA	Koru Tumulus	2I	marble			
66	KIBYRATIS	Çeştepe	2I	limestone			
67	KIBYRATIS	Yuvalak	2I	limestone			
23	LYDIA	Gâvur Fırını B	2I?	bedrock	2.45	0.76	0.35
4	LYDIA	Tomb 89.1.1	3II	limestone	1.84 / 1.88 / 2.14	0.62–0.66	ca. 1.00
27	LYDIA	Bahçetepe	3II	limestone?			
55	LYDIA	Velişintepe	3II	bedrock	1.74 / 1.92	0.62–0.65	
62	TROAD	Dardanos	3II	limestone	2.05	0.80	0.60
65	KIBYRATIS	Üç Tümülüsler 1	3II	sandstone?	1.86	0.68	
37	LYDIA	Soma A1	3II / 2 sides	bedrock			0.85
38	LYDIA	Soma A2	3II / 2 sides	bedrock			
64	PHRYGIA	Taşlık	3II / 2 sides	bedrock			
30	LYDIA	Sarıçam A	3II, all double	limestone	2.15–2.17	1.22–1.23	0.81
25	LYDIA	Lale Tepe	3II, double at rear	marble and limestone	/ 2.42	0.58 / 0.62 / 1.30	0.53 / 0.57 / 1.15
47	LYDIA	Barajtepe	3II+	bedrock	1.18 / 1.82	0.80 / 0.70	0.40–0.45

See the Catalogue (Appendix A) for full descriptions of tumulus chambers.

Key: Number of couches: 1, 2, 3, etc. (+ = possibly more). Arrangement: against 1 or 2 side walls (*side[s]*); against rear wall (*R*); in middle of chamber (*middle*); in T-shaped arrangement against rear and one side wall (*T*); in II-shaped arrangement against side and rear walls (*IT*). Double width (*double*). Location unknown or unspecified (*).

local tuff, conglomerate, or sandstone, and ten recorded tumuli have couches carved directly from bedrock. Two Lydian tumuli had *klinai* of mixed media, with marble bedslabs resting on limestone supports.¹⁰⁰ Most are composed of a horizontal “bedslab” supported on two upright “slab supports” (see Figs. 68, 72, 74, and 80), though in some cases there were four individual block supports (one at each corner, see Figs. 82 and 83). Monolithic *klinai* are also known, either with solid sides (akin to slab supports at the left and right sides, see Fig. 81) or with four individually carved legs (see Fig. 73).¹⁰¹ Often bedslabs are integrated with the surrounding architecture of the tomb chamber, slotted into grooves or supported by projections from chamber walls.¹⁰²

Dimensions, when they can be determined, usually vary within the ranges of 1.80–2.20 m long, 0.60–0.85 m wide, and 0.50–0.70 m high (including the bedslab).¹⁰³ Couches of double width, ca. 1.20–1.30 m wide and often with two side-by-side burial hollows in the bedslab(s), seem to have been most common in Lydia but may also be attested in Ionia.¹⁰⁴ Some are composed of two separate bedslabs laid side by side (Figs. 64–65, 78).¹⁰⁵ In two cases there is some differentiation between the two halves: on the rear couch at Lale Tepe (Plate 1), the front half of the bedslab is slightly higher than the rear, and at Harta (Fig. 85), the rear depression is wider. The bedslabs of stone couches often have shallow, concave depressions in their upper surfaces, bordered by flat or raised borders on the long sides and higher, wider rectangular elements on one or both short ends. The borders thus recall the long rails of wooden couches, while the raised areas on the short ends resemble head- or armrests. In some cases the inner part of a raised rectangular headrest may have a semi-oval concave contour that gives the impression of a pillow from which someone has just lifted a head,¹⁰⁶ and sometimes a corresponding swell completing the oval on the bed surface proper resembles a raised pillow (see Figs. 67–68, 72b).¹⁰⁷ Anthropoid burial hollows are also known, with deeper, more semicircular or fully oval concavities defining the placement of the head and sometimes delineating shoulders (Figs. 64–65, 78).¹⁰⁸ In one case a circular depression on the opposite end of a burial hollow carved into floor slabs beneath a built *kline* seems to mark the location of feet.¹⁰⁹ These anthropoid features must be understood as adaptations to the *kline* form that stem from their funerary use.

In Lydian tumuli, couches are most often found singly (whether of single or double width), and located before the rear wall of the chamber (see Table 1, Figs. 64–65, 76, 78, 85). Three tombs with oblong chambers have a single couch located before one side wall (see Figs. 80, 90).¹¹⁰ The Kızılbel and Karaburun tumuli in the Milyas (Cat. 68–69) also had only a single couch each. At Kızılbel this was located before the rear portion of the left wall (see Fig. 88), while at Karaburun it occupied the right portion of the rear wall. The installation of a single *kline* headlong in a recessed niche across from the entrance in a recently discovered tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 58) is so far unique. When there are two couches, one is usually located before the rear wall and one along one side wall (with no apparent preference for the left or right, see Fig. 74),¹¹¹ but chambers with couches or floorbeds on each side wall are also known.¹¹² In three-couch tombs, the burial places are invariably in a Π-shaped arrangement facing the entrance (Plate 1).¹¹³ This is the most common arrangement for the rock-cut chamber tombs explored below, and it also occurs in some of the rock-cut chambers of tumuli.¹¹⁴ While most double *klinai* constitute the sole furnishing in the tomb, usually against the rear wall of the chamber (Figs. 64–65, 78, 85),¹¹⁵ they can also be accompanied by single couches

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

along the side walls (Plate 1), and in one case all three locations (right, left, and rear walls) are occupied by double couches, for a total of six burial places (Cat. 30).

Type B *Klinai*

Often the front faces of slab supports and the front right and left corners of the bedslabs that rest atop them were carved or painted to resemble wooden couch legs, usually of the Type B variety. The raised portions at each end of the bedslab are thus conceived as extensions of the rectangular supports below and resemble corner posts or leg capitals raised above the level of the front “rail.” The supports often carry representations of the characteristic Type B side cutouts, and the front corners of the bedslabs are often decorated with volutes of some sort. The same design scheme can also be achieved on monolithic *klinai*, with varying degrees of undercutting beneath the bed surface, and with the legs either slab-like (see Fig. 81) or “freestanding” (as four individual legs, see Fig. 73). The lower edge of the front of the bedslab, between the legs, is sometimes beveled back from the vertical plane of the front “rail” (see Figs. 72, 76).¹¹⁶ While some of the decorated stone *klinai* of Anatolia are comparable to those depicted on contemporary vases, others are not so close. The painters and sculptors of these funeral couches could select certain features of *kline* vocabulary and use them in isolation or combine them in new ways. It seems that conveying the idea of a *kline* and/or its ornamental luxury was more important than producing faithful replicas of wooden forms. And yet consistent approaches to certain features (such as tenons) reveal an intimate knowledge of those wooden forms.

The earliest externally datable, decorated Type B *kline* in Lydia comes from a tumulus near Kendirlik in Bin Tepe, the tumulus cemetery of Sardis (Cat. 16, Fig. 67, Plate 8). It was composed of a marble bedslab on two marble slab supports. The faces of the supports were painted with characteristic Type B decoration in red and black: side cutouts with outlined disc terminals and similar discs on either side of a central connecting band, with palmettes above and below. The outlining of red palmette petals with black and reserve bands is comparable to the outlining of amber petals with bone on the Type B remains from Polizzello and the amber borders of bone petals (in alternation with amber petals) on the Kerameikos *kline* (see Fig. 43, Plate 4).¹¹⁷ The marble bedslab had a raised rectangular headrest at each end, with a semi-oval depression on the inner edge and corresponding raised semi-oval pillow on the lower surface of the bedslab, creating the impression of a pillow on each end. This particular type of headrest is well represented among the tombs of Bin Tepe and will be discussed in more detail below. The front edge of the bedslab (or the front “rail” of the couch) may once have carried painted decoration, as some faint, amorphous traces of red pigment suggest.¹¹⁸

Kendirlik Tomb 1 has been dated ca. 575 BCE on the basis of surviving pottery fragments from the chamber fill and from a neighboring tumulus with a similar chamber plan (Kendirlik 2, Cat. 17).¹¹⁹ From Tomb 2 came a Phrygianizing Wild Goat style sherd as well as ridged lydia, parts of “fruit stands” (stemmed dishes), and part of a Lydian column krater, all consistent with a date in the first half of the sixth century.¹²⁰ Three lekythoi from Tomb 1 are hard to date precisely but are comparable to one from Alahıdır Tumulus 1 (Cat. 24), which has been dated by other finds to ca. 575–540.¹²¹ Masonry details in both Kendirlik tomb chambers (projecting bands on the edges of

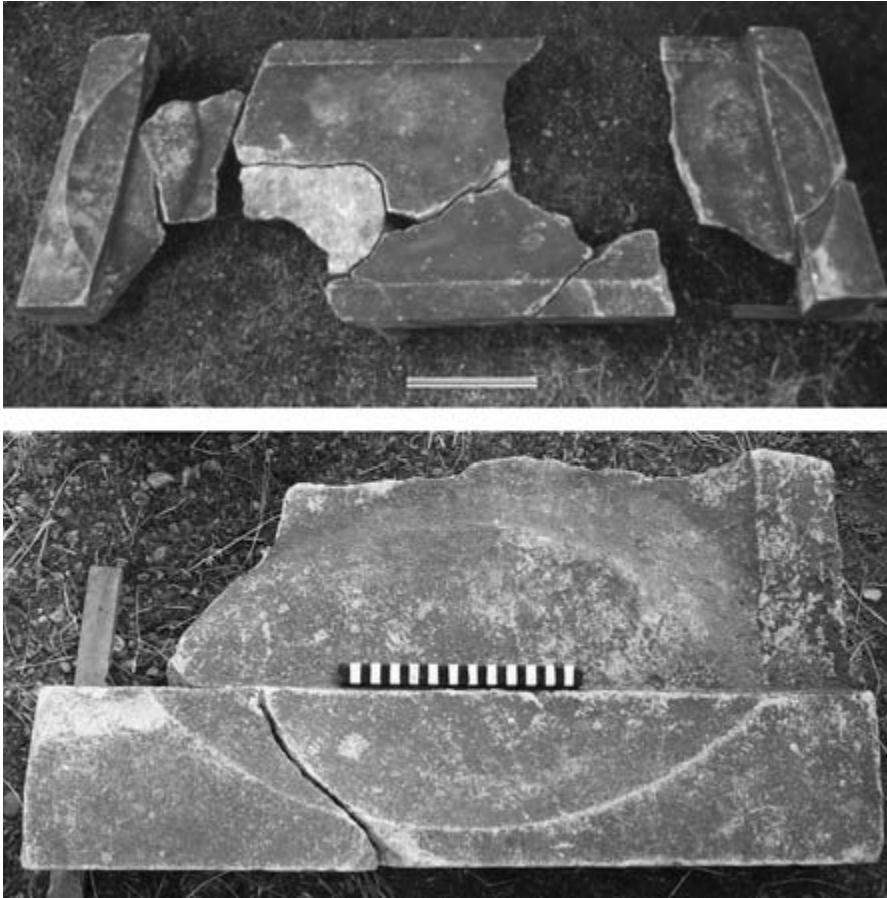


Figure 67. Kendirlik 1 (Cat. 16): fragments of *kline* bedslab and detail of headrest and “pillow.” (Photos by author)

ceiling blocks in Tomb 1 and protective lips between the lowest wall blocks in Tomb 2) are paralleled in the Tumulus of Alyattes and other constructions that predate the Persian conquest of Lydia.¹²² The stout proportions and straight-sidedness of the painted supports are compatible with a date around the middle of the sixth century.¹²³

Another Type B *kline* has recently been recorded in another disturbed tumulus near Kendirlik, BTo5.58 (Cat. 15, Fig. 68). This tomb has been dated to the second half of the sixth century on the basis of masonry details. Fragmentary remains of a single *kline* were found before the rear wall of the transversely oriented chamber. The bedslab has a raised headrest and relief pillow on each end, and the faces of the headrests are decorated with Aeolic double volutes in relief. The volutes are close to Kyrieleis’s Type 2 scheme,¹²⁴ but spring straight up from the bottom, with an intervening element that sprouts into a three-petaled palmette at the top separation. The faces of the supports are carved with Type B side cutouts in low silhouette relief, with disc terminals on the C’s and at the midpoint.

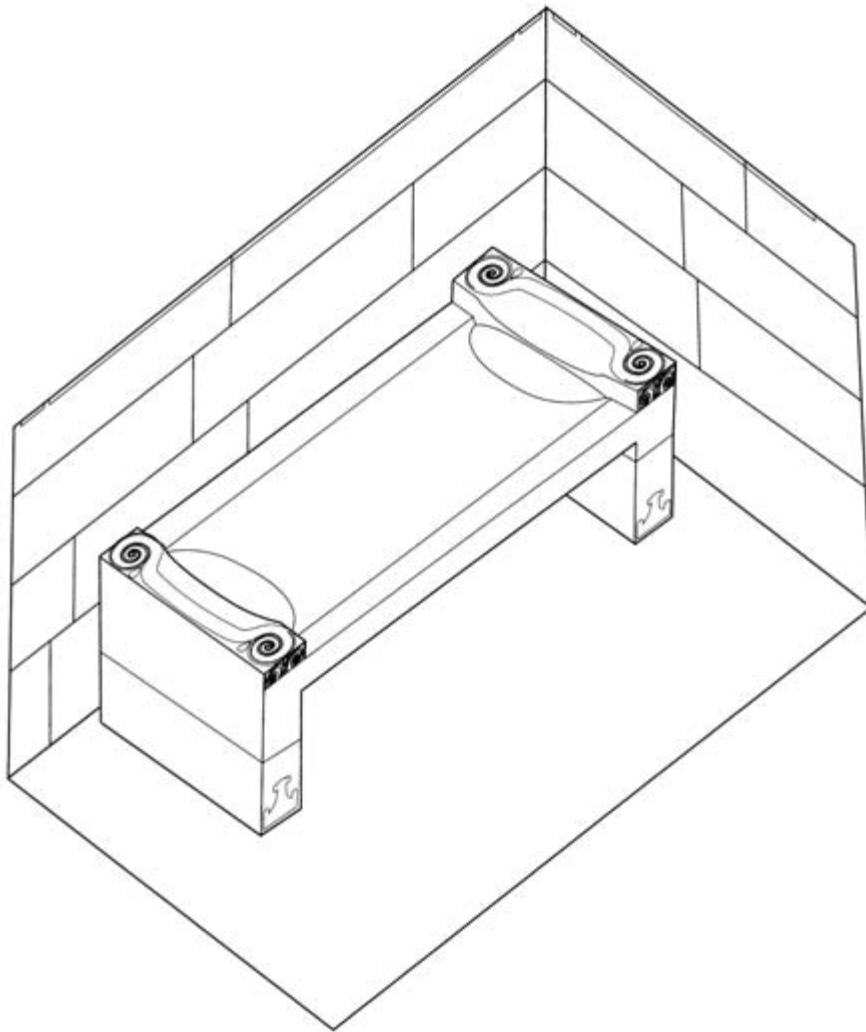


Figure 68. BT05.58 (Cat. 15): reconstruction of *kline* in the tumulus chamber, Roosevelt 2009, fig. 6.46. (Reproduced with permission of C.H. Roosevelt)

Perhaps most in line with canonical Type B design, as defined in Chapter 1, is the fragmentary *kline* from Hacılı A (“Tombaktepe,” Cat. 46, Fig. 69). This tomb has not been well published and can be dated only generally to the sixth century. An Aeolic-style volute in sunken relief decorates the raised right end, and the fronts of the legs carry side cutouts (with disc-shaped terminals and disc-shaped ends of the “cross-bar” at the middle), with palmettes springing from the top and rosettes above.¹²⁵ The top of the left corner is broken off, but the preserved portion rises above the level of the rail with no indication of another volute capital design, so it appears that this *kline* had only one raised end. The Aeolic capital conforms to Kyrieleis’s Type 1 scheme, the most common type represented on Greek vases, with volutes springing up straight from the center of the

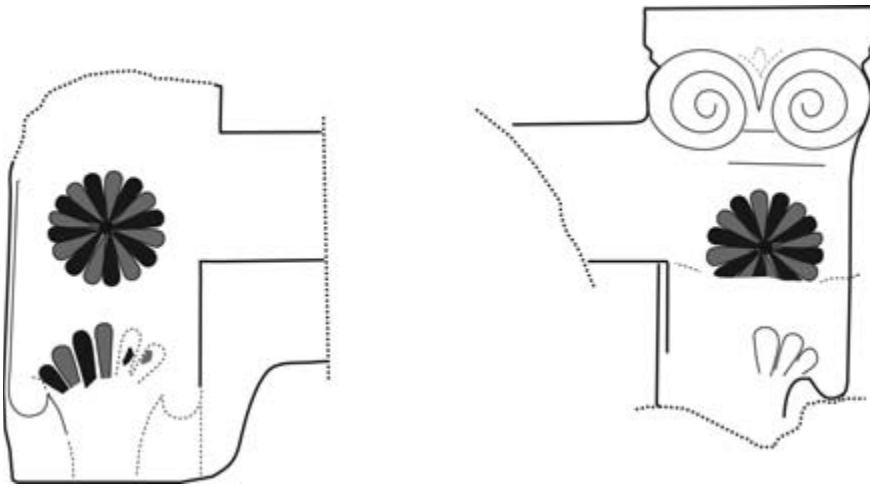


Figure 69. Hacılı A (Cat. 46): drawing of *kline* fragments. (Drawing by author after unpublished photos, courtesy of C.H. Greenewalt Jr.)

baseline.¹²⁶ The petals of the palmettes and rosettes are painted alternately red and blue, and the volute capital may also have originally been painted. Springing from the top of the Aeolic volute is a small lotus flower or palmette, very worn. A lotus flower in this location would be unusual but not unparalleled in Lydia.¹²⁷ The sunken relief technique of the capital is found on two other *klinai* from Lydia (Cat. 6, 32) and is paralleled on Type B legs depicted in Archaic relief sculpture, such as a frieze fragment from the Heraion of Samos.¹²⁸ The alternating colors of the palmette petals may be compared to the alternating amber and bone petals in the same location on the Kerameikos *kline*; a similar alternation is found in palmette decoration on “Ephesian Ware” vessels and some Attic and Caeretan black-figure hydriae as well as on the painted frieze of the rear *kline* at Lale Tepe (see below).¹²⁹

The most elaborately carved and whimsical interpretations of Type B *kline* vocabulary in Lydia occur on fragments recovered by the Manisa Museum in a salvage excavation of another looted tomb, Bekçitepe, in the vicinity of Alibeyli in northwest Lydia (Cat. 32, Fig. 70, Plate 9). Two *klinai* stood in the chamber, one before the rear wall and a slightly smaller one before the left-hand wall, as indicated by areas of differential wear on the masonry.¹³⁰ Each was composed of a marble bedslab resting on two marble slab supports. The preserved support of the rear *kline* is not only taller but also wider than those of the left-hand *kline*; it is also more straight-sided, tapering only slightly from top to bottom, while the supports for the left *kline* have a gentle concave contour and a more pronounced downward taper. Carved and painted on the faces of the supports for both couches are a series of double volutes and other motifs. Where most Type B legs have a pair of double volutes placed back-to-back to form the side cutouts, each of the supports from Bekçitepe has *four* double volutes: one back-to-back pair sitting atop another.¹³¹ In other words, the central discs/eyes customary on each side of the middle or thinnest part of the indentation are separated into *two* volute eyes, each of which becomes a terminus of the upper or lower volute. The resulting scalloped diamond shape in the center of the legs, between the four double volutes, is filled with a delicate

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia



Figure 70 . Bekçitepe (Cat. 32): views of *kline* bedslab and supports in the Archaeological Museum of Manisa and drawing of slab support for left *kline*. (Photos and drawing by author)

four-pointed star/flower.¹³² Above and below these stacked double volutes sprout palmettes enclosed by flat bands, with petals alternately red and blue. The overall effect recalls the Type B formula, but the volutes stray from their structural correspondence. An Ionic-style horizontal double volute at the foot resembles the decoration of the Kerameikos *kline* (Fig. 43) and some *klinai* represented in Greek vase painting.¹³³ The supports of the smaller, left-hand *kline* carry an additional decorative element: a flat band at the top, on which an upright lotus frieze is painted.¹³⁴ Each bedslab had only one raised end (the right), with a volute capital carved on the face to represent the upper portion of the *kline* leg. Only the volute capital of the larger of the two *klinai* is fully preserved, and it is composed of an Aeolic-style double volute in sunken relief.¹³⁵ The way the bases of the volutes begin at the outer, bottom corners rather than springing up from the middle is distinctive; it is found also on one of the *klinai* recorded by Choisy in Bin Tepe (Choisy *Kline* B–C, Cat. 6; see Fig. 72).¹³⁶ Between the volutes at the bottom is a plain rectangle, perhaps a variant of the “tenon” motif,¹³⁷ and emerging from the meeting points of the volutes, both above and below, are pointed lozenges. As seen in Chapter 1, the upper location is usually occupied by a single, rounded leaf or small palmette. This variation is paralleled in Lydia on the rear *kline* from Lale Tepe (Fig. 71) and is also seen on an Attic Siana cup.¹³⁸ The Bekçitepe tomb has been dated ca. 530–500 on the basis of masonry details and the *kline* decoration.¹³⁹

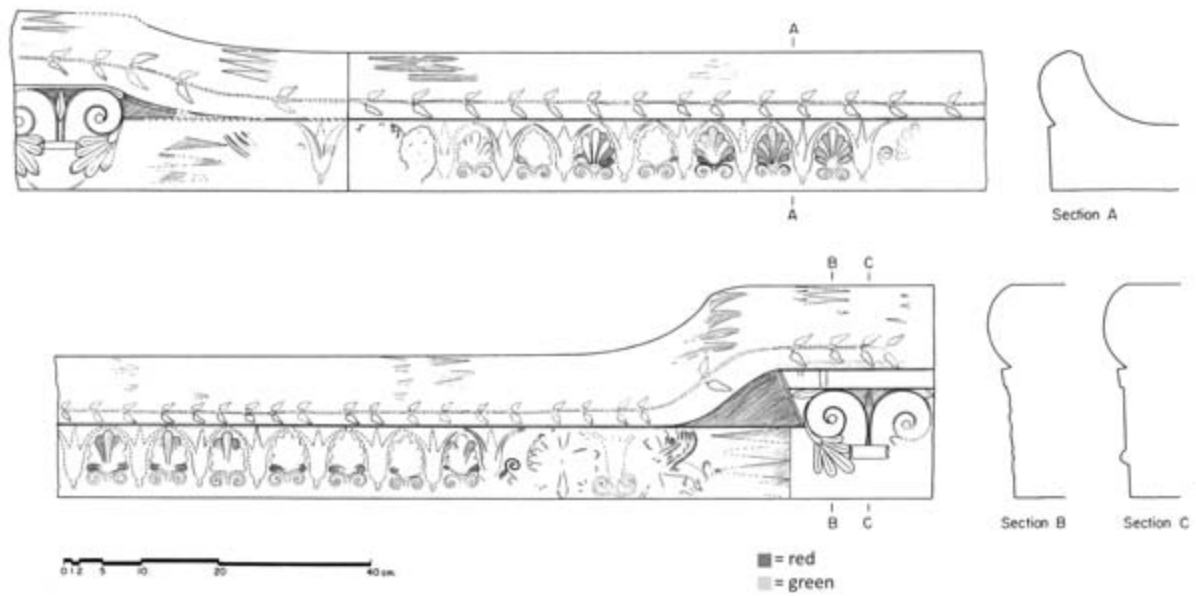


Figure 71. Lale Tepe (Cat. 25): (a) elevation and sections of rear *klinē* bedslab; (b) view of right end fragments. ([a] © Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University; [b] photo by author)



Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

Another extraordinarily ornate Lydian *kline* is the fragmentary couch that filled the rear position in the chamber of the Lale Tepe tumulus near Ahmetli, in the Hermos Valley just west of Sardis (Cat. 25, Fig. 71, Plate 1). The tomb held three marble and limestone *klinai* in an interlocking and stacked arrangement, with the rear couch overlapping the rear ends of the two side couches.¹⁴⁰ The rear *kline* was about 0.50 m higher than the side *klinai* and was also differentiated by extra width, with two anthropoid hollows carved in the bedslab. And while the rear *kline* was composed entirely of marble, the side *klinai* had marble bedslabs with limestone supports, some of which were incorporated into the fabric of the chamber walls, projecting from the masonry blocks. These built-in components, as well as setting lines and areas of special treatment on the walls where the bedslabs adjoined them, indicate that this unusual arrangement was planned from the beginning. Even the three floorbeds (anthropoid hollows carved in the floor slabs beneath each *kline*) seem to have been intended from the initial stages of tomb construction.¹⁴¹

The rear couch from Lale Tepe replicates an ornate Type B *kline* covered with a richly patterned cushion, while the side couches combine Type A legs with schematic Type B volute capitals. Graceful Type B legs were carved in relief on the faces of large, L-shaped marble slabs that were socketed into the corners of the side couches and supported the massive, double bedslab of the rear *kline*. The side cutouts are conceived as back-to-back double volutes, and the projection at the thinnest part of each crescent takes the form of a pointed bud or leaf, a unique variation on the Type B formula.¹⁴² Palmettes hang below the volute crescents, and the outline of the leg, set off in relief against a black background, has a pronounced concave contour as it tapers toward the foot. The omission of the standard palmettes above the cutouts could have been necessitated by the short length of the leg projections (overlapping the side couches on the support slabs), but is known elsewhere in Lydia and so may have been a regional trait.¹⁴³ The elongated, concave petals of the palmettes are paralleled on Archaic anthemion stelai.¹⁴⁴ The extreme concavity of the lower portion of the relief legs is another peculiarity and may be an indication of a somewhat later date, in the first quarter of the fifth century.¹⁴⁵ Other diagnostic features of decoration on the rear *kline* are compatible with this chronology and offer further variations on canonical forms. The Aeolic-style volute capitals include hanging palmettes reminiscent of the angle-palmettes of Ionic capitals. No parallels are known for this feature on Aeolic capitals, but similar forms are found in association with Aeolic volutes on lyre-type stele anthemia from Sardis, dated to the early fifth century.¹⁴⁶ Rectangular projections beneath the volute capitals represent wooden joinery tenons, as seen on many vase representations of *klinai*. The front rail of the couch carries a painted lotus-palmette frieze flanked at each end by a rosette, lotus flower, sphinx, and interlocking horizontal rays at the juncture with the legs. While the ray pattern seems to have been a structural motif and is commonly found in representations of *klinai* on Greek vases, as seen in Chapter 1, the elaborate lotus frieze is quite rare for *kline* decoration, and sphinxes are unparalleled in this location. For a lotus chain on the front rail face of a *kline*, the only parallel is a terracotta *kline*-sarcophagus with reclining couple from Caere in the Louvre.¹⁴⁷ The top faces of the rails on the bronze *kline* in the Getty Museum (Fig. 23), however, carry engraved lotus friezes, and the tomb from which this couch probably came is located only about 5 km from Lale Tepe.¹⁴⁸ Certain details of the Getty *kline* frieze, such as the interruption of the lotus chains with a rosette medallion, are also comparable to the painted frieze on the Lale Tepe rear *kline*. The style of

the lotus flowers and the sphinx wings suggest a date in the early part of the fifth century and help to date the tomb to this period.¹⁴⁹

The *klinai* that offer the best parallels for the truncated legs of the Lale Tepe rear *kline*, with palmettes only below and not above the side cutouts, were recorded by Choisy in Bin Tepe in 1875 and are now known only through drawings made shortly after discovery (Choisy *Klinai* B–C, Cat. 6, Fig. 72).¹⁵⁰ Choisy drew matching supports of two different sizes, presumably for two *klinai* from the same tomb, although the pieces were not discovered in context and were not associated with any particular tumulus.¹⁵¹ The supports are drawn as solid slabs with carved faces replicating Type B legs. The side cutouts are rendered in silhouette relief as back-to-back C's terminating in rounded ends, without central projections. A palmette hangs below, as a separate element (not sprouting from the separation of volute crescents, as on the Lale Tepe rear supports and as originally conceived in the Type B decorative vocabulary). The bottom of the leg is not further outlined, nor is any foot delineated. The Type B scheme has here been abbreviated to a side cutout and single palmette. In Choisy's drawings, the palmettes are shown with angular, pointed petals on *Kline* C but with more typical, club-shaped ends on *Kline* B; one of these supports was sketched by Bacon in the Sart train station in 1882 with very pointed, angular petals.¹⁵² Even angular petals would, however, not be unparalleled for the sixth century, as they occur on some East Greek architectural terracottas,¹⁵³ and on a fragmentary lotus-palmette frieze from Sardis.¹⁵⁴ Bacon also sketched a hypothetical cross-section of one of the petals to show that it had a central ridge flanked by slight concavities. This feature is also paralleled in sixth-century architectural ornament, as on the lotus-palmette frieze from an Ionian treasury at Delphi, and at Lale Tepe on the palmettes suspended from the volute capitals of the rear *kline* and on the rosettes of the carved marble door.¹⁵⁵ The front face of the bedslab that Choisy associated with these supports was drawn with an Aeolic-style volute capital at each end and a row of round motifs along the front rail. Choisy identified the round motifs as "paterae," and in one drawing they appear to have central omphaloi, as phialai do.¹⁵⁶ The differences between the left and right volute capitals in this drawing are confirmed in Choisy's written description, which notes that the more linear left-hand volute was rendered in green paint, while the right-hand volute was carved, and that both volutes had eyes painted red.¹⁵⁷ He also noted traces of red paint on the "paterae."¹⁵⁸ Choisy's drawings show raised headrests on each end, with semi-oval depressions on the inner edge. These are similar to headrests now known from other Lydian tumuli (see below), but differ in having a curved inner edge. Another feature that is comparable to extant *klinai* is the beveled lower edge of the front "rail" on the bedslab, between the solid ends that rested on the slab supports and formed the upper extensions of the *kline* "legs."¹⁵⁹

Subtler tapering and concavity in the lower legs are found on contemporary painted *klinai* from eastern Lydia (Aktepe) and the Troad (Dedetepe). The Aktepe *kline*, from one of the so-called Lydian Treasure tombs near Güre, was a monolithic tour de force of creative elaboration of the Type B scheme, while the somewhat more staid but no less vibrant *klinai* from Dedetepe display a careful balance of precision and variation of formal details. The Aktepe *kline* stood on four separate trapezoidal legs that taper from top to bottom on all sides (Fig. 73, Plate 11).¹⁶⁰ The front faces of the front legs have side cutouts in deep silhouette relief, with palmettes painted in red above and below.¹⁶¹ The lower legs taper to feet composed of couchant deer or calves with heads

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

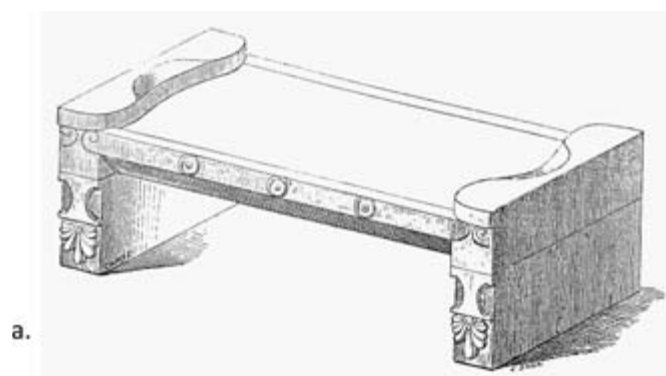


Figure 72. *Klinai* recorded by A. Choisy in Bin Tepe: (a) Choisy *Kline* B-C (Cat. 6), Choisy 1876, fig. 13; (b) Choisy *Klinai* B-C, D, and A (Cat. 5-7), Choisy, 1876, pl. XIII.

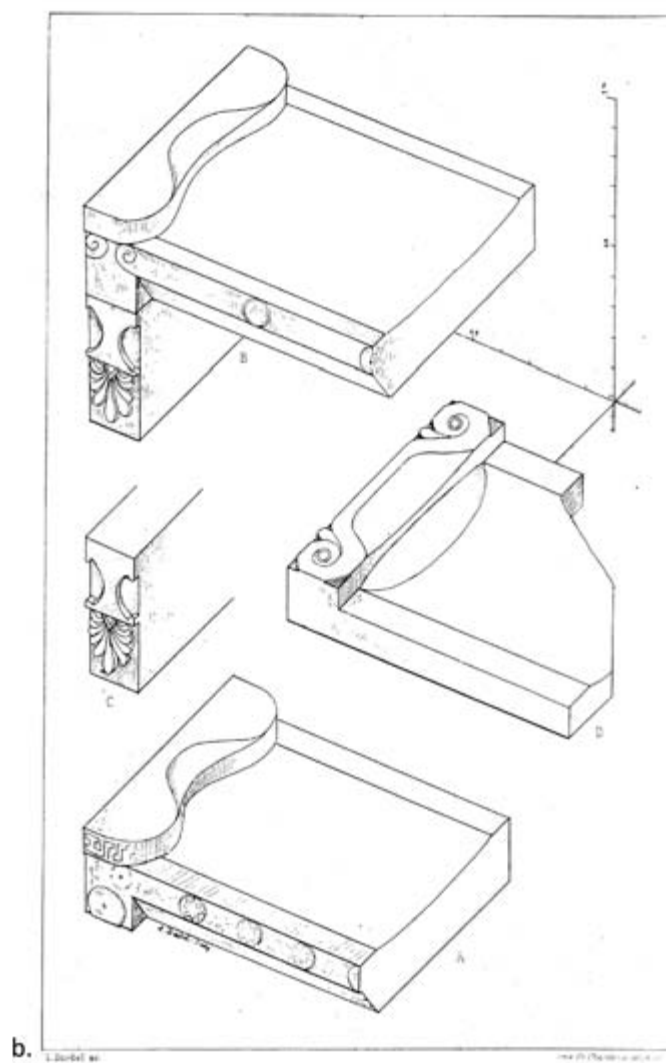




Figure 73. *Kline* from Aktepe (Cat. 52), Uşak Archaeological Museum: view of whole, detail of right leg, and reconstruction drawing of painted frieze on front rail, based on faint traces and differential wear patterns. (Photos by author, drawing by author and C.H. Roosevelt; used with permission of the Uşak Archaeological Museum)

turned back toward their bodies. This form is unique among known *klinai*, but it is worth noting that animal-footed couches have been recorded in several rock-cut tombs in the region of Sivrihisar in western Phrygia (Cat. 157, 160, 163), so the incorporation of animal feet could have something to do with Aktepe's location near the border zone between Lydia and Phrygia. The couchant animal form, however, seems to have been a favorite of Lydian metalworkers.¹⁶² Only the front right capital is preserved, and it is decorated with an Aeolic-style double volute. The volutes spring from a line at mid-height that was once delineated in another color of paint (and so fit Kyrieleis's Type 4 scheme);¹⁶³ they have fillets and eyes painted red. A three- or four-petaled palmette springs from an angled tongue at the separation of the volutes at the top of the capital, and ridged, pointed leaves fill the spaces between the volutes and the abacus above. This detail is common for architectural Aeolic capitals and found on other *klinai*, but it is not seen in *kline* representations on vases.¹⁶⁴ It is included on both the Hacılı A *kline* and on the rear *kline* from Lale Tepe and proves that the makers of these *klinai* were not merely relying on imported vase representations for formal inspiration. The abacus of the capital (and the front edge of the headrest, on which see the excursus on decorated headrests below) is decorated with a red-painted maeander of unusual, possibly Phrygian, type.¹⁶⁵

The front rail of the Aktepe *kline* is its most remarkable feature, though one has to look very closely to appreciate it today. It once carried an elaborate figural frieze of riders on horseback flanking an animal confrontation, painted directly on the surface of the limestone. Because no binding agent was used, the pigments have entirely vanished, but the original design can be discerned in

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

raking light, which enhances the minor surface variations that result from the prior presence of paint as well as faint incisions that must have served as initial sketch lines. This frieze has been described at length elsewhere,¹⁶⁶ and its significance for understanding the cultural affinities of the tomb owner will be explored in Chapter 4. It is the only known example of a figured *kline* rail frieze earlier than the fourth century.¹⁶⁷ The Aktepe tomb has been dated ca. 525–500 on the basis of its masonry and wall paintings, but details of the *kline* frieze as well as the tapered style of the *kline* legs suggest a slightly later date, in the first half of the fifth century.¹⁶⁸

The Dedetepe tumulus was probably constructed around the same time, ca. 480–460, judging from pottery and other finds (Cat. 61, Fig. 74, Plate 10).¹⁶⁹ It held two marble *klinai* composed of horizontal bedslabs on slab supports. The faces of the supports are painted, and the bedslab is carved to replicate a mattress over a rail between plank headrests with raised bosses at each end, with bright paint adding vibrant details: horizontal stripes on the cushion (red, green, yellow, and blue), headrests outlined in red and bosses painted blue, and red and blue maeander on the front edge of each headrest.¹⁷⁰ The maeander edge of the headrest serves also as the abacus for the volute capital, which takes the Ionic form, with a grid-like design filling the space between the volutes. The painted legs taper heavily in the lower portion, beneath the volute “cutouts.” Many features of the Dedetepe *kline* decoration are well paralleled in depictions of *klinai* on Attic vases: the striped cushion, maeander abacus, tenon with vertical striations representing wood grain, the red coloring of volute eyes (on capital and side crescents), and the omission of the usual palmette below the side cutouts.¹⁷¹ Even the grid-like pattern between the volutes is comparable to the grid motifs sometimes seen below volute capitals in vase representations of *klinai* (e.g., Fig. 36a–b). More unusual is the flat, Ionic capital, since Ionic-style volutes are rarely seen on *klinai* depicted on Greek vases. The most unique features of the decoration are the tight double-volute bundles that visually connect the bedslab to the support beneath. The quadruple-spiral motif is found in a wide variety of contexts in Greek art, especially of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods,¹⁷² but these particularly recall metal sleeves in the form of addorsed volute bundles used in Urartian and Assyrian furniture as sheathing for throne and stool stretchers,¹⁷³ and their connective function (though purely visual) suggests some understanding of the motif as a functional form. This potentially eastern-inspired element may be seen, together with the Persian-style features of some of the wooden table legs discovered in the chamber (discussed in Chapter 1), as indications of the hybrid cultural affinities of the tomb owners.¹⁷⁴ These *klinai* share with Lydian examples the basic composition of bedslab on slab supports, but the lower face of the bedslab is not beveled in the middle as commonly found in Lydia. The headrest design, too, seems more related to wooden *kline* forms than to the anthropoid hollows and pillow-type headrests common in Lydia.

A close affinity with Lydian *klinai* is found, however, in a newly discovered tomb at Daskyleion (Cat. 59). Although the tomb has not yet been fully published, preliminary reports and photographs indicate that it may be one of the best-preserved *kline*-tombs so far known in Anatolia. Its burial chamber contains two marble *klinai* in a T-shaped arrangement akin to that found at Dedetepe, and a third wooden *kline* may have stood along the right wall. The *klinai* are monolithic, with the bottom parts undercut so that the lower third of each side leg projects downward as a freestanding slab support. As at Dedetepe, each *kline* has a raised headrest on both ends and a carved “mattress”

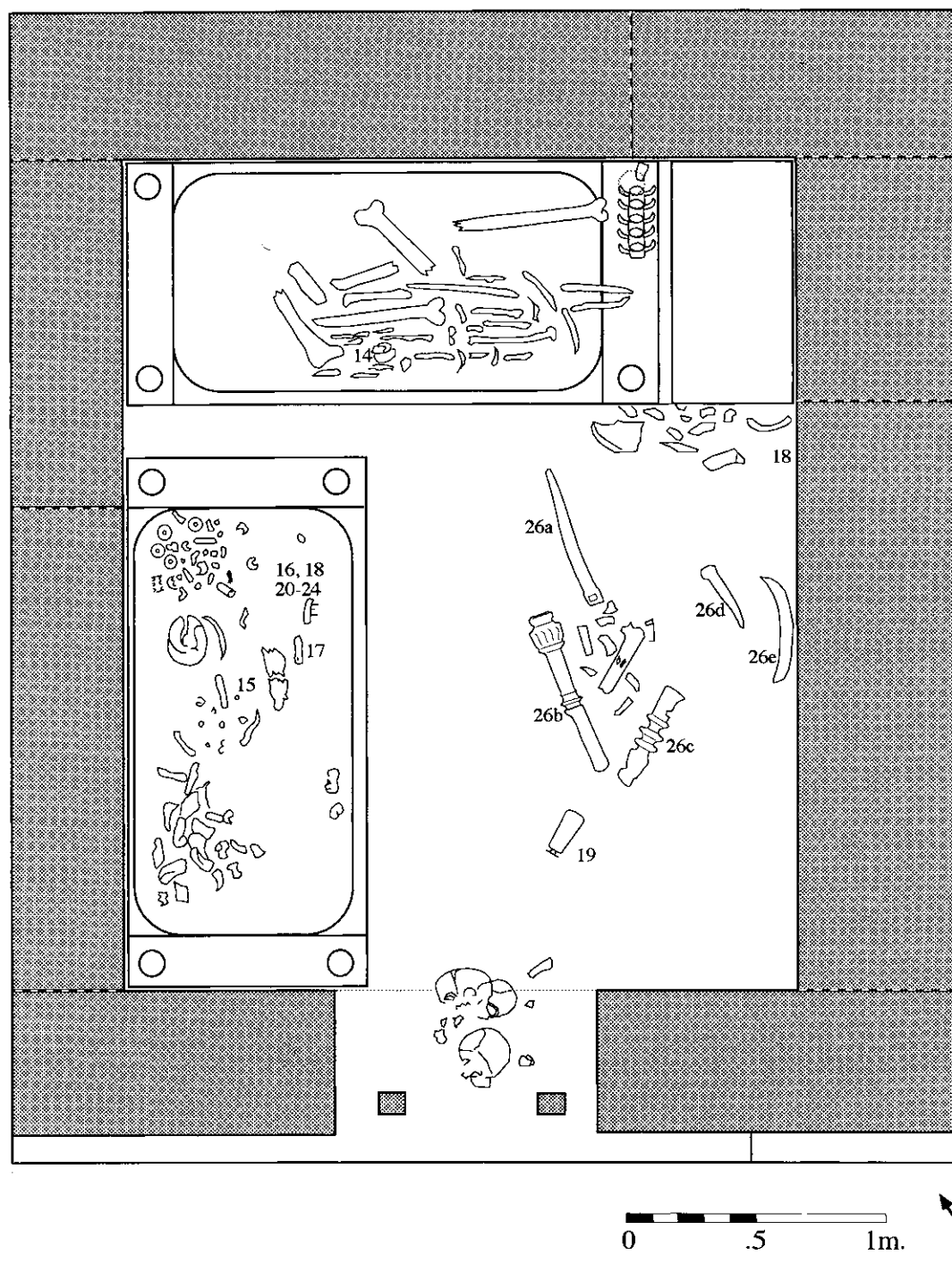




Figure 74. Dedetepe (Cat. 61): plan (facing page) and view of chamber, Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 1998, figs. 5–6. (Reproduced with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

and “rail.” But in the Daskyleion tomb, the Type B leg decoration is carved rather than painted (with Aeolic volute capitals and side cutouts with disc terminals), and the bright purple color visible in some places on the “mattress” and “rail” is not painted decoration but rather results from contact with rich purple textiles, now disintegrated. Detailed photographs of the *kline* legs have not yet been published, but they appear to taper gently from top to bottom in the upper portion, above the side cutouts, while the lower portion is more concave, before flaring to a rounded foot. The headrests also appear to bear carved decoration comparable with Lydian *klinai* (see below).

Another monolithic Type B *kline* occurs in the Karaburun II tumulus near Elmalı in northern Lycia (Cat. 69, Fig. 75). Carved from a single block of limestone, the couch has raised posts at each corner, with lower flat borders on all sides between them. On the front face of the block, two legs and a horizontal “rail” are carved in relief. The legs carry painted Type B side “cutouts,” and the front rail preserves traces of a painted rosette frieze, but the tops of the legs (and thus any capitals) are not preserved.¹⁷⁵ As at Dedetepe, the Type B scheme is represented entirely in paint. The overall profile and proportions of the leg are comparable to Type B *klinai* on red-figure vases attributed to the Kleophrades Painter,¹⁷⁶ but the cutouts differ in the inclusion of disc-shaped terminals, which are closer to the Kerameikos *kline* in the particular detail of the plain band outlining a filled “eye” (see Fig. 43). Outlined “eyes” occur in association with straight-sided legs on other Attic vases of the first quarter of the fifth century, such as a cup attributed to the Antiphon Painter in Berlin (Fig. 36e) and the namesake vase of the Painter of the Munich Amphora, but on both vases the *kline* legs lack the connecting band that “binds” the back-to-back C’s (or volutes) at their centers, across the thinnest point of the leg.¹⁷⁷ The connecting band seen on the Karaburun *kline* legs is also paralleled on the Kerameikos *kline*. In general, the parts that are painted red correspond to the parts that were



Figure 75. Karaburun Tumulus II (Cat. 69): detail and view of *kline*, Mellink 1974a, pl. 69, figs. 16–17. (© Bryn Mawr College)

inlaid in amber on the Kerameikos *kline*. The parallels cited here are in keeping with the proposed dating of the tomb on the basis of its remarkable wall paintings, ca. 475 BCE.¹⁷⁸ Such parallels do not suggest that the painter of this *kline* was following models on Attic vases but rather support the idea that some changes in the representations of Type B *klinai*—in vase painting as well as in three-dimensional form—must reflect developments in actual (inlaid, wooden) *kline* forms.

More common than fully articulated representations of Type B *klinai* in stone are abbreviations of the form, with only one or two of the characteristic elements rendered in schematic form. The *kline* from the BT89.1 tumulus in central Lydia (Cat. 14, Fig. 76), for example, has C-shaped crescents carved in silhouette relief on the faces of the supports. Painted decoration visible at the time of discovery (in red and black) added further Type B details: at the top of each “leg,” on the raised ends of the bedslab, was a linear, Aeolic-style volute capital, with a lotus flower above and maeander below. The tomb has been dated to the last quarter of the sixth century by its masonry style and the few grave goods not removed by looters (including a fragmentary alabastron, a Lydian amphoriskos with banded decoration, and “Achaemenid”-style chariot wheels and linchpins that will be discussed in Chapter 4).¹⁷⁹ The substitution of the usual palmette between the separating volutes at the top of the capital with a lotus flower is not known in vase representations of *klinai* but is found on some architectural Aeolic capitals and possibly also on other *kline* fragments.¹⁸⁰

Lotus flowers seem to have been a favored motif for Lydian craftsmen to include in *kline* decoration. In addition to the lotus friezes noted above (on the Lale Tepe rear bedslab and the supports from Bekçitepe) and the lotus flowers on the capitals of *klinai* from BT89.1 and (possibly) Hacılı A, a pendant lotus flower hangs below the Aeolic double volute on each end of the painted *kline* at Mangaltepe (near Bekçitepe in northwest Lydia, Cat. 33, Fig. 77). On the carved supports of a *kline*

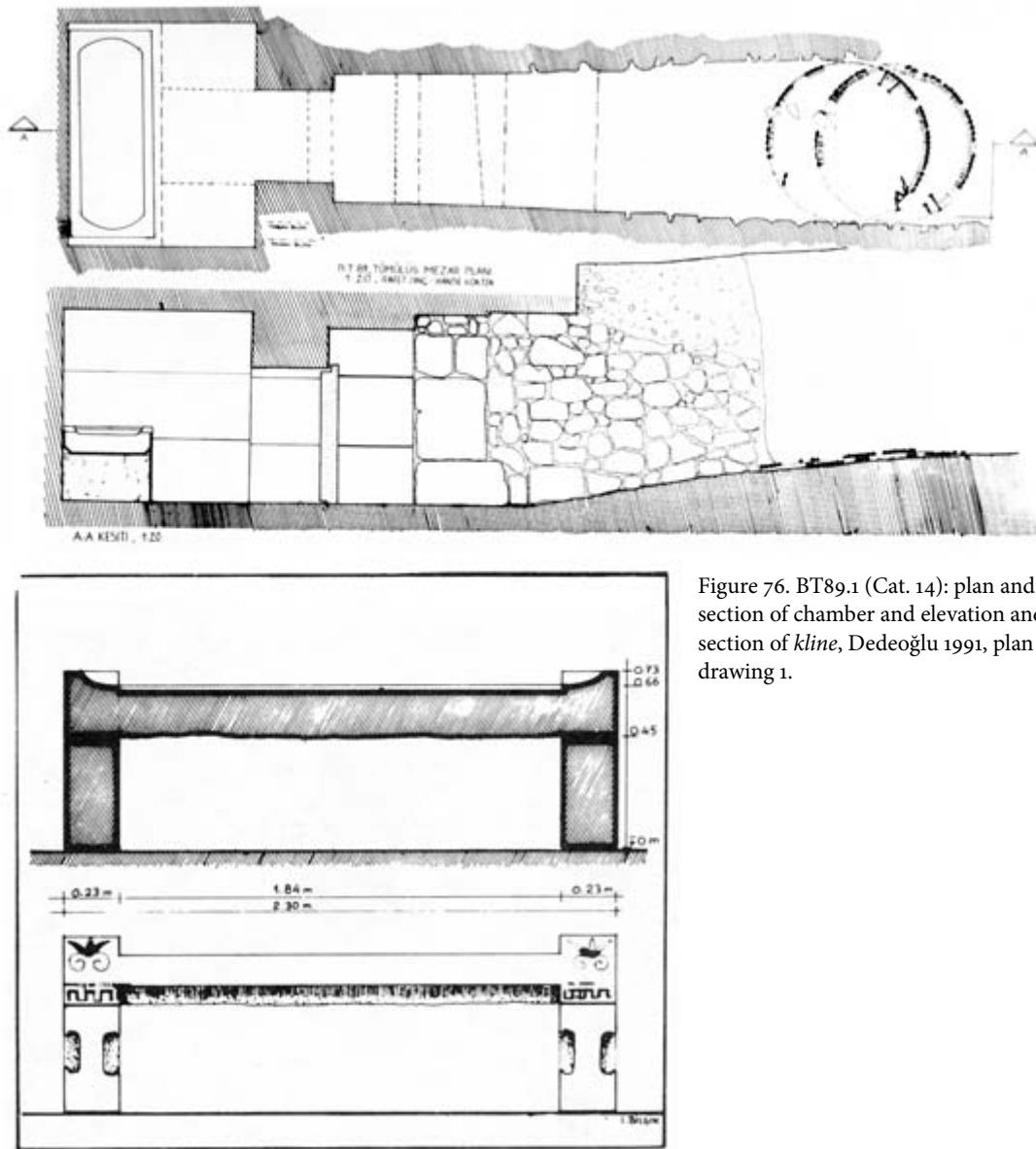


Figure 76. BT89.1 (Cat. 14): plan and section of chamber and elevation and section of *kline*, Dedeoğlu 1991, plan 2, drawing 1.

from Yabızlar Tepesi (just east of central Lydia, Cat. 42, Fig. 78), lotus flowers are suspended beneath the side cutouts, in the place of the usual lower palmettes. These pendant lotus flowers recall similar forms on Lydian stele anthemia.¹⁸¹ The Mangaltepe *kline* also reportedly carries decoration on the curved mattress layer (egg-and-dart pattern) and schematic C-shaped cutouts in low relief on the supports, with rosettes below.¹⁸² Both Mangaltepe and Yabızlar Tepesi have been dated to the fifth century on the basis of masonry details and *kline* decoration.¹⁸³ It is difficult to assess the decoration

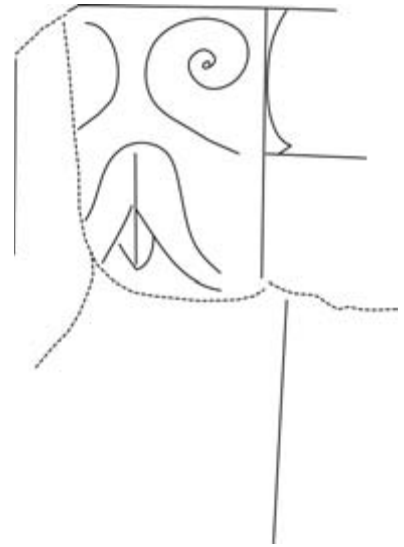
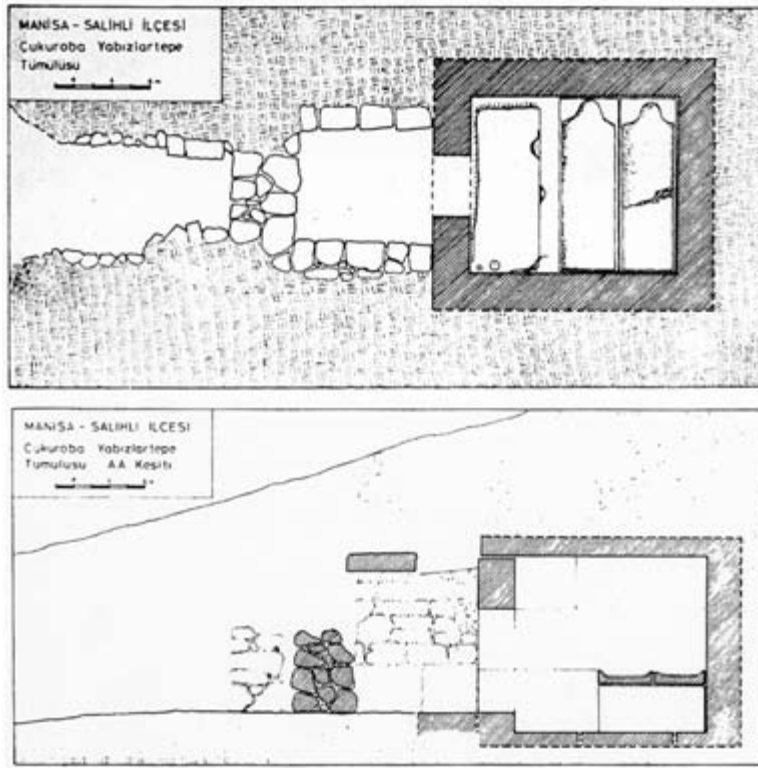


Figure 77. Mangaltepe (Cat. 33): detail drawing of left end of *kline*. (Drawing by author after unpublished photograph, courtesy of C.H. Greenewalt Jr.)

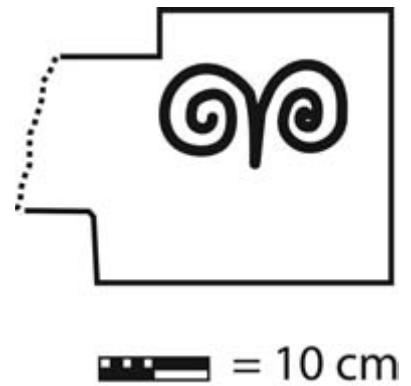
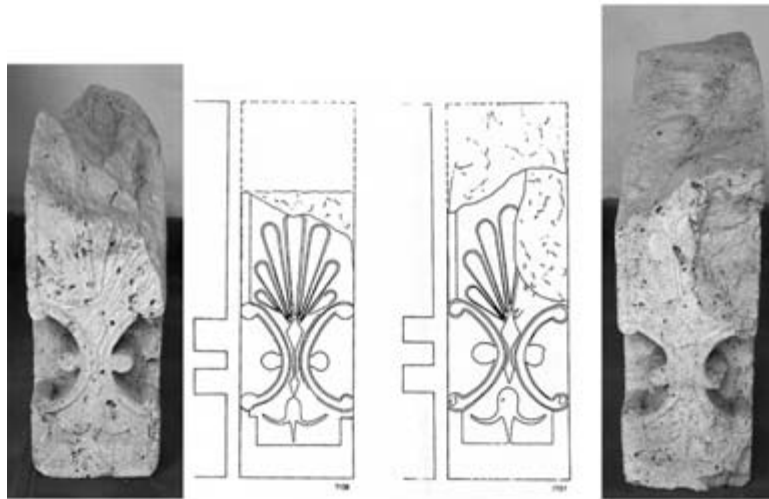


Figure 79. Hamamtepe (Cat. 29): detail drawing of right end of bedslab fragments, after Dinç and Önder 1993, drawing 6. (Drawing by author after published drawing)

Figure 78. Yabızlar Tepesi (Cat. 42): plan and section of chamber, views and drawings of *kline* support fragments, Dedeoğlu 1992, plans 2–3, drawings 1–2. (Photos by author)

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

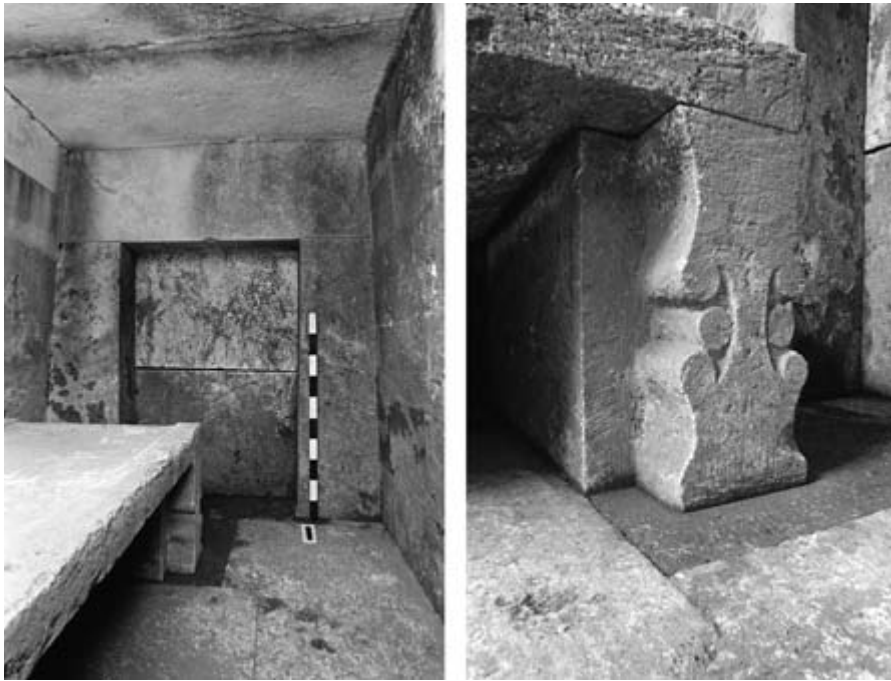


Figure 80. BK71.1 (Cat. 3): view of chamber and detail of *kline* leg. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University)

of the Mangaltepe *kline* because the one published photograph does not show all decorated areas, but the style of the Yabızlar Tepesi supports does seem somewhat mannered, as the side cutouts are vertically compressed and slightly angular, and the lower part of the leg is relatively short. The narrow fillets outlining the palmette petals, however, are compatible with the separately outlined petals on earlier Type B leg inlays from Polizzello and the Kerameikos.¹⁸⁴

Some *klinai* were embellished with only the most basic nods to Type B form, such as the schematic, linear volutes painted on the ends of the bedslab from Hamamtepe (Cat. 29, Fig. 79).¹⁸⁵ Others replicate the outline of Type B form, with side cutouts on the legs, but leave surface ornamentation to the imagination, or possibly to painted decoration that has not survived. Comparison of two such “outline” *klinai*, both from Persian-period tombs in Lydia, demonstrate the wide range of approaches to the canonical scheme, even in silhouette, and the difficulties of trying to date *klinai* stylistically. The limestone *kline* in the BK71.1 tumulus near Sardis is composed of a simple bedslab with flat, raised borders along the long sides and slightly higher relief posts at each corner, supported on wide slabs carved in deep, silhouette relief to resemble Type B legs with volute crescents (Cat. 3, Fig. 80). The cutouts terminate in circular forms, and additional discs flank the thinnest (middle) portion of the leg. The other parts of the leg, above and below the cutouts, have concave contours, so that the disc-terminals of the indentations seem to bulge out to the sides. Two of the *klinai* from İkiştepe, one of the “Lydian Treasure” tombs in the Güre Valley of eastern Lydia (Cat. 54, Fig. 81), have legs of the same basic design, but carved with a straight profile (tapering slightly from top to bottom), for a very different, more restrained effect. Here the side cutouts also terminate in



Figure 81. İkitiztepe (Cat. 54): (a) plan and sections of chambers, Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 94–96; (b) drawings of *kline* from Chamber 2, Özgen et al. 1996, fig. 99; (c) view and detail of monolithic *kline* from Chamber 2, Uşak Archaeological Museum; (d) view of *kline* support from Chamber 2 built into house wall in Kemaller. (Photos by author; courtesy of İ. Özgen and the Uşak Archaeological Museum)

rounded ends, and there are rounded projections at the midpoint, evoking the disc “eyes” of volute crescents, but only half-circles are defined (rather than nearly full or three-quarter circles as at BK71.1); they keep within the overall outline of the leg, which is here the same as the outline of the slab itself. Both tombs have been dated to the Persian era by masonry details and associated finds (Achaemenid bowl fragments from BK71.1; a silver siglos and silver bowls decorated with motifs derived from Achaemenid court-style art from İkitiztepe; see Chapter 4). The masonry of BK71.1

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

suggests a construction date in the second half of the sixth century,¹⁸⁶ while İkitztepe more likely belongs in the first half of the fifth.¹⁸⁷

The *klinai* from İkitztepe are also distinguished from the BK71.1 couch in the conception of the bedslab, since a solid rectangular headrest replaces the two corner posts at one end to mark the head end of the couch, at least on the one for which the right end of the bedslab is preserved: the monolithic couch. The monolithic *kline* from İkitztepe differed from the other *kline* from the same chamber (composed of a bedslab on two slab supports) in two additional ways: its solid side supports were carved in low relief to indicate a rectangular front and rear leg at each end and a horizontal rail above, and at the juncture of rails and legs both front and sides are, where preserved, projecting tenons in relief.¹⁸⁸ The tenons are spool-shaped, with vertical bands around their “pinched” centers. This shape is not otherwise attested for *kline* tenons but is known for lug-attachments on Phrygian metalware vessels and in other Phrygian decorative arts.¹⁸⁹

A final tomb with Type B *klinai* must be considered here. The Dardanos Tumulus in the Troad has been dated variously from the sixth century through the Hellenistic period (Cat. 62, Fig. 82). It contained three limestone *klinai*, one before the rear wall of the chamber and one along each side wall. Associated finds date primarily to the fourth century or later, but inscriptions above the entrance to the antechamber and on the main chamber wall have been dated to the late sixth and early fifth century, respectively.¹⁹⁰ The *klinai* have Type B leg decoration in relief but are not of standard construction—they are composed of more individual parts than most stone funeral couches, each with four individual legs and separate blocks forming raised headrests above the right end of each bedslab. The profiles of the headrests resemble raised volute capitals, with flat abaci resting atop another element with curved sides.¹⁹¹ While the volute cutouts on the front leg blocks are carved in deep relief, those on the rear legs are only lightly incised. The piecemeal nature of the Dardanos *klinai* construction may be an indication of relative lateness.¹⁹²

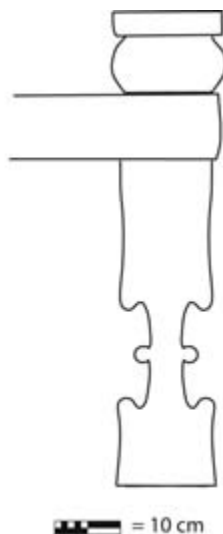


Figure 82. Dardanos Tumulus (Cat. 62): view of chamber, from Çanakkale Museum photo, and detail drawing of *kline*. (Used with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

Other Decorated Types

Among built stone *klinai* in Lydia, only the side couches at Lale Tepe seem to replicate Type A *klinai* with round, turned legs (Cat. 25, Fig. 83).¹⁹³ Each was composed of a marble bedslab supported on four individual limestone supports, three of which were formed by projections from the lowest masonry course of the chamber walls (see Fig. 66). The faces of the supports were carved with the profiles of turned legs, in silhouette relief against a black background. The relief profiles vary in contour and surface decoration, which is rare for Type A couches represented in Greek art: pendant palmettes or petals at the top or a star in the widest (middle) part of the leg. Both side couches also have painted decoration on the front face of the bedslab, which is carved to resemble a mattress over a flat rail, with a flaring post capital at one end. Schematic red volutes adorned the capitals, extending above and below carved tenons, and a series of painted rosettes decorated the rails. These couches thus present a hybrid form, where Type A leg profiles are paired with decorative elements apparently inspired by Type B design—not surprising, given that one of the most ornate Type B *klinai* in Lydia dominated the rear wall of the chamber.

Another turned-leg couch type is found in a tumulus called Bahçetepe, west of Sardis near the

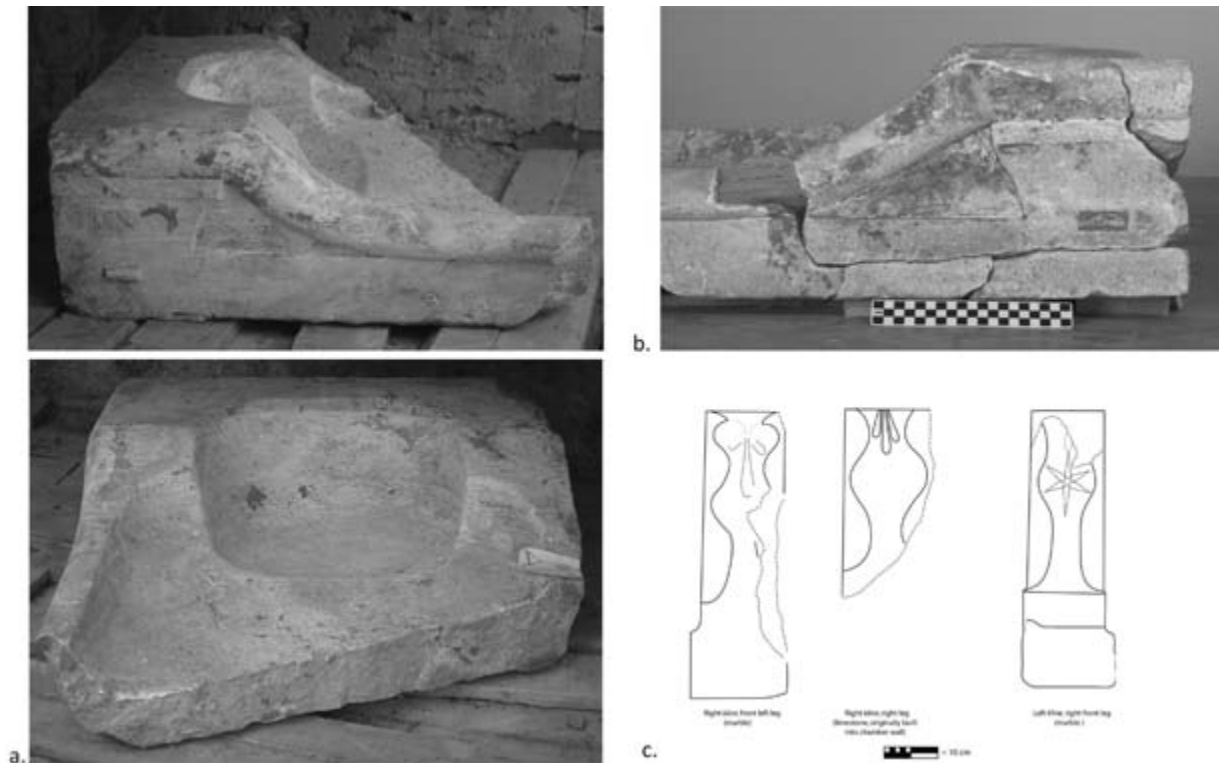


Figure 83. Lale Tepe (Cat. 25): (a) two views of left *kline* bedslab fragment, left end; (b) view of right *kline* bedslab, right end; (c) drawings of existing front supports for side *klinai*. (Photos and drawings by author)



Figure 84. Bahçetepe (Cat. 27): view and detail of *kline* in disturbed chamber. (Photos courtesy of C.H. Roosevelt; drawing by author from photo)

town of Iğdecik in the Hermos Valley (Cat. 27, Fig. 84). Surveyed by Roosevelt in 2001, the tomb chamber contains fragments of three *klinai*, originally arranged one per wall in a Π-shaped formation.¹⁹⁴ The right *kline* is the best preserved of three, and the only one still largely *in situ*, though partially covered with fill and debris (including fragments of the other *klinai*, broken up by recent looters). Only the top part of its left support and much of the front edge of the bed slab are exposed. Carved in low relief on the front face of the rectangular support and the corner of the bed slab above is a tapering leg with low, disc-like capital and a series of four consecutive disc- or torus-like moldings approximately three-quarters of the way up the leg.¹⁹⁵ The background of the relief, surrounding the carved leg and setting it off, is painted red. This leg type is unique among funerary *klinai* in Lydia, but closely stacked torus moldings are well attested in other pictorial media and are particularly associated with Achaemenid furniture.¹⁹⁶

There are also rare instances of Lydian *kline* “legs” in the form of sphinxes. A pair of sphinxes sculpted from rectangular slabs, in three-sided relief, supported the front edge of a bedslab of double width (with two side-by-side oblong depressions) in the tumulus known as Abidin Tepe or Harta. These have suffered heavily from vandalism and looting, and were among the objects returned to Turkey from the Metropolitan Museum as the “Lydian Treasure” (Cat. 36, Fig. 85). The two sphinxes differ slightly in size and style, but both have heads worked free (nearly “in the round”), rising above the flat plane that served as the resting surface for the bedslab. The tops of the wings on each side (where preserved, on the larger of the two sphinxes) are flattened, as if the whole was cut down after completion in order to achieve the desired bedslab height.¹⁹⁷ The sphinxes have been dated stylistically to the late sixth or early fifth century, and details in the wall paintings suggest a similar date.¹⁹⁸ The bedslab was socketed into grooves carved in the chamber walls.

A fragmentary sphinx of similar form from Sardis may also have served as a *kline* or throne

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

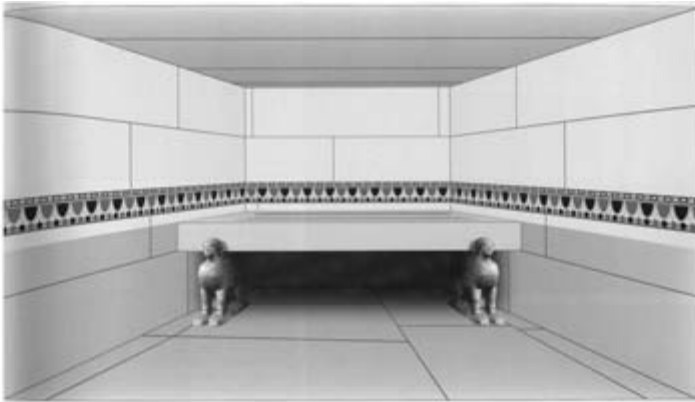


Figure 85. Harta (Cat. 36): reconstruction of *kline* in chamber, Özgen et al. 1996, fig. 60; views of sphinx *kline* supports, Uşak Archaeological Museum 1.1.96 and 1.2.96. (Photos courtesy of C.H. Greenewalt Jr. [left] and by author [right], used with permission of the Uşak Archaeological Museum)



support (Fig. 86), but its precise context is unknown.¹⁹⁹ Unlike the Harta sphinxes, its forepaws are carved in the round and its head (not preserved) appears not to have risen much, if at all, above the flat top of the rest of the slab. The wings on each side are fully rendered. The back surface is almost fully preserved, with a roughly worked vertical band down the center, indicating that the piece was not meant to be seen from behind.²⁰⁰ That it was one of a pair is suggested by differences in the amount of sculpted details (ribs, tail, and hair) on each side. These indicate that the primary viewing side was the sphinx's left side, and the head is turned slightly toward its right, as if looking inward toward another sphinx in a pair.²⁰¹ That it supported a *kline* rather than a throne cannot be definitively determined, but its affinities with the Harta sphinxes are striking, and its dimensions do not preclude such a function.²⁰² No special cuttings or setting marks are evident on the top surface of the slab, but these are not customary for *kline* supports anyway.²⁰³

These Lydian sphinx supports raise the possibility that the “*sphingopodes*” luxury furnishings referenced in later texts may have been conceived with legs fully in the form of sphinxes rather than with smaller sphinxes incorporated into turned legs, although the latter type is attested visually in the Hellenistic period.²⁰⁴ They probably derived from an earlier Near Eastern tradition of sphinx thrones and thus may have carried connotations of eastern royalty and luxury.



Figure 86. Marble sphinx from Sardis, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 4031. (Photos by author, used with permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum)

Legs that terminate in feline paws of a different type are attested on an unpublished *kline* found recently in a tumulus near Alaşehir and currently on display at the Alaşehir police headquarters.²⁰⁵ This *kline* is very well preserved, with bedslab and both solid slab supports completely intact. As on many Lydian *klinai*, the lower front edge of the bedslab is bevelled while the upper edge is rounded like a cushion, and there are projecting tenons at the tops of the legs. But unlike other known *klinai*, the legs are outlined with a carved bead-and-reel pattern, and a carved egg-and-dart molding runs along the top of the flat “rail” of the bedslab, beneath the curved top edge. The legs are straight-edged and trapezoidal, tapering slightly from top to bottom. Although there are no indentations or cut-outs on the sides, a palmette and volute near the bottom of each leg recalls the Type B decorative vocabulary. The legs terminate in blocky lion paws carved in relief on the lower front faces of the slab supports. Each paw is divided into four toes, with a sharply delineated ridge at the knuckle. The style of the lion paws is comparable to those decorating Archaic and Classical anta bases from Chios and Erythrai.²⁰⁶ The style of the egg-and-dart, with the eggs placed closely together and the darts only protruding between their oval ends rather than extending between them for the full height of the molding, suggests a date in the Archaic or Early Classical period.²⁰⁷

Two Archaic marble relief slabs from Bin Tepe that have sometimes been connected with *kline* decoration should be mentioned here. The two slabs were found by Dennis in a tumulus at Bin Tepe in 1882 and are now in the British Museum (Fig. 87).²⁰⁸ One has a frieze of grazing deer, while the other shows three armed riders on horseback. The two pieces are similar in size (ca. 0.40–.43 × 0.17–.19 × 0.07 m) and tooling, but they differ in form, scale, and style. The relief zone on the rider slab is bordered on three sides by flat bands: a wide vertical band on the left; a thinner band above the frieze and a recessed band above that, setting off the top of the vertical band at the left as a sort of “post” in relief; and another thin band below, also set off by a recessed band at the bottom of the slab. At first glance, the rider slab thus resembles the front edge of the left part of a *kline* bedslab,

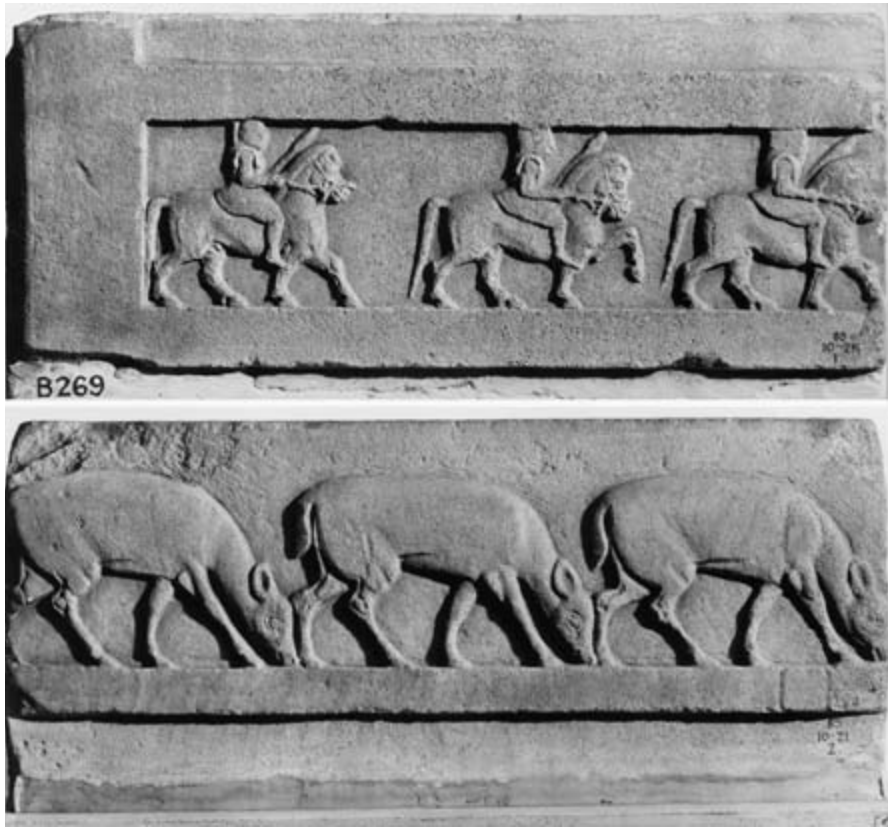


Figure 87. Marble reliefs from Bin Tepe, London, British Museum B269 (top) and B270 (bottom). (© Trustees of the British Museum)

with corner post and “rail” decorated with a rider frieze in a sunken band of relief. But while the height of the area that would be a “rail” accords with those of known *klinai* (ca. 0.15 m), the width of the part that would be the top of the left leg or corner post is not sufficient for a *kline* of standard size (only 0.07 m, as opposed to the normal 0.10–0.23 m). The other slab lacks any vertical framing element, with only a flat band providing the groundline for the walking deer. Both slabs are finished on all sides, with backs roughly worked, and seem to have been used as facings incorporated into larger compositions.²⁰⁹ There are no parallels for Lydian funeral couches with decorative slab facings of this kind—all are either monolithic or composed of monolithic bedslabs resting on separate supports. The British Museum reliefs therefore more likely belong to other types of tomb furnishing or even wall decoration. The rider frieze could have decorated a smaller piece of tomb furniture, such as footstool or small throne.

Plain Types

While the decorated *klinai* of Anatolian tumuli display a wide range of elaboration and creativity of forms, more numerous are plain beds or couches built or carved from stone. The same

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

constructional formula—bedslab supported on two upright slabs—is found for couches with little to no decoration, or none discernible today. Sometimes the basic bedslab form used for the decorated *klinai*, with the articulation of a curved mattress layer over a flat rail between two raised posts on the face, is found in conjunction with plain, undecorated supports (Cat. 30, 57). In the Kordon Tumulus near Salihli in central Lydia (Cat. 43, Figs. 64–65), a thin rail and legs are set off by a wide recessed band, while the supports are completely plain.²¹⁰ And some bedslabs have totally flat, plain faces.²¹¹ But the similarity of construction with decorated types suggests that these, too, were perceived as *klinai*.

Other types of construction can sometimes be understood, with the help of context, as *klinai*. In the Kızılbel Tumulus near Elmalı in northern Lycia (Cat. 68, Fig. 88), for instance, the burial couch was composed of slab supported in the center by a rectangular block. Painted decoration on the front edge of the slab consists of vertical red and blue bands that may schematically represent the cords that fastened a latticed bed surface to its wooden frame, as sometimes indicated in representations of beds and couches in Attic vase painting.²¹² What makes it likely that this burial receptacle was conceived of as a couch is its association with a stone table that once held metal vessels, as well

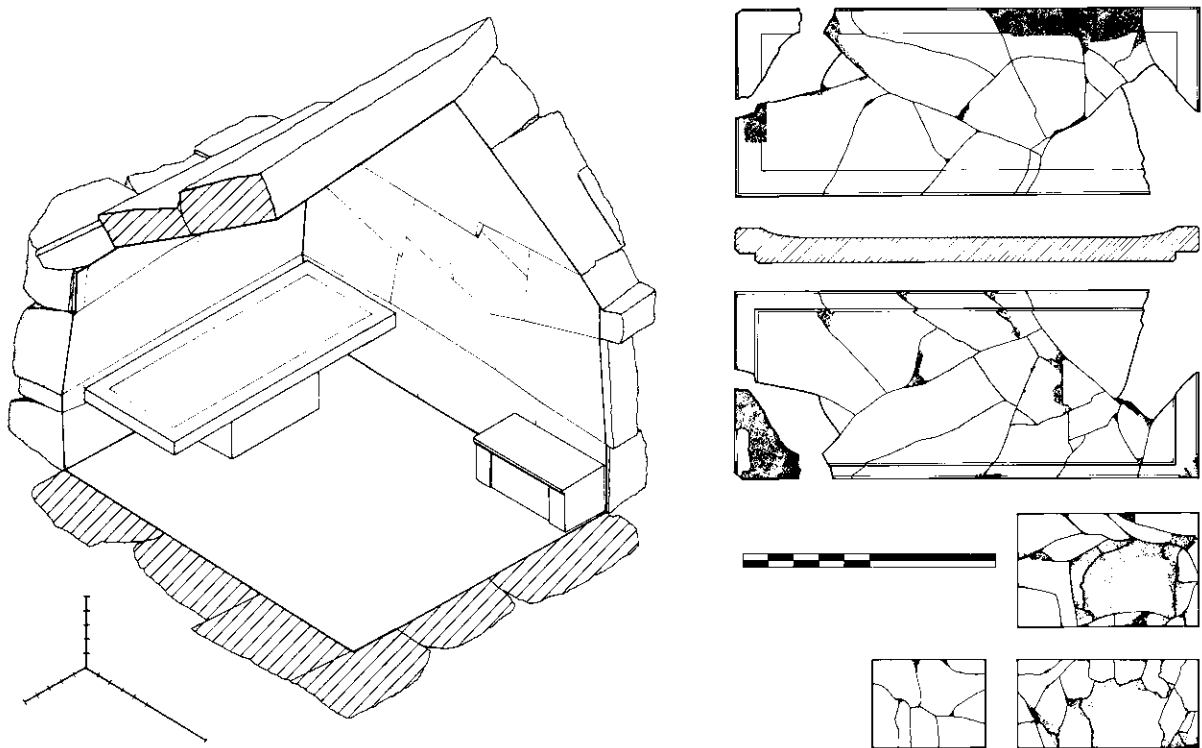


Figure 88. Kızılbel Tumulus (Cat. 68): cutaway isometric reconstruction of chamber with couch and table, and drawings of couch fragments, Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, pl. 7a, 8a–b. (© Bryn Mawr College)

as its location just beneath a banquet scene painted on the wall of the tomb, as at Karaburun about a generation later.²¹³ Moreover, the top surface of the bedslab had a shallow concavity bordered by a “flat rim” ca. 0.10 m wide on all sides, similar to the concave depressions on stone *klinai* of other types.²¹⁴ The impression of a *kline* may have been aided by cushions and textiles, whose presence is suggested by undecorated bands on the west and north walls, just above the couch.²¹⁵

Built-in burial shelves and rock-cut platforms or benches in tumulus chambers are more difficult to classify as couches, but these too sometimes contain details linking them with built *kline* forms. In the chamber of the Toptepe tumulus, one of the “Lydian Treasure” tombs in eastern Lydia (Cat. 53), looters reported finding the deceased laid out with most of the grave goods on the rock-cut couch filling the rear wall.²¹⁶ The surface of the couch reportedly has a raised rectangular border on each long side and a higher raised end on each short side, with a semi-oval depression carved into its inner edge. This is exactly comparable to the headrests of some built *klinai* from near Sardis (Cat. 4, 6, and 46). But the simplest rock-cut and built-in couches carry no carved details of any kind: for example, the plain rock-cut bench against the rear wall of the rock-cut chamber of the Gâvur Fırını A tumulus in the Kemerdamları region of central Lydia (Cat. 22)²¹⁷ and the plain slab filling the rear part of the chamber in the Tekçam tumulus near Kula in eastern Lydia (Cat. 50, Fig. 89), socketed into deep grooves in the rear parts of the side walls. Sometimes a raised border defines the front edge of a bench or built-in shelf, as on the rock-cut bench along the left wall of the Saraylı Boğazı tumulus chamber in eastern Lydia (Cat. 48, Fig. 90) or the built-in slab of the BT66.1 tumulus in Bin Tepe (Cat. 11).²¹⁸ These raised borders suggest similarity in conception with couches or beds carved in the chambers of rock-cut chamber tombs of the Sardis Nekropolis, as does the occurrence of continuous, Π-shaped benches in some rock-cut tumulus chambers.²¹⁹ The incorporation of built *klinai*—even decorated types (as at Lale Tepe, Cat. 25)—into chamber wall construction seems to underline this connection between the chambers of rock-cut tombs and tumulus burials in Lydia.²²⁰ The occurrence of bench-like couches along with more recognizable built *kline* forms as well as rock-cut couches in the tumuli of Pisidia and the Kibyratis (Cat. 65–67) likewise suggests that these tomb furnishings were conceptually connected and formally related along a spectrum from rougher to more detailed form.

Four tumuli with rock-cut chambers at Beyce near Soma in the extreme northwestern part of Lydia (in the Kaikos Valley, on the border with Mysia, Cat. 37–40) display similarities also with Phrygian rock-cut tombs. They include pitched ceilings carved to replicated wooden architecture in a manner very similar to the rock-cut tombs of the Phrygian highlands.²²¹ Each has a continuous Π- or Γ-shaped bench in the main chamber, and two have carved rafters and a ridgepole on the ceiling. In Tomb A1 (Cat. 37), with the most extensive carved details, a continuous raised border defines the front edge of a Π-shaped bench, and relief bands on its front faces suggest rails and legs. These tombs may have been built as early as the seventh century, as suggested by Late Geometric and Archaic sherds found in the tombs as well as in the general vicinity, but were also evidently used in the Roman period.²²² While the carved architectural details of the Soma tombs are reminiscent of Phrygian rock-cut tombs, the dromos-antechamber-chamber plan and the arrangement of the benches/couches within closely resemble Lydian tombs. The basic tripartite axial plan is a common feature of both built tumulus chambers and rock-cut tombs in Lydia, but the placement of couches

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia



Figure 89. Tekçam (Cat. 50): view of bedslab socketed into chamber walls. (Photo courtesy of C.H. Roosevelt)



Figure 90. Saraylı Boğazı (Cat. 48): view of chamber with rock-cut couch. (Photo courtesy of C.H. Roosevelt)

on the side walls of the antechamber and the gradual descent of the floor level from dromos to chamber particularly recall the latter (see Fig. 96a).²²³ Soma is on the border between Lydia and Mysia, and the later Harta tumulus (Cat. 36), nearby, fits well with what we know of the Lydian tumulus tradition in the late sixth century. The Phrygian affinities of the Soma tombs are interesting in light of Phrygian elements elsewhere in Mysia and linguistic evidence for a mixed Phrygian and Lydian culture in this area in the fifth century.²²⁴

ROCK-CUT CHAMBER TOMBS WITH BURIAL COUCHES

Rock-cut benches are found in chamber tombs throughout Anatolia, from Urartu to Caria and from the Iron Age through the Roman period. When to consider such benches *klinai* or couches is a difficult question to answer, but in some areas (Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, Caria, and Paphlagonia), the occasional elaboration of plain rock-cut benches with canonical *kline* forms (for instance, carved legs with Type B cutouts and volute capitals) suggests that even undecorated benches may have been conceived of as couches. Parallels in arrangement of rock-cut furnishings with built *klinai* support this conceptual association. Since the earliest *kline*-tombs are the focus of this study, known Phrygian and Lydian rock-cut tombs with burial couches are included in the Catalogue as well as synthesized here, while later (and even more numerous) tombs in other regions of Anatolia are discussed only briefly in the text.

One of the most difficult issues in the study of rock-cut tombs is that of chronology, since it is usually impossible to date scientifically the time at which a rock face was carved. We must therefore rely on stylistic assessment, which can be quite subjective, especially for the plainer tombs with little specific ornamentation, and on associated finds, which are rarely found undisturbed and which can reflect multiple periods of use. Accompanying inscriptions can sometimes help, but these, too, do not necessarily correlate with the first use of the tomb. Association with occupation phases of known settlements is another method of suggesting general dates for rock-cut tombs, but this can be speculative and imprecise. Here, therefore, a general consideration of chronology precedes discussion of couch forms in each of the following sections, which are organized by region, since rock-cut tomb traditions appear to be regionally specific, and to some extent shaped by the local geology.

Phrygia

In Phrygia rock-cut tombs are most numerous around the high, rocky plateaus of the Phrygian highlands (Fig. 91). Haspels' invaluable study of this region catalogues some forty "Phrygian" tombs, most of which contain rock-carved beds or couches of some kind.²²⁵ She classified them according to stylistic features (height above ground, type of entrance, size, articulation of architectural details on the interior, and complexity of arrangement) in two broad groups and assigned the groups to the Early and Middle Phrygian phases as they were then understood at Gordion: eighth century and sixth century, based on the assumption that a Kimmerian invasion disrupted settlement and culture in Phrygia ca. 700.²²⁶ Recent studies and scientific redating of the Gordion destruction level have now called into question the archaeological impact of any "Kimmerian invasion" and have pushed the Early Phrygian era back to the ninth century.²²⁷ The new chronology gives heightened significance to the Middle Phrygian period, now understood as spanning the time from the destruction

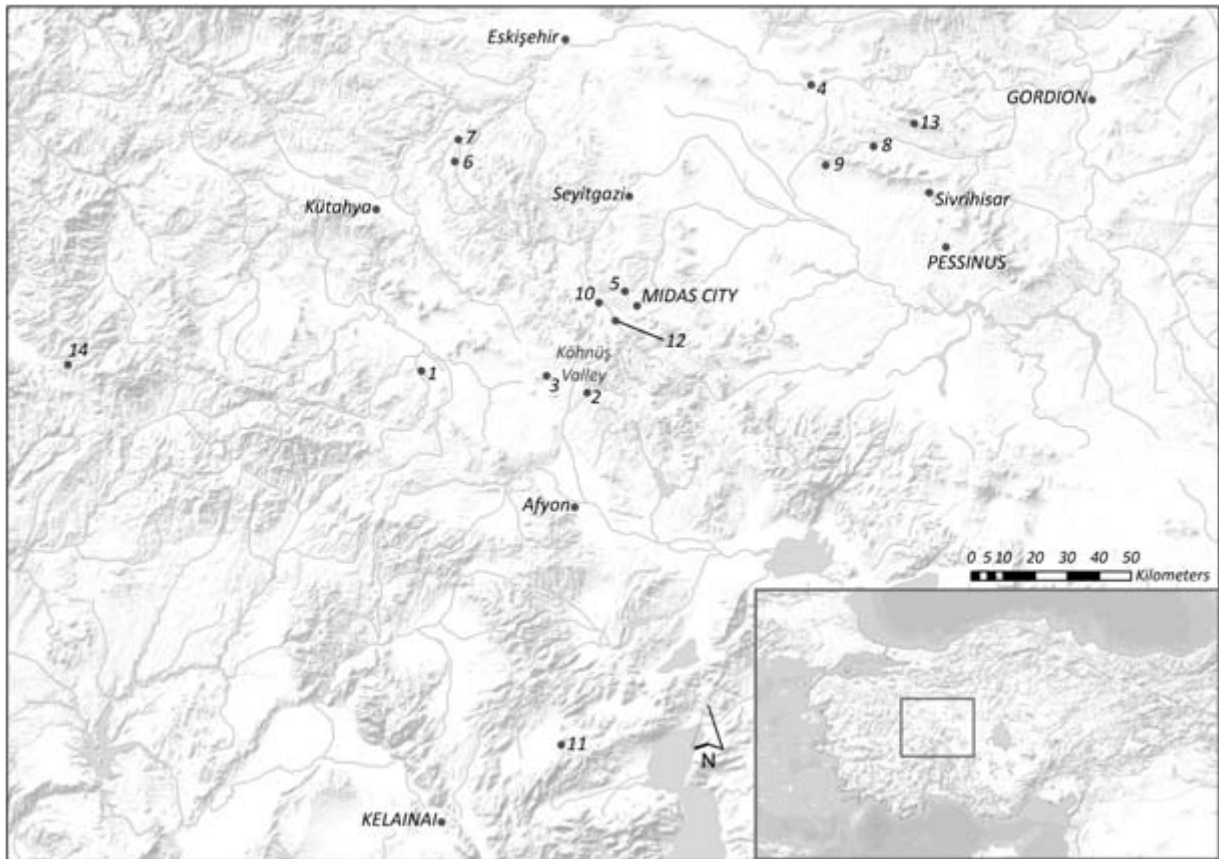


Figure 91. Map of Phrygia with sites of *kline*-tombs and locations mentioned in the text: (1) Altıntaş; (2) Ayazın; (3) Beyköy; (4) Beylikova; (5) Doğanlı Kale; (6) Doğuluşah; (7) Fındık; (8) Karaburhan; (9) Karakaya; (10) Kümbet; (11) Tatarlı; (12) Yapıldak; (13) Zeyköy; (14) Taşlık. (Map by N.P. Niemeier)

of Gordion in the late ninth century through the Persian conquest in the middle of the sixth; the period may be further divided into two subphases, the second corresponding to Lydian domination of the region in the early sixth century.²²⁸ Berndt-Ersöz's study of the cult façades and other rock-cut monuments in the Phrygian highlands is the first to take into account the new Gordion chronology and therefore carries important implications for dating the tombs associated with these sites. She presents a compelling case for dating most Phrygian rock-cut monuments to the Middle Phrygian period, in the seventh or sixth century.²²⁹ And her dating of the destruction of the prominent Middle Phrygian settlement at Midas City to sometime between 550 and 450 BCE would place most of the tombs there in the sixth century—or, if the destruction can be associated with the Persians and dated more narrowly ca. 550, in the first half of the sixth century BCE, the period of Lydian domination of the region.²³⁰ A sixth-century date for at least one of the Midas City tombs is independently

suggested by the form of its rock-cut *klinai*, with Type B legs and a headrest comparable to those found on Lydian *klinai* (see below).

The most datable couch-tomb elsewhere in the Phrygian highlands, the “Broken Lion Tomb” (also known as Yılan Taş, after the snake-like appearance of the lion’s tail), probably belongs in the late sixth or first half of the fifth century, to judge from the style of its exterior reliefs and interior capitals (Figs. 92–93). The tomb is now mostly a tumble of boulders lying where the rock face in which it was carved collapsed, but its basic plan is discernible from preserved fragments, and the rear wall is still *in situ* in the natural rock outcropping. The main part of the tomb was gabled, with rafters and central gable supports rendered in relief. Along the left-hand wall of the chamber extended a bench-like platform on which two stout palmette-columns (also carved from bedrock) supported the flat ceiling of a projecting niche. One of these columns was, until recently, preserved *in situ*; parts of its palmette capital now lie among the fragments of the tomb.²³¹ The column has a thick, bulging torus base and an upward-tapering shaft.²³² The exterior of the tomb was once decorated with reliefs: a gorgoneion directly above the entrance, a hoplite warrior on either side of the door, and a pair of lions on the exterior of one side wall.²³³ All reliefs are fragmentary today, and some are no longer accessible. The lions apparently stood facing each other, with one forepaw raised and touching, heads turned backward.²³⁴ The warriors wear Corinthian helmets and chitons that fold in an Archaic Greek manner at the shoulder; stylizations in the sculptural treatment of the preserved lion’s head have been compared to various regional styles, from Neo-Hittite and Urartian to Achaemenid, while the compositional arrangement has local Phrygian parallels.²³⁵ A date in the late sixth or the first half of the fifth century seems most likely for the exterior reliefs, which were presumably (though not necessarily) contemporary with the interior of the tomb. The palmette capital of the one preserved interior column is not easily paralleled and so does not help to confirm or refine this dating. In addition to the platform in the recessed niche, two block-like couches were included in the main part of the chamber, one against the right wall and one against the rear wall. Only the right couch has finished surfaces preserved, and they show plain rectangular legs, a thin rail in relief, and square post capitals at each corner. Another carved block to the right of the entrance may have served as a seat or table, and it has legs carved in relief on the front: these taper toward a central bulge in the middle, with a profile similar to the Type A scheme, though the central swelling is articulated differently.

It is important to note that not all Phrygian rock tombs had rock-carved couches. Some chambers were completely plain, such as Arslan Taş, often considered the earliest datable rock-cut tomb in the Phrygian highlands (Fig. 94).²³⁶ It is located just around a corner from the Broken Lion Tomb and may have inspired the lion carvings there, as its façade is decorated with two massive lions flanking the tomb entrance, resting their forepaws atop the doorframe, with a flat post in relief between them and above the entrance.²³⁷ On analogy with other Phrygian rock-cut tomb interiors, Haspels assumed that the tomb occupants must have been “laid on wooden couches, such as were used by the living,”²³⁸ but since no traces of wood or special cuttings were found inside the chamber, there is no physical support for this hypothesis. Parallels for the sculptural style and certain features of the lions in Neo-Hittite art and in finds from the Gordion tumuli could suggest a date for this tomb as early as the eighth century, but compositional parallels may point rather to the sixth century.²³⁹



Figure 92. Yılan Taş (or “Broken Lion Tomb,” Cat. 126): views of façade and chamber fragments. (Photos by author)

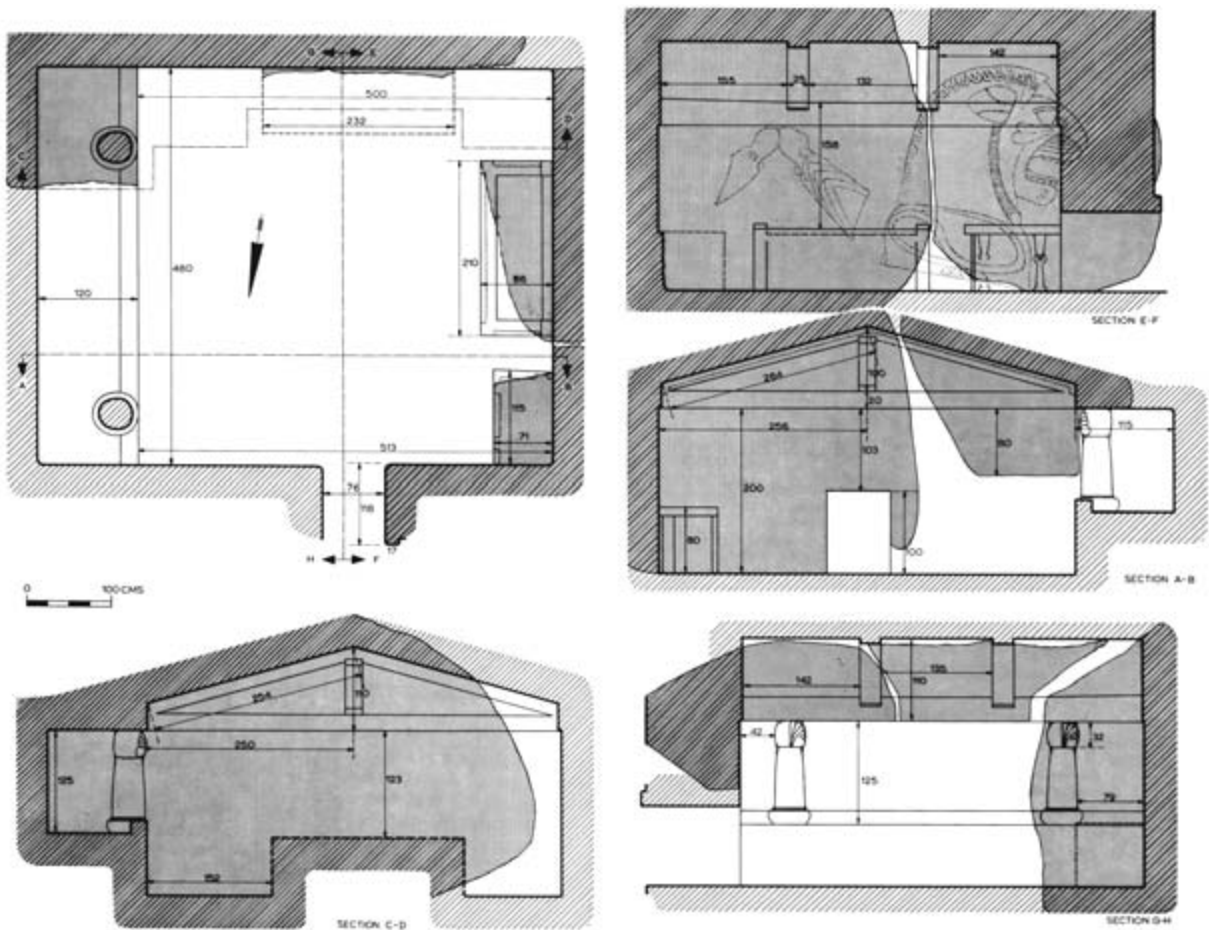


Figure 93. Yılan Taş: reconstructed drawings of chamber and furnishings, Haspels 1971, pl. 544. (C.H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* © 1971 Princeton University Press, 1999 renewed PUP, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)



Figure 94. Arslan Taş, Phrygian rock-cut tomb in the Köhnüş Valley, view of façade. (Photo by author)

Summary of Evidence

Since detailed descriptions of individual Phrygian tombs with rock-cut beds/couches are given in the Catalogue, here I will summarize their general characteristics (see Table 2). Lengths of beds/couches normally range from ca. 1.75 to 2.15 m, with a few as low as 1.40 m and several in the 2.20–2.85 m range.²⁴⁰ Widths are more consistent: usually between 0.50 and 0.85 m, with a few measuring between 1.00 and 1.20 m. Bed/couch height, however, varies considerably: most are ca. 0.30–0.60 m high, but some are as low as ca. 0.10–0.15 m and some are as tall as 0.75–0.85 m. The top surfaces of Phrygian rock-cut couches are often level with the bottom of the doorway, so that the floor of the chamber is essentially a sunken “gangway” between the furnishings and is often reached by a series of steps leading down from the threshold.²⁴¹

The most common arrangement of couches in Phrygian tombs is a Π -shaped formation, with three separate couches indicated within a continuous bench (Fig. 95a–c, f, h). When only two couches are provided, these are usually located along the rear wall and one side wall, often in the form of a continuous Γ -shaped bench (Fig. 95d, e, g), though arrangements with one on each side wall have also been recorded.²⁴² In tombs with only one couch/bed, it is usually located before the rear wall, and more rarely on one side wall (see Table 2). In contrast to Lydian rock-cut tombs, where double- and even triple-width couches are known, most couches in Phrygian rock-cut tombs are of single width. An exception has recently been recorded in one of the tombs at Zey in the region of Sivrihisar, which reportedly had a “double couch for two persons, against the back wall.”²⁴³

Many Phrygian rock-cut funerary beds are completely plain, block-like benches, carved individually or in continuous Γ - or Π -shaped arrangements (see Table 2). Usually, though, at least one bench in a tomb carries a raised border on the front edge of the top surface, ca. 0.05–0.15 m high.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

These borders can serve to divide an otherwise continuous bench into individual resting-places (e.g., Fig. 95a–c, e–g, 99).²⁴⁴ Some have raised borders on all three or four sides (see Figs. 95c, 96a–b). When only one couch of several carries borders, it is usually the one at the rear of the chamber (Fig. 95b).²⁴⁵ There is often a general differentiation of the rear from the side couches, whether in added height or added articulation of structural details.²⁴⁶ In addition to raised borders, several benches also have raised rectangular posts at the two front corners or all four (Figs. 95c, e).²⁴⁷ These represent the tops of posts/legs and therefore allude to the wooden structure of a bed/couch with rectangular legs. In one case squares carved on the front face of the rear couch just below each corner post may represent tenons joining the frame and legs of a wooden bed/couch (Fig. 95c). Some also have “rails” and/or legs carved in relief on the front face (see Figs. 95e, 100).²⁴⁸

When additional raised rectangular headrests or “pillows” are indicated, we can make important deductions concerning the orientation of burials within a tomb. When these occur on couches in the rear location, they are invariably on the right end;²⁴⁹ headrests on side couches are sometimes placed toward the tomb entrance and sometimes toward the rear of the chamber.²⁵⁰ These raised ends take a variety of forms, ranging from flat or angled rectangular “slabs” (Figs. 95d, g–h, 96a)²⁵¹ to curved raised ends that seem to replicate the appearance of a couch with raised end or pillow, covered by a textile cloth (Fig. 98). Semi-oval head depressions in broad, flat rectangular raised ends in Tomb 9 at Zey (Cat. 157, Fig. 96b) bear striking similarities to headrests of Lydian built and rock-cut couches as well as Etruscan funerary beds (see below and Figs. 115, 116).

Type B *Klinai*

Three rock-cut tombs in Phrygia have couches with Type B legs. The “West Tomb” at Midas City (Cat. 142, Fig. 97) has two couches that are carved free from the walls on three sides: one before the left wall and one before the rear wall, with relief legs and rails. The faces of the legs are carved to replicate Type B legs with volute cutouts. The legs on the left end of each couch terminate in square posts, while the legs on the right end have higher rectangular posts that support a slab-like headrest similar to the one on the *kline* from Aktepe in eastern Lydia (Cat. 52; see Fig. 115h). No traces of decorated capitals survive on the tops of the legs, but circular motifs (circles divided into four equal sections) occur in the upper portion of the leg shaft as well as along the rail. These are reminiscent of the rosette motifs that normally occur in these locations on Type B *klinai*. Rectangular projections on the side faces of the legs, near the top, seem to represent tenons.

Another tomb at Midas City, known as the “Triclinium Tomb” (Cat. 139, Fig. 98), has couches with more schematic representations of Type B legs. Three couches in an interlocking arrangement like that of a Greek andron or Roman triclinium are articulated in a continuous Π-shaped bench. The visible legs are carved in relief with simple C-shaped cutouts in the lower portion. The tops of the legs are not articulated, as the front face of each couch has a high continuous band at the top, rising to a raised, curved pillow at one end, resembling a *kline* covered by an overhanging sheet or cloth. Two couches of similar form are found in a secondary chamber to the right. Of the five couches, three have their head ends at the right and two have pillows on the left side.

Schematic Type B legs are also discernible on one of the couches in a rock-cut tomb at Tekören near Pessinus (Cat. 150, Figs. 99, 100g). Two couches are distinguished within a Γ-shaped bench

Table 2. Rock-cut tombs with benches, couches, or carved *klinai*

Cat.	Region	Tomb name	Number of <i>klinai</i> and arrangement	Dimensions in meters (if known)		
				Length	Width	Height
93	LYDIA	Sardis S1	1 side			
118	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 18	1 side	1.80	0.57	ca. 0.35
130	PHRYGIA	Bedestan	1 side	1.85	ca. 0.75	ca. 0.10–0.15
151	PHRYGIA	Zey 1	1 side	ca. 1.91	0.93–1.00	0.53–0.66
155	PHRYGIA	Zey 7	1 side			
171	PISIDIA	Lake Hoyran (2)	1 side			
165	PHRYGIA	Okçu	1+*			
86	LYDIA	Sardis 381	1R			
107	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 1	1R	1.90		
108	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 2	1R	2.05	ca. 0.88	0.55
109	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 3	1R	2.00	0.80	
114	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 10	1R	1.75		
115	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 11	1R	ca. 1.75	ca. 0.70	ca. 0.30
125	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 34	1R	ca. 2.12	ca. 0.73	0.36
127	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 39	1R	2.45	1.10	0.87
141	PHRYGIA	Midas City 12	1R	2.00	0.80	0.55
154	PHRYGIA	Zey 6	1R			
159	PHRYGIA	Zey 12	1R			
160	PHRYGIA	Karakaya	1R	1.90	0.80	0.40
171	PISIDIA	Lake Hoyran (1)	1R			
71	LYDIA	Sardis 59.3	2 sides			
148	PHRYGIA	Delikli Kaya	2 sides			
158	PHRYGIA	Zey 11	2 sides	ca. 2.20	ca. 0.50	0.45
164	PHRYGIA	“Ami Kadın,” near Çaplı	2 sides			
166	PHRYGIA	Aşağı Doğanoglu	2 sides			
170	PISIDIA	Pencere Kaya	2*			
81	LYDIA	Sardis 326	2+			
83	LYDIA	Sardis 356	2+			
84	LYDIA	Sardis 362	2+			
85	LYDIA	Sardis 364	2+			
88	LYDIA	Sardis 421	2+			
89	LYDIA	Sardis 510	2+			
90	LYDIA	Sardis 515	2+			
91	LYDIA	Sardis 520	2+			
74	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC1	2+*			
82	LYDIA	Sardis 348	2+*			
129	PHRYGIA	Avdilas	2+*			

134	PHRYGIA	Yumrutepe: "Tomb of the Lion"	2+*			
135	PHRYGIA	Yumrutepe: "Tomb of the Candelabra"	2+*			
80	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC23	2I	0.85	0.75	
98	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 68 (new 111)	2I	1.99 / 1.90	0.60 / 1.55	
117	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 17	2I	1.74 / 2.00	0.60 / 0.80	ca. 0.50
126	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş: Yılan Taş	2I	2.10 / 2.32	0.86 / ?	ca. 0.75
131	PHRYGIA	Gâvur Evleri	2I	ca. 1.20 / 2.60	0.65	0.65
140	PHRYGIA	Midas City 11	2I	1.75 / 2.25	0.60 / 0.75	0.38
142	PHRYGIA	Midas City "West Tomb"	2I	1.75	0.78	0.65
143	PHRYGIA	Midas City "Pyramid Tomb"	2I	1.93 / 2.10	0.80-0.88	0.45
144	PHRYGIA	Pişmiş Kale	2I	2.00 / ca. 1.80	ca. 0.60	ca. 0.75
150	PHRYGIA	Tekören 1	2I	1.63 / 2.05	0.69	0.43 / 0.48
152	PHRYGIA	Zey 3	2I	2.34 / 2.53	0.87 / ?	0.50
156	PHRYGIA	Zey 8	2I			
157	PHRYGIA	Zey 9	2I	2.74 / 2.84	ca. 1.04	0.45
161	PHRYGIA	Beypınarı	2I	2.60 / 2.40	ca. 0.80	
163	PHRYGIA	Karacakaya	2I	2.40 / 1.80	0.60	0.60
168	PHRYGIA	Kokarkuyu	2I			
78	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC19	2I, double at rear			
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler T	3+II			
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler Tomb M	3+II, double at rear			
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler A1, B, C, D, E, E', G, H, I ³ , K, O, P, Q, S, U, V, X, Y ³	3II			
72	LYDIA	Sardis 03.1	3II	1.92 / 1.70 / 2.08	0.70 / 0.74 / 0.83	0.50 / 0.75
73	LYDIA	Sardis: behind Pyramid Tomb	3II	2.20-2.30 / 1.80	0.70 / 1.15	ca. 0.90
94	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 7	3II		0.65	
97	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 33	3II	2.40	0.85 / 0.82	0.40
101	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 98	3II	2.15	0.95 / 1.00	0.92 / 1.00
103	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 103 [= 213?]	3II	2.02 / 1.97	0.84 / 0.77 / 0.93	
105	LYDIA	Çatal Kayısı	3II	1.87 / 1.92	0.79	0.63
110	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 4	3II	1.80	0.66 / 0.76	ca. 0.60
111	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 5 (next to Arslan Taş)	3II	1.85 / 1.97	0.75	ca. 0.20
112	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 8	3II	1.40 / 1.80	0.70 / 0.80	0.50
119	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 20	3II	1.75 / 2.48	0.75	0.20-0.25 / 0.35
120	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 22	3II	1.48 / 1.65	ca. 0.65	0.45
121	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 26	3II	1.70 / 2.08	0.73	0.55
122	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 27	3II	1.70 / 1.90	ca. 0.80	at least 0.36
137	PHRYGIA	Zingırlı Inler	3II	1.90 / 2.20	0.50 / 0.60 / 0.85	0.35 / 0.45-0.50
128	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 40 ("Firm İn")	3II	ca. 1.87 / 2.66	ca. 0.86	0.52
132	PHRYGIA	Beşküy: seven tombs	3II			

(continued)

Table 2. Rock-cut tombs with benches, couches, or carved *klinai*

133	PHRYGIA	Karaçayır: two tombs	3Π				
136	PHRYGIA	Findık Kale	3Π		2.09 / 2.17	0.70 / 0.86	ca. 0.25
138	PHRYGIA	Doğuluşah 1–3	3Π				
145	PHRYGIA	Deve Boynu 1	3Π		1.90–1.95 / 2.30	0.76 / 1.00	ca. 0.25
146	PHRYGIA	Deve Boynu 2	3Π		2.00? / 2.22	ca. 0.75?	
147	PHRYGIA	Dübecik Kale G	3Π		2.28 / 2.10	0.50 / 0.62 / 0.70	ca. 0.70
149	PHRYGIA	Kümbet: “Tomb of Solon”	3Π		3.00–3.55	1.00–1.25	ca. 0.45
153	PHRYGIA	Zey 5	3Π				
162	PHRYGIA	Gerdekkaya	3Π				
167	PHRYGIA	Karaburhan 1	3Π				
169	PISIDIA	Düver	3Π		ca. 1.80 / 2.45	ca. 0.80 / 0.85	ca. 0.50 / 0.60
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler tomb A4	3Π, double at rear				
75	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC3	3Π, double at rear				
77	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC18	3Π, double at rear				ca. 2.00
87	LYDIA	Sardis 411	3Π, double at rear				
96	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 9	3Π, double at rear				
100	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 74 (new 100)	3Π, double at rear		1.60 / 2.15	0.50 / 0.60 / 1.80	0.40
102	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 102	3Π, double at rear		2.13 / 2.65	0.85 / 1.85	0.75
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler tombs A ³ , B ³ , C, C ³ , D ³ , E ³ –H ³ , I	3Π?				
92	LYDIA	Sardis 836	3Π?				
113	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 9	3Π?		1.85 / 1.95	0.63 / 0.67 / 0.74	0.18 / 0.30
116	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 14	3Π?		1.43 / 1.60	0.61 / 0.65 / 0.64	ca. 0.28
123	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 29	3Π?				
124	PHRYGIA	Köhnüş 30	3Π?				
70	LYDIA	Sardis 59.2	4: 1 side / 3Π				
139	PHRYGIA	Midas City “Triclinium Tomb”	5: 3Π / 2Γ		1.97–2.00	0.70–0.80	0.55 / 0.60
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler tombs “Tomb M” and P ¹	5Π				
104	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler tombs A, H ¹ , V ³	5Π, double at rear				
76	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC7	5Π, double at rear				
106	LYDIA	Falaka	5Π: 2 sides / 3Π				
95	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 8	5Π: 2 sides / 3Π, double at rear		ca. 2.00	0.86–0.90 / 1.65	
99	LYDIA	Sardis: Butler 70 (new 113)	5Π: 2 sides, one double / 3Π, double at sides and triple at rear		1.67–2.10	0.50–2.10	0.95?
79	LYDIA	Sardis: McLauchlin CC22	6: 4 sides / 2 sides		1.90 / 1.50	0.80 / 0.60	0.72 / 0.90

See the Catalogue (Appendix A) for full descriptions.

Key: Number of couches: 1, 2, 3, etc. (+ = possibly more). Arrangement: against 1 or 2 side walls (*side[s]*); against rear wall (*R*); in Γ-shaped arrangement against rear and one side wall, left or right (*T*); in Π-shaped arrangement against side and rear walls (*II*). Double width (*double*). Location unknown or unspecified (*).

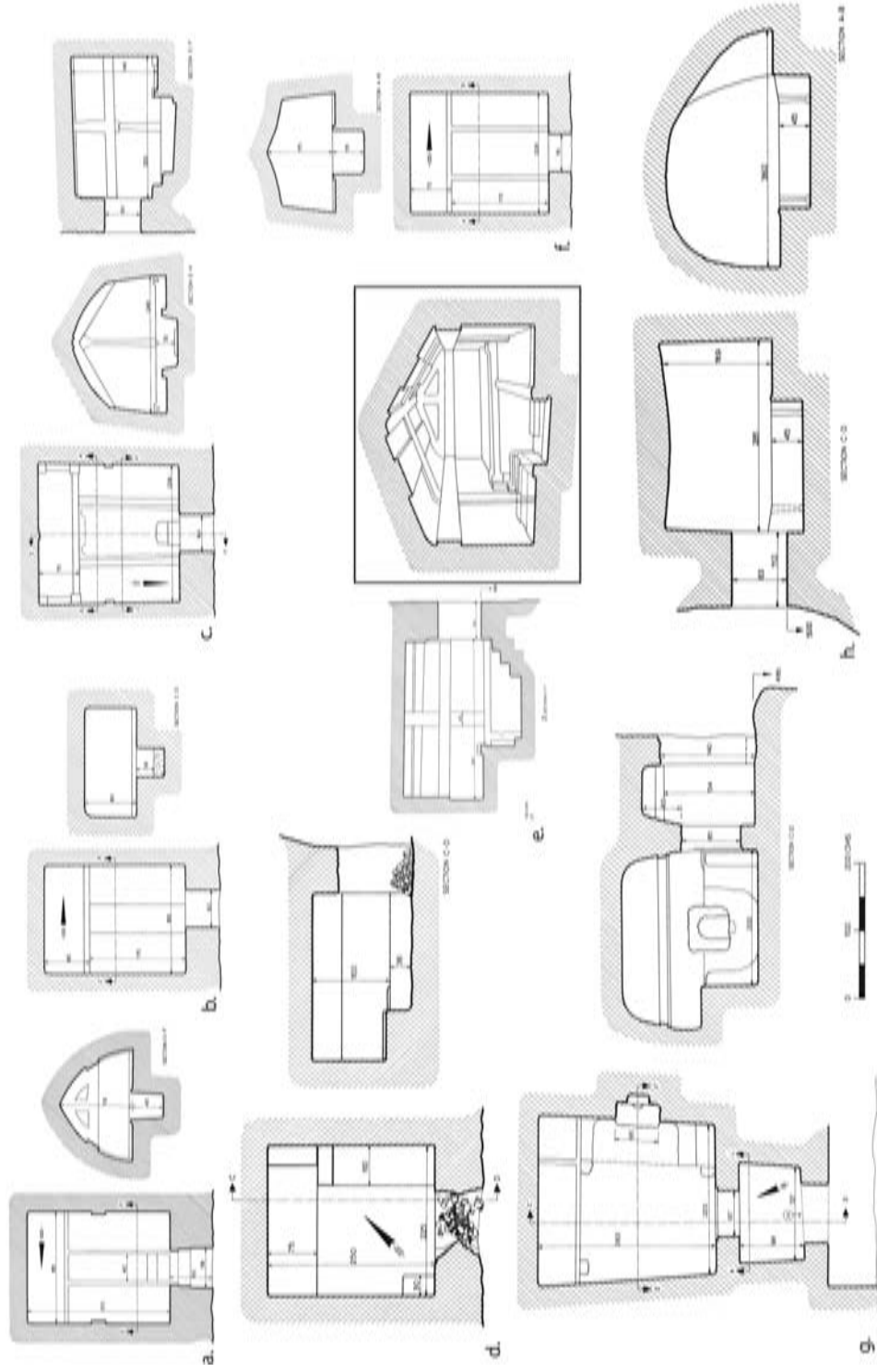


Figure 95. Drawings of rock-cut tombs in the Phrygian highlands by C.H. Emilie Haspels, resized to approximately the same scale: (a) plan and elevation of Köhnuş Tomb 22 (Cat. 120), Haspels 1971, pl. 538.5–6; (b) plan and elevation of Köhnuş Tomb 27 (Cat. 122), pl. 536.2–3; (c) plan and elevation of Köhnuş Tomb 20 (Cat. 119), pl. 536.5, .8, .10; (d) plan and elevation of Midas City, Tomb 11 (Cat. 140), pl. 530.4–5; (e) isometric reconstruction of Köhnuş Tomb 17 (Cat. 117), pl. 537.1; (f) plan and elevation of Köhnuş Tomb 26 (Cat. 121), pl. 536.1, .4; (g) plan and elevation of tomb at Pişmiş Kale (Cat. 144), pl. 541.8, .10; (h) plan and elevation of “Pyramid Tomb,” Midas City (Cat. 143), pl. 542.2, .4. (C.H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* © 1971 Princeton University Press, 1999 renewed PUP, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

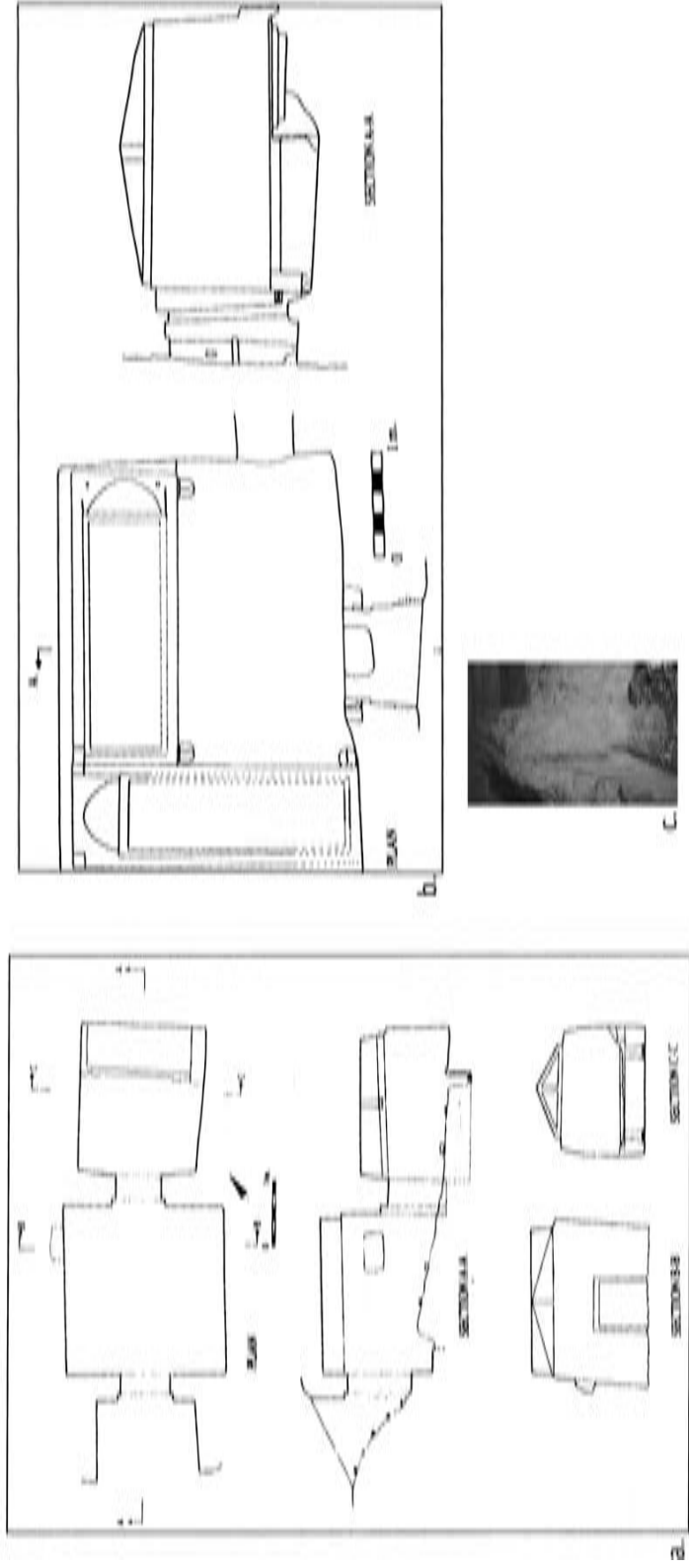


Figure 96. Phrygian rock-cut tombs in the region of Sivrihisar: (a) plan and sections of tomb at Karakaya (Cat. 160), Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, fig. 1; (b) plan of Zey Tomb 9 (Cat. 157), Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, fig. 6; (c) detail view of carved leg in Zey Tomb 9. (Photo by author; drawings reproduced with permission of T. Tüfekçi Sivas)

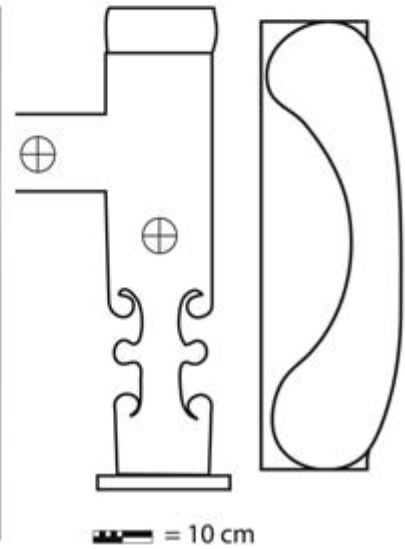


Figure 97. Midas City, “West Tomb” (Cat. 142): view of chamber with *klinai* restored, and detail drawings of *klinai*. (Photos and drawings by author)

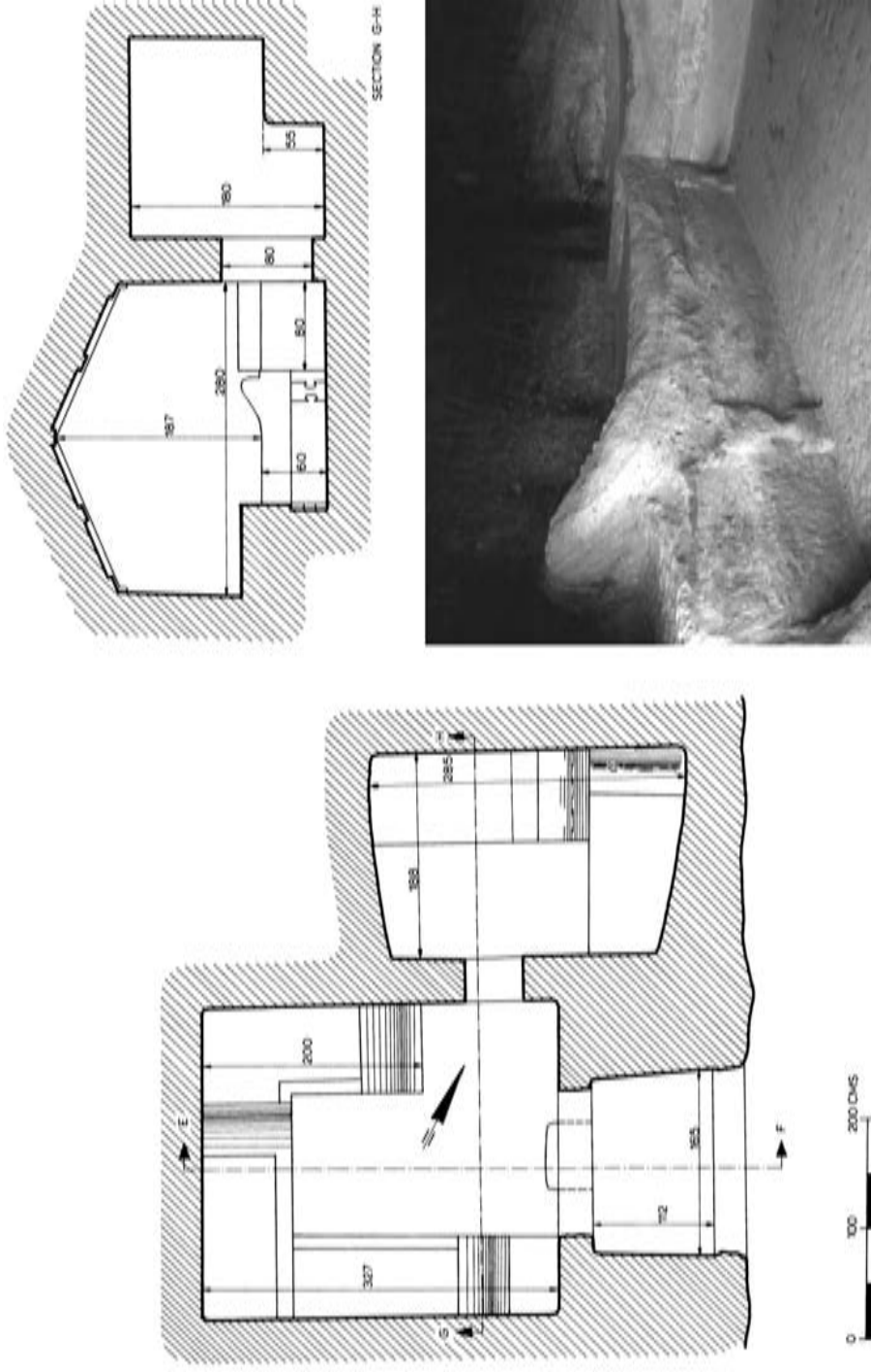


Figure 98. Midas City, Triclinium Tomb (Cat. 139): plan and section of chambers, Haspels 1971, pl. 542.3-.5; view of left side of main chamber. (Photo by author; drawings from C.H. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* © 1971 Princeton University Press, 1999 renewed PUR, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press)

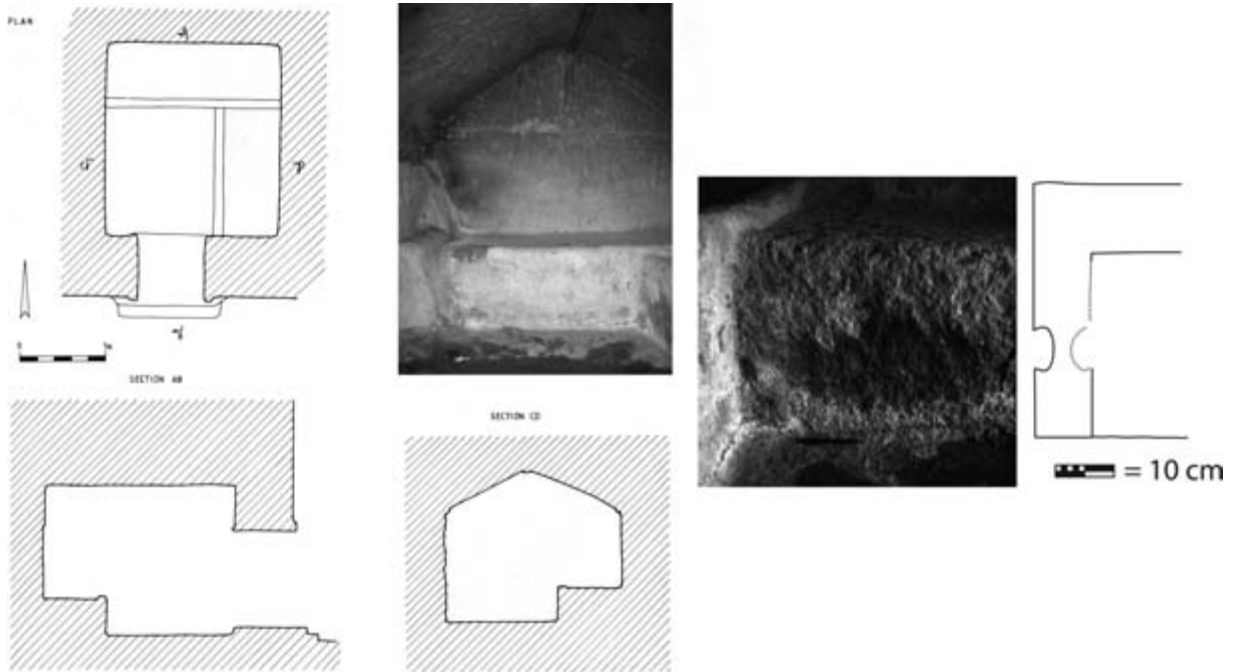


Figure 99. Tekören, Tomb 1 (Cat. 150): plan and elevation, Devreker and Vermeulen 1991, fig. 8; view of rear part of chamber and detail view and drawing of right couch. (Architectural drawings reproduced with permission of J. Devreker; photos and drawing of couch leg by author)

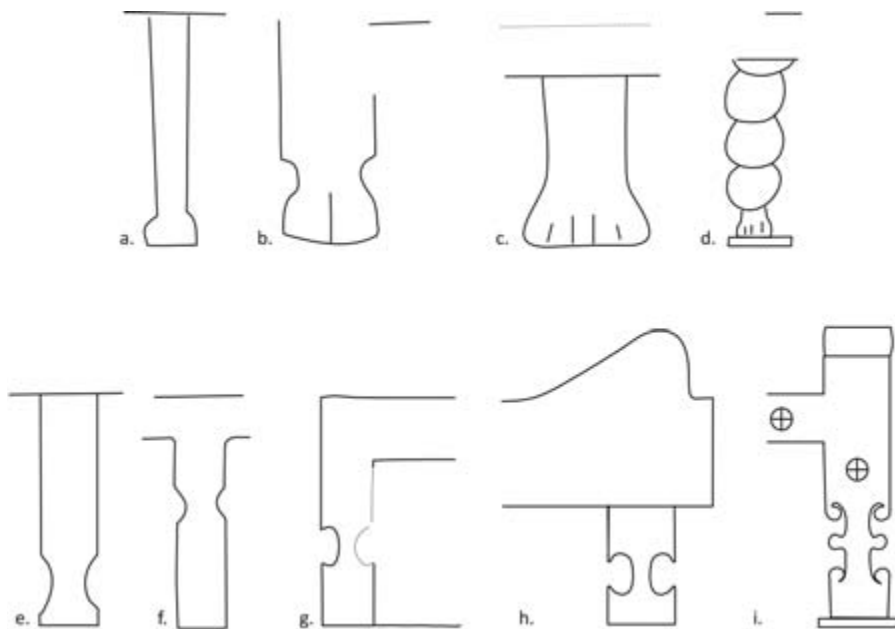


Figure 100. Details of carved Phrygian couch legs (not to scale; drawings have been resized to approximately the same couch height): (a) Midas City, "Pyramid Tomb" (Cat. 143), after Haspels 1971, pl. 542.1; (b) Zey 9 (Cat. 157), after Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, fig. 6; (c) Karakaya (Cat. 160), after Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, fig. 1; (d) Karacakaya (Cat. 163), after Tüfekçi Sivas 2008a, fig. 5; (e) Köhnüş 26 (Cat. 121), after Haspels 1971, pl. 536.6; (f) Köhnüş 17 (Cat. 117), after Haspels 1971, pl. 537.2; (g) Tekören 1 (Cat. 150); (h) "Triclinium Tomb," Midas City (Cat. 139), after Haspels 1971, pl. 542.5; (i) Midas City West Tomb (Cat. 142). (Drawings by author)

filling the rear and right walls of the chamber by raised borders at the front. No further articulation of couch details was recorded in the publication of the tomb by the Pessinus team, but low-relief legs and rail are discernible on the face of the right couch, and the bottom of a relief leg is visible at the bottom left corner of the rear couch (the top part of the couch in this area appears to have been eroded by running water). On the lower part of the left leg of the right couch are back-to-back C-shaped cutouts, the most essential feature of Type B *kline* form. A relief leg carved on the face of the right-hand couch in one of the tombs in the Köhnüş Valley near Arslan Taş (Fig. 95e, 100f) have similar C-shaped cutouts, but at a higher level than is usual for Type B couches. These may be intended as Type B *klinai*, but the legs also resemble (in basic profile) the type with offset top, seen in Greek Geometric and later art.²⁵²

Other Articulated Couch Forms

Couch legs of other types are also attested in Phrygian rock-cut tombs. In one of the other Köhnüş Valley tombs (Cat. 121, Figs. 95f, 100e), the two side couches in a continuous Π-shaped bench have relief legs with C-shaped indentations at the bottom, just above the foot. These are comparable to couch legs depicted on a seventh-century Phoenician bowl (see Figs. 134, 137a) and on an Attic black-figure krater recently attributed to Lydos, ca. 570–560.²⁵³ Plain, rounded rectangular legs occur in a tomb at Pişmiş Kale (Cat. 144, Fig. 95g), and slender legs that taper toward fist-like feet are carved on the faces of a Γ-shaped bench in the “Pyramid Tomb” at Midas City (Cat. 143, Fig. 95h). This tomb has been dated to the sixth or fifth century on the basis of its exterior reliefs, for which Hittite, Phrygian, and “Graeco-Persian” sculptural parallels have been adduced; but the reliefs are very worn, and it is uncertain whether they are all contemporary with the initial use of the chamber (see Fig. 157 in Chapter 4).²⁵⁴

A trend known so far only in the Sivrihisar region of the Phrygian highlands is the decoration of couch feet with animal forms. Three tombs in this area have zoomorphic feet. In Tomb 9 at Zey (Cat. 157, Figs. 96b, 100b), two couches are articulated in a continuous Γ-shaped bench, with plain, rectangular legs and rail in relief and a semi-oval headrest defined at the right end. The legs terminate in wide bull’s hooves projecting in relief on the chamber floor. In a tomb at nearby Karakaya (Cat. 160, Figs. 96a, 100c), a single couch before the rear wall has wide rectangular legs that terminate in schematic lion’s paws. Another tomb in the area, near Karacakaya, has two couches (before the left and rear walls) with relief legs terminating in taloned (hawk?) feet (Cat. 163, Fig. 100d). Bull’s-hoof furniture feet have a long history in the ancient Near East, from Egypt to Urartu, and they are occasionally seen on couches in later Greek art.²⁵⁵ In Urartian furniture, the bull’s hoof usually occurs within the leg, above a hanging leaf crown, and does not normally stand on the ground,²⁵⁶ but bull’s-hoof feet are found on Urartian tripod stands and are seen on some tables and footstools in Mesopotamian art.²⁵⁷ The hooves on the Zey couch differ from the bull’s hoof feet of Egyptian and Greek beds by facing out toward the front rather than to one side (as if conceived as walking). Lion’s paw feet are also known for various Near Eastern furniture types, though not couches.²⁵⁸ The only known parallels for lion’s paw feet on a couch occur on an unpublished *kline* in Lydia, probably of Late Archaic or Early Classical date²⁵⁹ and in a Lycian rock-cut tomb at Myra, probably of the fourth century or later.²⁶⁰ Relief legs have been recorded

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

in another Phrygian tomb (Cat. 168), but their shape is not described or discernible in the initial publication.

Phrygian-Style Tombs in Other Regions

Rock-cut tombs of Phrygian style have also been identified in surrounding areas. Several tombs in the Lake Hoyran basin of Pisidia have been identified as “Phrygian” by Fiedler, and some of these are said to have couches, but they have not been published.²⁶¹ A tomb at Düver in northwestern Pisidia (Cat. 169) has been called “Phrygian” on the basis of its carved façade, with a series of recessed moldings framing the door,²⁶² but its Π-shaped arrangement of couches, each with a raised rectangular border at the front and the rear couch higher than the others, is equally paralleled in Lydian chamber tombs (see below), and the carved lotus motifs on the door frame are comparable with Lydian architectural terracottas and the lotuses on the *kline* from Lale Tepe (Cat. 25). Kahya therefore concludes that this tomb reflects both Phrygian and Lydian cultural influence and demonstrates “the multiple cultural interactions Pisidia had with nearby regions.”²⁶³ Similarly, the rock-cut tombs of neighboring highland regions, Kabalia and the Kibyratis, are comparable with Lydian as well as Phrygian and Lycian tomb traditions but are of uncertain date.²⁶⁴ For instance, a tomb near Balboursa with plain façade has a single couch at the rear of the chamber, with a raised rectangular headrest on the right end.²⁶⁵ Carved in relief on its front face are a horizontal rail and legs with simple cut-outs near the bottom as in the Type B scheme, and as seen at Midas City and Tekören (Cat. 139, 150). As Coulton points out, the undecorated façade and vaulted ceiling are reminiscent of some tombs in the Phrygian highlands, while there is also a parallel for a vaulted tomb chamber in Lydia (Aktepe, Cat. 52).²⁶⁶

The rock-cut chambers of the tumuli near Beyce in northwestern Lydia (Cat. 37–40) may also be compared to the rock tombs of Phrygia, with their carved rafters and ridgepoles, but they do not contain some of the details characteristic of Phrygian architecture (such as the “kingpost” in the gable). They seem to represent a similar kind of interior wooden architecture but need not reflect knowledge of Phrygian traditions. The painted gables of the Lale Tepe tumulus in central Lydia (Cat. 25, Plate 1), on the other hand, bear a striking resemblance to the carved gables of Phrygian rock-cut tombs and façade monuments, with decorated kingpost and windows.²⁶⁷ It is clear that the artist(s) who decorated the Lale Tepe tomb chamber were familiar with Phrygian-style rock monuments or with the wooden architectural forms those monuments replicate. Still, the form and arrangement of the *klinai* and the masonry styles at Lale Tepe have such strong Lydian parallels that the tomb must be understood as a manifestation of local, Lydian traditions combined with Phrygian architectural vocabulary.

Lydia

In fact, the Lale Tepe chamber provides one of the closest links between the burial arrangements of Lydian tumuli and rock-cut tombs. Rock-cut tombs in Lydia have been systematically explored only in the “Nekropolis” hill of Sardis, and most of this investigation was carried out a century ago, when “systematic” exploration carried a different meaning than it does today. Howard Crosby Butler and the Princeton expedition excavated at least 1,154 tombs in the Nekropolis area, but records of only

about fifty of these survive and a mere handful are accessible today, because of heavy erosion and collapse of the soft conglomerate bedrock.²⁶⁸ The form of several more tombs can be deduced from references to findspots (e.g., “end bed”) on object inventory cards recording finds recovered in Butler’s excavations.²⁶⁹ Several more tombs in the area have been investigated by the Harvard-Cornell expedition. Of these, only two have been found with burials intact.²⁷⁰ It is likely that many of the tombs excavated by Butler’s team, even when they yielded finds, had also been disturbed. The mixed nature of the finds in many of these tombs—with Lydian and Roman pottery intermingled—suggests frequent reuse of earlier tombs in the Roman period.

That the inhabitants of Sardis had begun carving tombs in the Nekropolis hill as early as the late seventh century is suggested by the frequent appearance of Lydian pottery in these tombs, even if in small quantities, and in the general area of the Nekropolis.²⁷¹ The earliest datable finds seem to be no earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century and come from tombs composed of single chambers, without carved couches.²⁷² It is uncertain whether wooden furnishings may have been included in the earliest rock-cut tombs, but the nature of the ceramic finds suggests that already in the earliest tomb assemblages there was an emphasis on drinking vessels.²⁷³ Dusingberre has argued that all chamber tombs with benches or couches must postdate the Persian conquest, in conjunction with her theory that *kline*-burial was introduced by the Persians, but this theory is no longer tenable, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3.²⁷⁴ The earliest datable material found in association with a couch in a Lydian rock-cut tomb is the hoard of thirty gold Croeseid staters found in a grayware vessel in a partially preserved chamber excavated by the Princeton expedition.²⁷⁵ The dating of the “Pot of Gold Tomb” (Cat. 74) rests on the controversial dating of the Croeseids themselves, which some have argued were issued only under Persian rule.²⁷⁶ The 2002 discovery of a gold Croeseid fraction in a sealed context that definitely predates the Persian conquest has put the matter to rest, at least for the heavy standard on which it was struck.²⁷⁷ The lighter standard of the Croeseids from the Pot of Gold Tomb may have followed the heavier one, but one scholar has recently argued that the two were issued concurrently.²⁷⁸ It is therefore still uncertain whether this tomb and its couches date to the Lydian or the Persian era, but the numismatic evidence does not rule out a date in the reign of Kroisos. The hoard may have been buried at the time of the Persian invasion of Sardis.²⁷⁹

In contrast to Phrygian rock-cut tombs and Lydian tumulus chambers, where single couches or Γ -shaped arrangements are just as common as Π -shaped formations, Lydian rock-cut tombs usually had three or more burial places (see Table 2). Couches are usually found along both side walls as well as the rear wall, in a continuous Π -shaped bench or, occasionally, carved in projecting niche-like recesses.²⁸⁰ Individual burial places are sometimes delineated by raised borders on the top surface, ca. 0.10 m wide and 0.10–0.20 m high. These borders normally occur only on the front edges of single couches and as dividing partitions between the burial places on wider couches for multiple occupants,²⁸¹ but in some cases a raised border surrounds all four edges of a bed surface, creating a depressed space within (Fig. 101).²⁸² Such borders defined three burial places in a continuous Π -shaped bench in Tomb 03.1 (Cat. 72, Fig. 102), recently excavated by the Harvard-Cornell expedition. As in Phrygian rock-cut tombs, it is often the rear couch that carries the most carved borders.²⁸³ But in contrast to Phrygian tombs, no known Lydian rock-cut couches have carved details suggesting rails or legs on their front faces.²⁸⁴

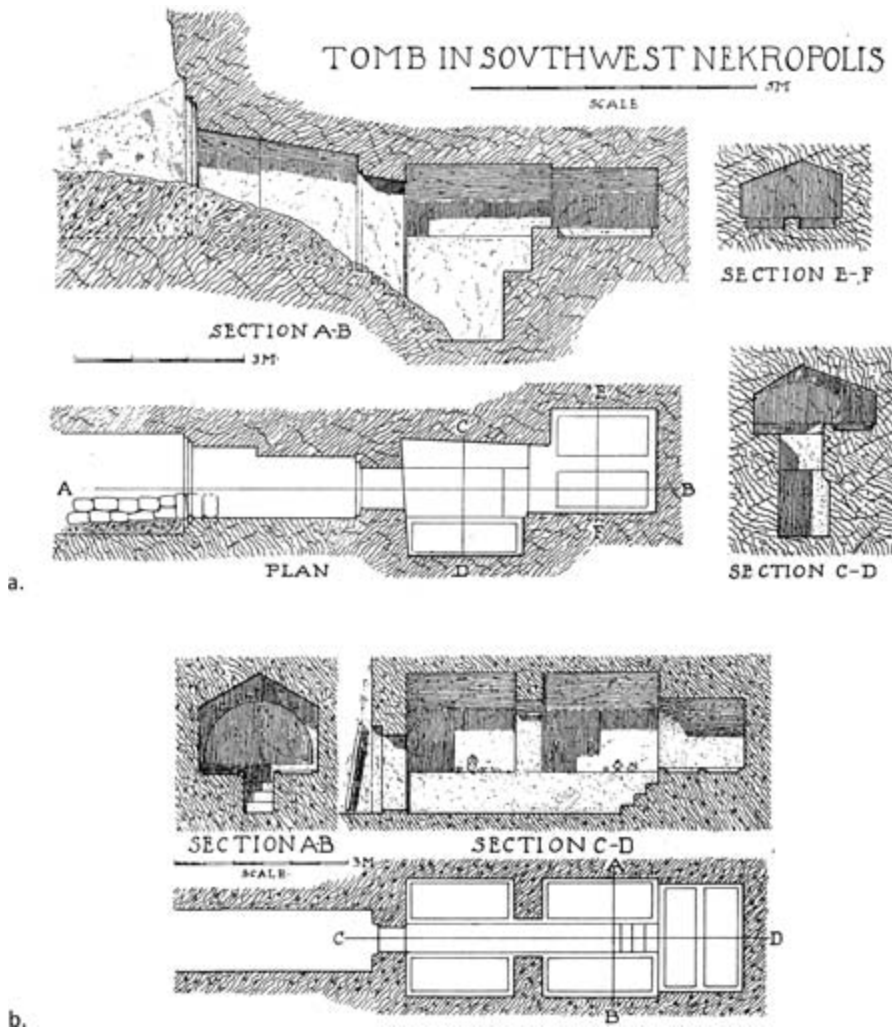


Figure 101. Lydian rock-cut chamber tombs in the Nekropolis of Sardis: (a) Cat. 77, Butler 1922, fig. 183; (b) “typical Lydian tomb,” Butler 1922, fig. 175.

The use of projecting niches is another way in which the rock-cut tombs of Sardis differ from most Phrygian rock-cut tombs. This may be a later feature, reflecting a need for the creation of more burial places as tomb use continued through multiple generations.²⁸⁵ Only the earliest Lydian rock-cut tombs seem to have served single burials, such as Butler’s Tomb 720, which held a single sarcophagus and where later reuse was prevented by the collapse of the chamber ceiling.²⁸⁶ Because so many of these tombs were reused, it is difficult to tell whether existing or recorded tomb plans reflect the original arrangements or later expansion. Roughly carved niches that seem to expand more regular chambers or cists cut within raised couches likely represent later amendments.²⁸⁷ With the caveat that some of the recorded arrangements could reflect post-Lydian additions done carefully or neatly enough that they are hard to distinguish from the original arrangements, we

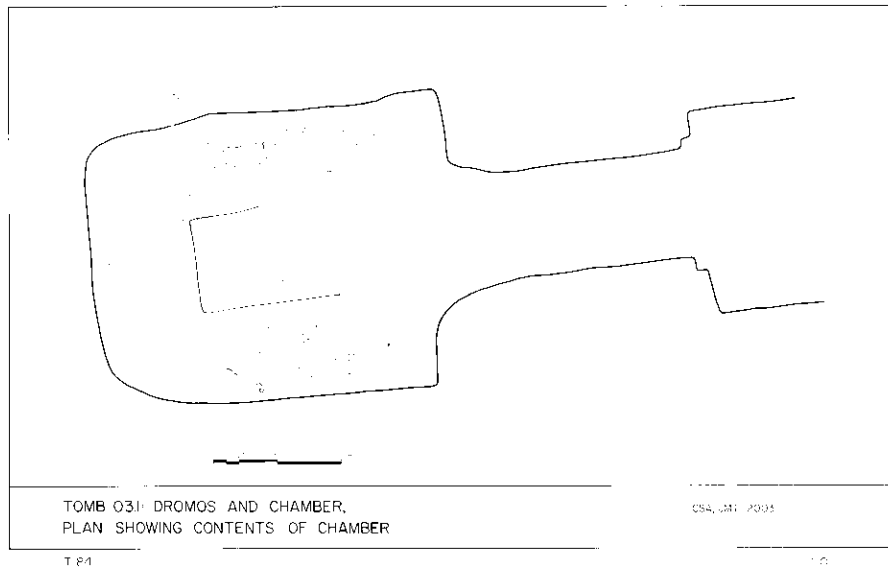


Figure 102. Sardis Tomb 03.1 (Cat. 72): plan of chamber with finds. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University)

can conclude that most Lydian rock-carved tomb chambers were intended for multiple occupants. The most common positioning of *klinai* in Lydian tumulus chambers—a single couch (of single or double width) against a rear or side wall—is unknown in Lydian rock-cut tombs, though two tombs with a single couch on one side wall are known.²⁸⁸ Often the basic arrangement of one rear and two side couches is extended in some way: with *two* couches on each side, placed end to end;²⁸⁹ with the rear couch *doubled*, as in the Lale Tepe tumulus;²⁹⁰ with two couches on each side *and* a double couch at the rear;²⁹¹ or even couches of double width along the side walls with a *triple* couch at the rear (Fig. 103).

When dimensions of individual burial places are known, these are similar to those of built *klinai*: lengths normally range from ca. 1.60 to 2.00 m (with a few exceptions measuring ca. 2.15–2.40 m long); and widths fall between ca. 0.60 and 0.90 m for single couches, 1.40 and 1.85 m for double, and up to 2.10 m for triple (see Table 2). The heights of Lydian rock-cut couches, however, are much more variable than those of Lydian built *klinai*, ranging from as low as 0.40 m to as high as 1.00 m (with one striking example 2.00 m high).

Despite the differences between Lydian built and rock-cut burial couches noted above, similarities in the arrangements of burial chambers in Lydian tumuli and rock-cut tombs suggest a conceptual connection between the two forms of burial receptacle. The chambers of both tomb types were usually reached by dromoi, except for a few possibly early examples.²⁹² Both chamber types sometimes held sarcophagi instead of couches. The rare occurrence of terracotta sarcophagi atop couches in rock-cut tombs²⁹³ does not preclude their conception as burial *klinai* and could in any case reflect later reuse. Moreover, the built-in nature of many built couches in tumulus chambers and the occurrence of rock-cut chambers and furnishings within some tumuli support a conceptual connection between tumulus and rock-cut tomb traditions in Lydia.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

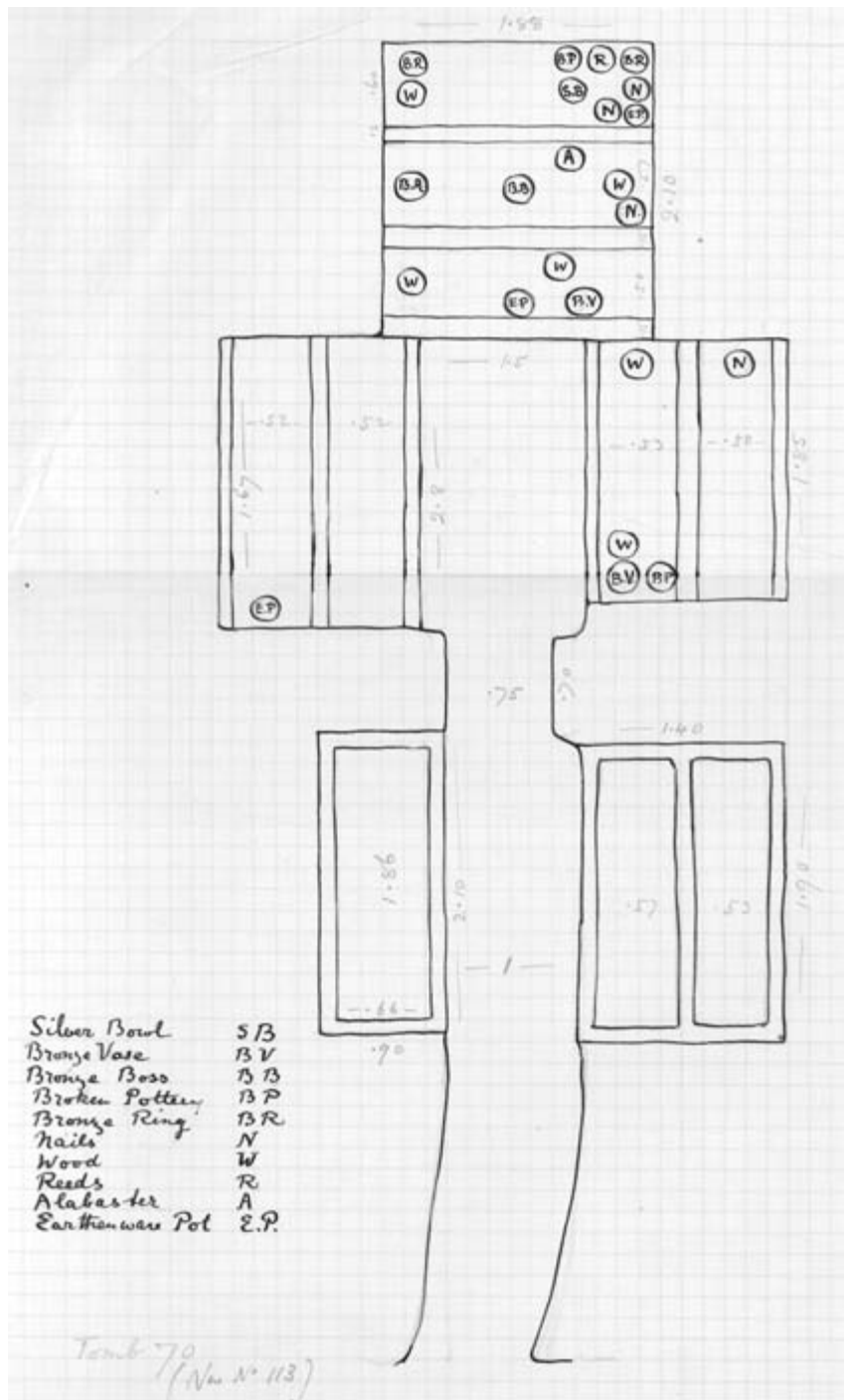


Figure 103. Sardis Tomb 70 (Cat. 99): sketch plan from H.C. Butler archive, on loan from Princeton at the Sardis Expedition office. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis / Harvard University)

Lycia, Caria, and Paphlagonia

Rock-cut tombs in Lycia, Caria, and Paphlagonia are generally thought to be later than the period under consideration here, but they provide a wealth of comparative evidence for tomb furnishings, their arrangement, and burial orientations, and they demonstrate the strength of the *kline*-tomb concept among diverse cultures of Anatolia. In Lycia in particular, accompanying funerary inscriptions describing tomb interiors and outlining rules for their use provide additional insight into tomb occupancy and the significance of certain arrangements.

The earliest Lycian rock-cut tombs may have been carved in the late fifth century, but most seem to belong to the fourth century or later.²⁹⁴ Of the many hundreds of Lycian tombs known, only those of a few sites have been systematically surveyed and published, and more attention has often been paid to their elaborately carved façades than their more modest and roughly cut interiors.²⁹⁵ Many contain plain rectangular, bench-like beds (e.g., Fig. 104). Occasionally these benches are embellished with carved ornament indicating *kline* structure (Fig. 105), and such details have led scholars to refer to the whole class of interior bed-like furnishings in Lycian tombs as “*klinai*.”²⁹⁶ The sculpted façades of Lycian tombs (e.g., Fig. 106) often represent distinctive wooden architectural forms that must reflect a local vernacular style, but it is not certain whether the depicted buildings were meant to be understood as houses or as structures of other functions, such as shrines.²⁹⁷ The outfitting of tomb interiors with beds or couches could support either view, since they could be understood as bedrooms or banquet halls, and the latter could be located in sanctuaries or in homes. When the façades start to incorporate elements of Greek architecture, the vocabulary used is that of temple façades,²⁹⁸ but it is difficult to know what meaning these forms carried in Lycia: could columnar, pedimental façades have decorated rulers’ dwellings, or sanctuary banquet halls?²⁹⁹ Still, the funerary inscriptions that accompany many of these tombs support reading them as “house-tombs” at some level, since they indicate that these were family tombs, serving individual household-family units.³⁰⁰

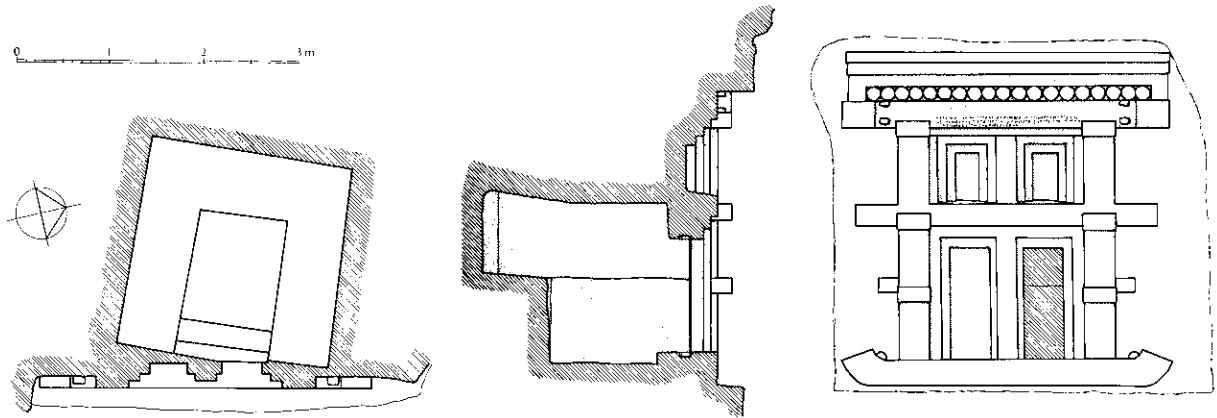


Figure 104. Plan, section, and elevation of Lycian tomb at Dereagzi, Bridges 1993, fig. 29. (Reproduced with permission of R.A. Bridges)

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

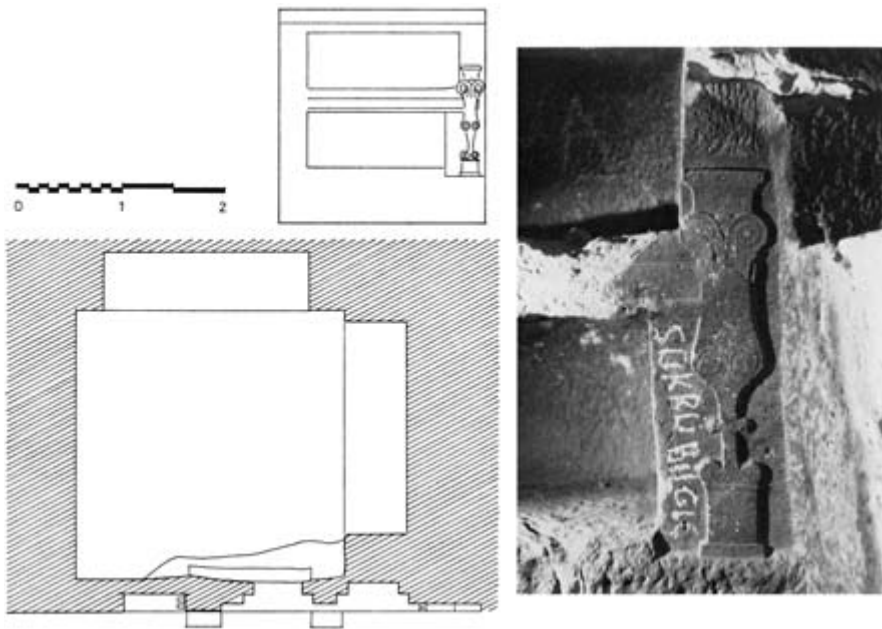


Figure 105. Myra Tomb 17: plan, elevation of rear *kline*, and detail of rear *kline*, right end, Borchhardt 1975, fig. 25, pl. 62b. (Reproduced with permission of J. Borchhardt)



Figure 106. View of Lycian tomb façades at Myra. (Photo by author)

The most common arrangements in Lycian tombs are continuous Π -shaped benches or other three-couch combinations,³⁰¹ but chambers with only one or two couches are also known.³⁰² Couches are usually of single width, but there are couches of double width, and funerary inscriptions often record the burial of husband and wife on the same couch.³⁰³ Couches are usually carved within the chamber itself, but some are located in niches that project out from the central chamber space, as is sometimes the case in tombs of the Sardis Nekropolis.³⁰⁴ Another feature paralleled at Sardis is the carving of cists in some bench-like couches, probably a sign of later reuse.³⁰⁵ But unlike Lydian and Phrygian rock-cut tombs, the burial places in some Lycian tombs were conceived of as shelves or were composed of separate slabs (or wood) slotted into place (e.g., Fig. 107),³⁰⁶ and multiple levels of burial were possible within a single chamber (e.g., Fig. 108).³⁰⁷ Such arrangements discourage literal readings of these tomb interiors as representations of real bedrooms or banquet halls, but do not disprove the idea that the burial places were perceived as *klinai*.

Of the few decorated Lycian rock-cut *klinai* that are known, two belong to the Type B scheme, with details suggesting a fourth-century or later dating. In Tomb 17 at Myra (see Fig. 105), the relief legs of the rear *kline* have profiles resembling Type A legs but with volutes on the central bulge and spiraling out above a tall foot, as if the lower part of the leg corresponded to the side cutouts of the Type B scheme, with projecting discs at the thinnest portion of the shaft.³⁰⁸ Above the Aeolic volute of the raised capital is a flaring raised post comparable to the taller, two-tiered volute capitals of Macedonian funerary *klinai*. In the “Doric Tomb” at Kaş (Antiphellos, Fig. 109), the couches have been damaged by vandalism in recent times, but carvings preserved on the right-hand couch clearly represent the



Figure 107. Lycian rock-cut tomb with slot for inserted couch, Limyra. (Photo by author)

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia



Figure 108. Lycian rock-cut tomb with two levels of burial places, Xanthos. (Photo by author)

Type B scheme, with volute capital as well as volute designs on the lower part of the leg. In place of a palmette sprouting from the volute separation on the capital, an *akanthos* motif appears. Also indicative of a Late Classical or Hellenistic date are the flaring, angular petals of the palmettes that alternate with rosettes on the front rail.³⁰⁹ Another decorated Lycian *kline* has legs of unique turned design;³¹⁰ one has a carved representation of an overhanging cover/cloth that reveals only a lion's-paw foot;³¹¹ and one has a gorgoneion carved on its front face.³¹² Most couches are, however, plain, lacking even the simple raised borders so common in Lydia and Phrygia.³¹³ In some cases a raised "pillow" (angled or rounded) occurs at one end (Fig. 110).³¹⁴ When such pillows occur on rear couches, they are normally located on the right end, while on side couches they are usually placed on the same side, whether nearest the tomb entrance or toward the rear.³¹⁵ As in Phrygian and Lydian rock-cut tombs, the rear position is often privileged in some way: if any one of three couches in a tomb is distinguished from the others, it is usually the rear couch, as in a tomb at Phellos, where the rear couch not only carries relief decoration (a gorgoneion) but is also higher than the two side couches.³¹⁶



Figure 109. Kaş, “Doric Tomb”: detail of right couch. (Photo by author)

The relative height of Lycian burials was evidently important. Lycian funerary inscriptions carved near the entrances to some tombs often express a recurring concern with the placement of subsequent burials above the primary tomb occupants. One inscription reads: “On the couch [*isbazi*] of this [tomb] lies Padrīma, sacrificial priest, and he does not permit (??) to place anyone else upon him.”³¹⁷ But the meaning of “upon” or “on top” in these inscriptions is not clear. It could reflect a concern for secondary burials on the same couch, or it could refer to the physical relationship of burial places within individual tombs or of neighboring tombs. As noted above, some Lycian tombs have two levels of burial, such as a continuous rock-cut bench on the floor and a projecting ledge above.³¹⁸ In addition, some tombs are located one above the other or have two stories, and when the “upper” and “lower” tombs or chambers are referred to in accompanying inscriptions, the “upper” one is reserved for the primary tomb owner and his wife, and it is stipulated that no one else, not even family members, may be buried above.³¹⁹ In either case, the highest burial positions seem to have been the most privileged, and it was evidently preferable not to have any burials located

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

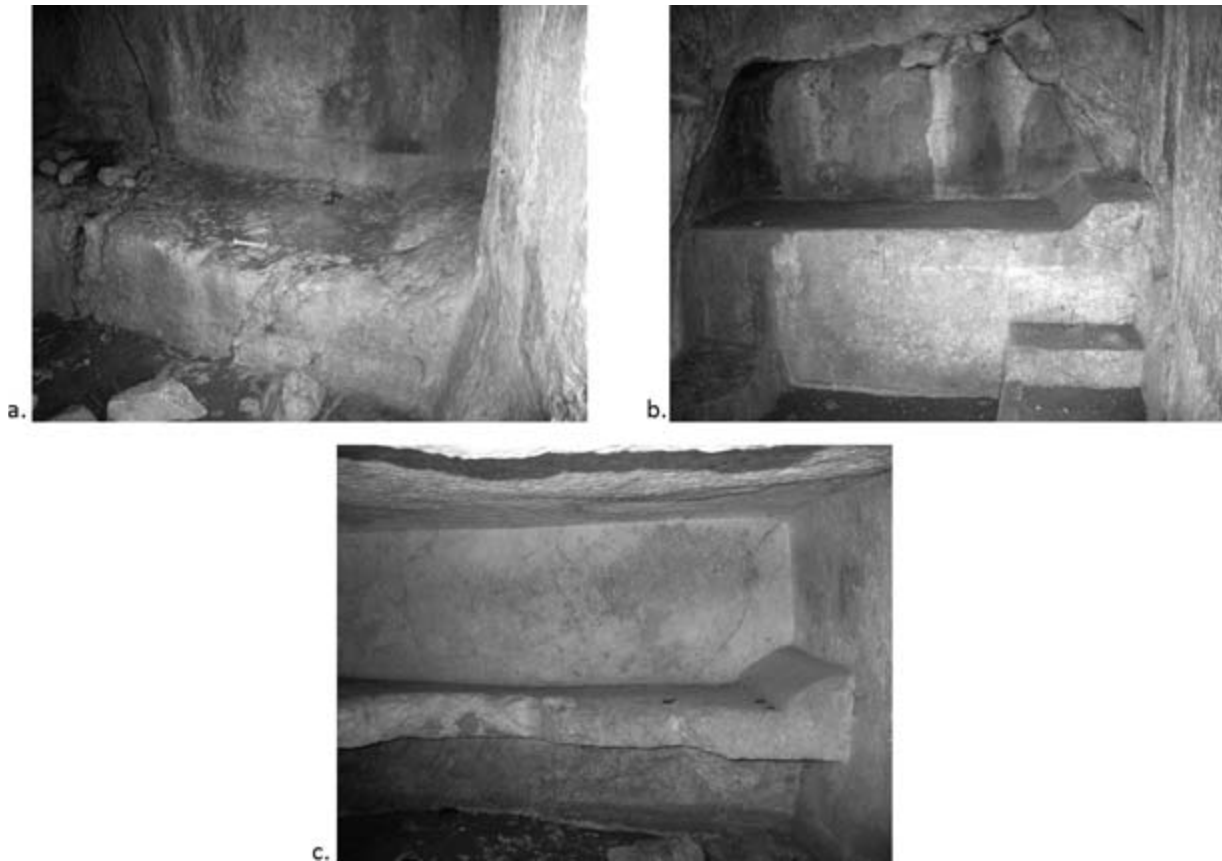


Figure 110. Lycian rock-cut couches with raised pillows at Xanthos (a–b) and Limyra (c). (Photos by author)

immediately above one's own, even in a superposed chamber. Still, the multiplicity of burial places in Lycian tombs and the mention of multiple family members as tomb occupants in some tomb inscriptions make it clear that these were communal tombs, and some couches must have seen successive use. Comparison of burial arrangements with accompanying inscriptions reveals that the number of individuals buried in a tomb often exceeds the number of existing couches.³²⁰ In a unique case of skeletal preservation in a two-couch tomb, a single burial occupied the right couch, while the remains of nine individuals were found on the opposite couch, eight of them pushed to one side to accommodate the final burial.³²¹

Rock-cut tombs in Caria show more western (Greek) influence in their temple-like façades but share many basic interior characteristics with Lycian “house-tombs.” These have been studied most extensively by Roos,³²² and the majority appear to date to the fourth century or later.³²³ Chambers are usually equipped with rock-cut benches, one along each wall or in a continuous Π -shaped formation, though arrangements with fewer couches are also possible. In marked contrast to the

Lycian rock-cut couches, however, about 50 percent of these benches contain deep depressions in their bed surfaces.³²⁴ These cuttings fall into two main types, varying in depth: deep cist- or sarcophagus-like rectangular hollows that reach almost to the level of the chamber floor, or shallow rectangular depressions surrounded by flat borders.³²⁵ Some of the deeper hollows appear to have been covered by lids made of wood or stone.³²⁶ Roos wonders whether the benches with shallow depressions (like those without cavities) represent an original phase in which *kline*-burial was the norm, while the benches with deeper hollows reflect a later phase (and perhaps secondary use) when sarcophagus-burial was preferred; but he notes one tomb in which the cist “must have been cut from the beginning.”³²⁷ And even those with relatively shallow depressions may have been covered by lids of some kind, as cuttings on the borders of some of them suggest (see Fig. 112).³²⁸

Few Carian rock-cut benches carry relief decoration on their front faces, but none conform to the Type A and B schemes (Fig. 111). Most have straight or tapering legs over profiled feet, usually with a raised, contoured capital of some kind.³²⁹ The contours of the carved feet in some Carian tombs, with a swelling bulge over an indentation, are comparable to those seen on built *klinai* in Macedonian-style tombs in Greece and may represent a late development of the Type C *kline* form.³³⁰ Articulation of mattress layers and pillows is rare, but when pillows do occur, they are limited to one end of each couch, and at Kaunos it is always the right end, in standard “triclinium” arrangement (Fig. 112).³³¹ In a tomb at Arymaxa, there are only two simple couches, one along each side wall, and each has a raised headrest against the rear wall.³³²

Rock-cut tombs with couches or benches are also found in Paphlagonia. As in Lycia and Caria, most of these appear to date to the fourth century or later, and the chronology is subjective. The tomb known as Kalekapı (Fig. 113), with a columnar, gabled façade covered with animal reliefs, was dated by early scholars to the eighth century on the basis of Late Hittite affinities, but distinct Achaemenid features in some of the reliefs and in the animal-protome column capitals indicate a date in the last quarter of the fifth century or later.³³³ In one of its chambers, a plain bench at the rear is accompanied by a couch or bed on the right wall, carved with rectangular borders surrounding the bed surface, a pillow-like raised portion on the right end, and “turned” legs with disc moldings; in an adjoining chamber, a plain bench is located before the right side wall.³³⁴ Most other Paphlagonian tombs have been dated to the fourth century or Hellenistic period. Terelik Kayası, with columnar façade, bull capitals, and a couch with rectangular borders along the left wall of the chamber, has recently been dated variously from ca. 425 to 375 or to the Hellenistic period.³³⁵ İskilip Tomb 1 also has a columnar façade and a couch against the rear wall, with a raised rectangular “pillow” at the right end and a rectangular border on the front edge, below which the front face curves inward, above a rectangular base.³³⁶ Proposed dates for this tomb range from the fifth century through the Hellenistic period.³³⁷ Another tomb with columnar façade and bull-protome capitals, at Salarköy, has two carved couches in the chamber, and this tomb has also been dated within a wide range, from the last quarter of the fifth century through the Hellenistic period.³³⁸ The tombs with bull-protome capitals have recently been studied by Summerer and von Keinlin as examples of competitive emulation among the local elite: while the tomb façades make an external statement with foreign elements (Greek as well as Achaemenid), the interiors seem to represent local architecture and traditions.³³⁹ In relation to Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian, and Carian rock-cut funeral couches,

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

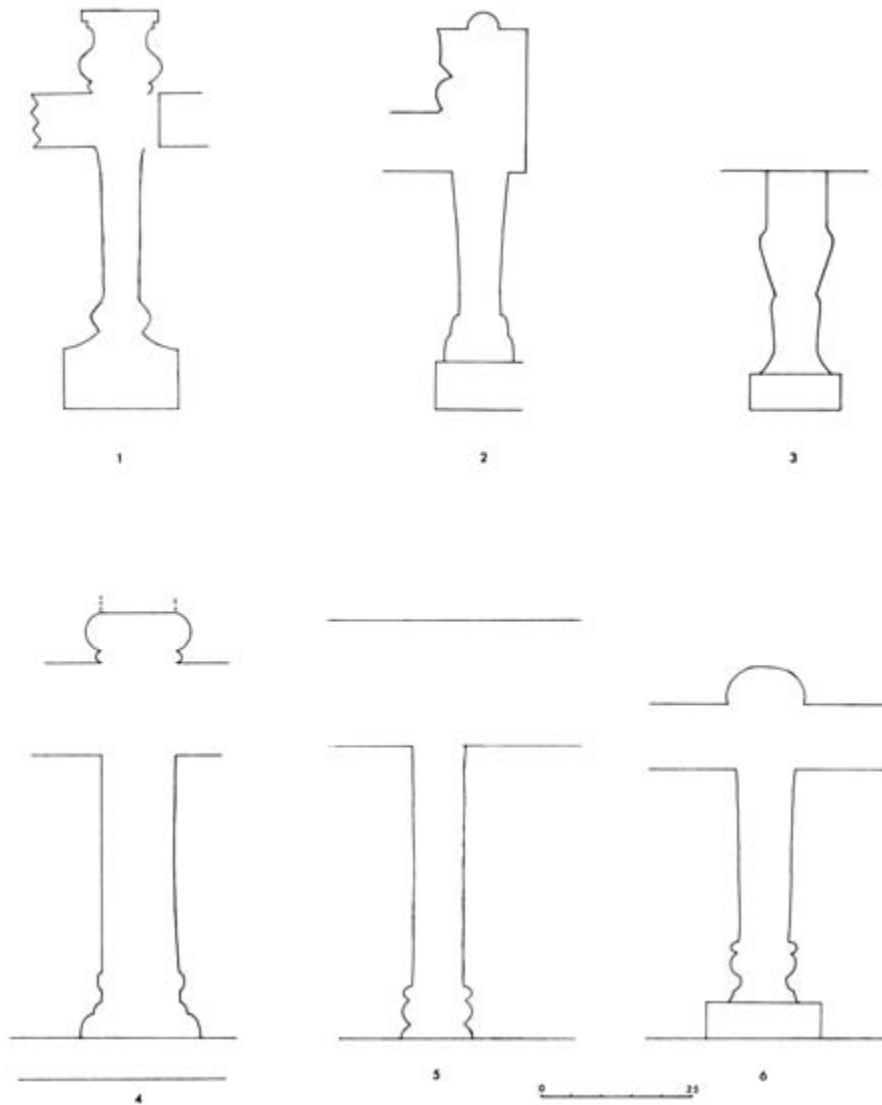


Figure 111. Drawings of carved legs on faces of couches and sarcophagi in Carian rock-cut tombs at Kaunos and Çamköy, fourth century and later, Roos 1972, pl. 51. (Reproduced with permission of P. Roos)

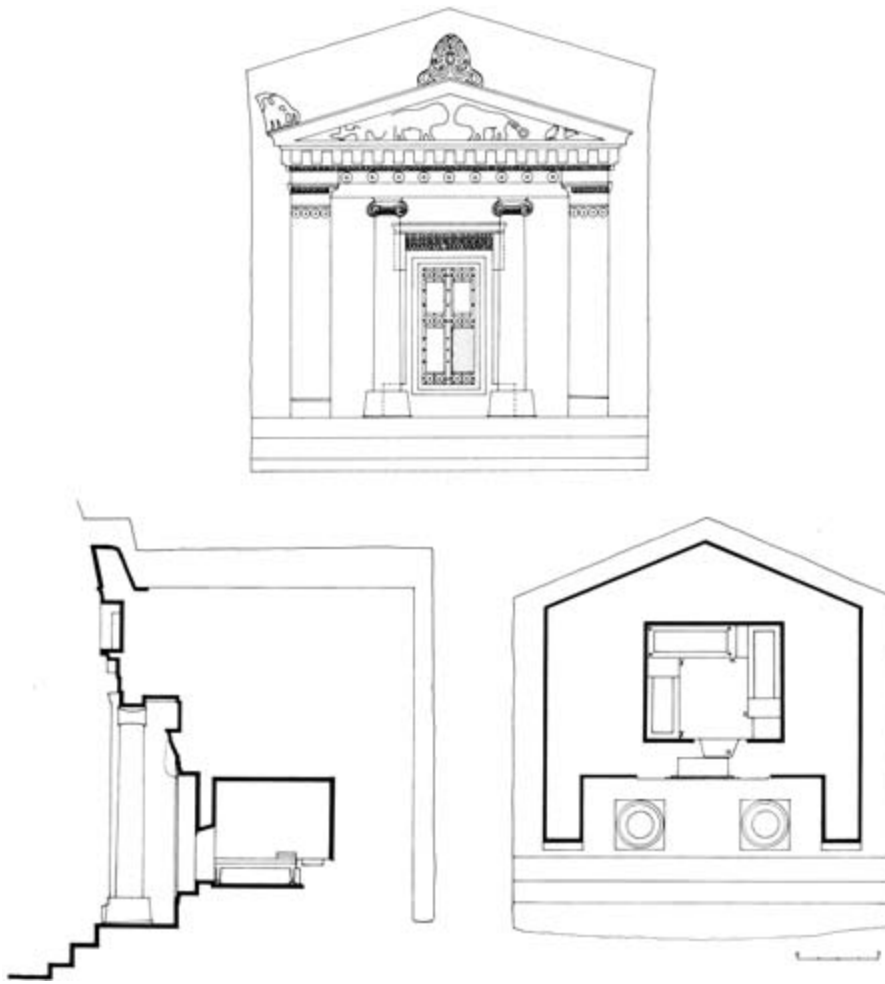
Paphlagonian examples are less numerous, more variable, and more isolated, with single-couch chambers most common.

Summary

Though the rock-cut tombs of Lycia, Caria, and Paphlagonia are certainly later than those under primary consideration in this study, they provide important testimony to the wide distribution of the basic *kline*-tomb type by the end of the fifth century and continuing through the fourth.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

Figure 112. Carian rock-cut tomb with “triclinium” arrangement, Kaunos Tomb B8, fourth century: plan, section, and façade elevation, from Roos 1972, pls. 28–29. (Reproduced with permission of P. Roos)



This tomb type persisted through the Hellenistic and Roman periods in many parts of Anatolia.³⁴⁰ Many of the tombs of the Phrygian highlands seem to belong to the sixth century, and some could be earlier. The carved chambers of the Sardis Nekropolis are difficult to date, but existing evidence indicates that the series had begun by the end of the seventh century. There is much regional variation among these rock-cut tomb traditions, especially on tomb exteriors, and this cross-cultural presentation is not meant to imply an evolution of the type or directional influence from one area to another; rather, it seems that similar funerary ideas came to be expressed in similar but distinct ways in rock-cut form in different cultural areas of Anatolia over the course of the sixth and fifth centuries. The very different approaches to tomb exteriors and differences in interior arrangements underline the distinctiveness of these tomb traditions. This distinctiveness, in turn, makes the similarities that *do* exist (beyond those of basic couch size, which may

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

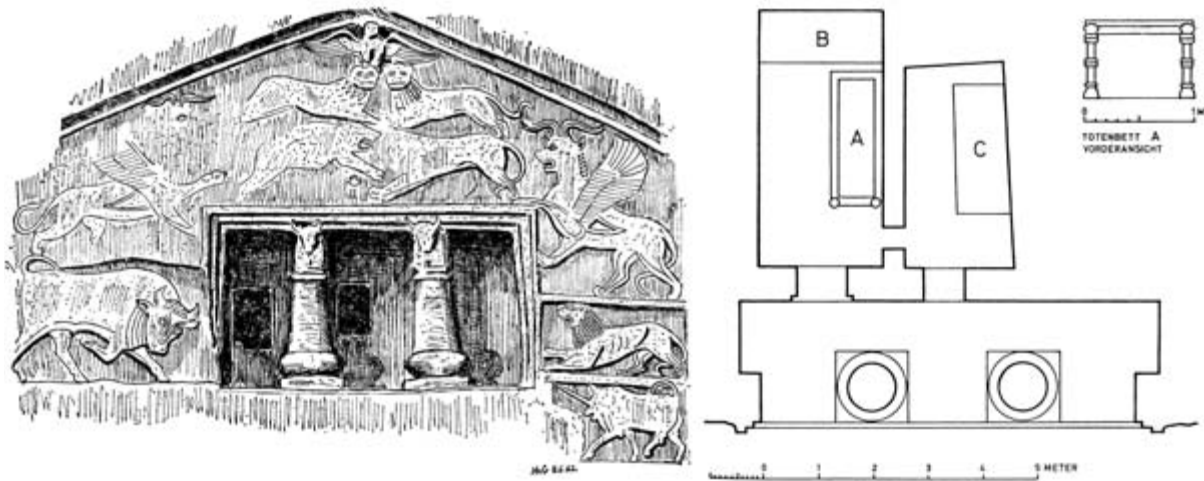


Figure 113. Paphlagonian rock-cut tomb, Kalekapı: façade elevation, plan, and detail of right couch in main chamber, von Gall 1966, figs. 1–2. (Reproduced with permission of H. von Gall)

be dictated as much by human dimensions as ideological choices) more likely to be indicative of shared conceptions or beliefs.

SYNTHESIS

The preceding survey demonstrates the wide distribution of funerary couches in Anatolia in the sixth and fifth centuries. In the sixth century, this burial type seems to have been most popular in Lydia and Phrygia, but it is more widely found in the fifth century and becomes standard for rock-cut tomb traditions in several different cultural areas. Some features of *kline* decoration or arrangement are common to different geographic areas and different media. Shared elements not only justify considering all these examples together as a group but may also shed some light on regional trends or connections and the symbolic function of these tomb furnishings. Similarities across media and among different tomb types suggest that a common idea lay behind these diverse tomb traditions. That idea was the presentation of the dead person on a *kline*, and it could be expressed in wood, metal, or stone, in a tumulus chamber or in a rock-cut chamber tomb. In the following synthesis, I discuss shared elements as well as regional peculiarities with the aim of better understanding the chronological and symbolic significance of these funerary furnishings.

Style and Decoration

Closer attention has been paid to decorated than to undecorated types in the preceding discussion for two reasons. First, it is the presence of standard *kline* schemes (Types A and B) among the larger corpus of funerary couches in Anatolian tombs that prompts their consideration, on the whole, as *klinai*. Second, the decorated types hold the potential, when diagnostic details can be determined, to help date the tombs in which they are found. For decorated *klinai* in all media, Type B forms

are the most common, occurring in stone and rock-cut versions and perhaps also in inlaid wood, in Lydia, Phrygia, the Troad, and Lycia (Fig. 114). These fall along a spectrum of elaboration, from the most schematic, with only the essential C-shaped side cutouts in silhouette relief,³⁴¹ to fully articulated, ornate forms with volute crescents and capitals. Type A *klinai* are attested in metal and in stone but in a much smaller geographical and chronological range in tombs near Ahmetli in central Lydia. Other decorated types, such as turned legs with Achaemenid-style moldings, are more scattered. Achaemenid-style furniture legs may have carried a special cachet in the Persian period, but even in a “royal” tomb at Daskyleion the Type B scheme was used, at least for its marble *klinai* (Cat. 59).

While close study of *kline* ornament has sometimes helped to refine the dating of its tomb context,³⁴² it is difficult to date most of these *klinai* stylistically, since the Type B scheme was so formulaic and persistent. The two couches from Bekçitepe (Cat. 32, Fig. 70, Plate 9) provide a cautionary example: while the legs of the larger (rear) couch have straight edges that taper gently from top to bottom, the legs of the smaller (side) couch have concave tapered profiles. That they coexisted in this tomb chamber is testament to the perils of stylistic dating: although there is no certain evidence that the two *klinai* were made and placed in the tomb at the same time, their carved and painted ornament is nearly identical. And while all the Type B *klinai* with heavily tapering leg profiles among those collected here (Cat. 52, 54, 61) belong to tombs dated by associated finds ca. 500–470, the contemporary tomb at Karaburun (Cat. 69) has a *kline* with straight-sided legs, much like the inlaid *kline* from the South Mound of the Kerameikos (Fig. 43). Similarly, the bulging disc terminals and concave upper and lower portions of the legs on the BK71.1 *kline* (Cat. 3) are comparable to Type B legs in fourth-century Greek art and on Macedonian funerary *klinai* (Fig. 45),³⁴³ but they are also paralleled on Etruscan burial couches of the sixth century (e.g., Fig. 148),³⁴⁴ and the tomb has been dated by its masonry style and finds to the late sixth century. Similar Type B profiles are also found on Greek vases. It is in the aspect of overall profile that Greek vase paintings of *klinai* may be least informative, varying greatly with the level of care and precision taken by the painter, but those that are otherwise carefully rendered offer more helpful parallels. It is therefore notable that the combination of bulging disc terminals on the cutouts with concavities above and below is found on a vase attributed to Psiax, one of the red-figure Pioneers of the late sixth century (Fig. 36a).³⁴⁵ But straight-sided Type B *kline* legs continue to appear in Greek vase painting of the fifth century, and even among Macedonian funerary *klinai* straight-sided legs occur alongside those with more tapering leg profiles and some with widely bulging middle portions, above and below the side cutouts (see Fig. 45). A firm seriation of Type B *klinai* in Anatolian tombs is therefore not possible, but the composite drawing in Fig. 114 represents an attempt to place some of them on a tentative timeline, based on stylistic parallels as well as dates suggested by tomb masonry, decoration, and associated finds. This chart illustrates graphically the consistent variation in form over time and among regions.

Several regional trends have emerged from the discussion of decorated *klinai* in this chapter: for instance, the occurrence of lotus flowers in unexpected places on Lydian stone *klinai* or the presence of animal feet on rock-cut couches in the region of Sivrihisar in the Phrygian highlands. More specific similarities may even point to workshop connections. Couches from four Lydian tombs have a bedslab with the lower front edge beveled beneath the “rail,” between the tops of the “legs” set

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

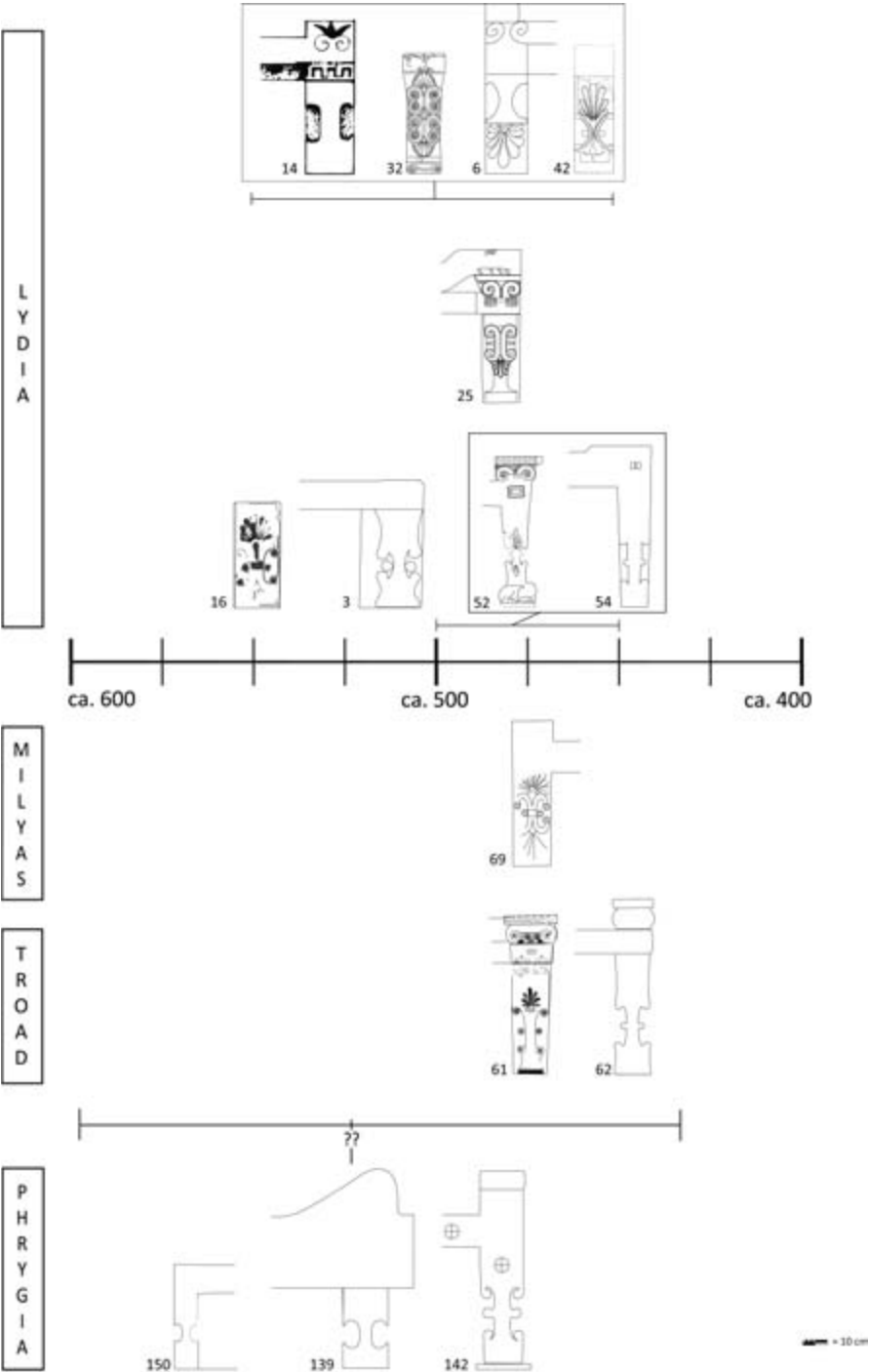


Figure 114. Approximate timeline of Type B funerary *klinai* in Anatolia (numbers refer to Catalogue: see Appendix A). (Drawings by author except Cat. 14, from Dedeoğlu 1991, drawing 1, and Cat. 42, from Dedeoğlu 1992, drawing 1)

off at the end. One is from a tomb in Bin Tepe (Cat. 14), while two others were recorded by Choisy somewhere in the Bin Tepe area (Cat. 5–6). The fourth is located in a tumulus about 30 km east of Sardis, near Yeşilova (Tombaktepe, Cat. 44).³⁴⁶ But not every *kline* in central Lydia has this feature, and others share elements with other nearby tombs, such as carved pillows and surrounding headrests with volute decoration. It is in the specific details of carved pillows and decorated headrests that the closest connections among Lydian *klinai* from different tombs can be drawn. At the same time, looser parallels with similar headrest forms in Phrygia and other cultural areas situate this Lydian type within a broader tradition.

Excursus: Decorated Headrests and “Pillows”

Several of the *klinai* described in the preceding sections have semi-oval depressions carved in raised headrests on one or both ends, while others have corresponding semi-oval swellings on the adjacent bed surface, completing the impression of an oval pillow. The simpler type without the relief half-pillow is broadly found in Lydia as well as neighboring regions, in built and rock-cut form and in conjunction with both plain and decorated *klinai*. In addition to the Type B *klinai* discussed above (Choisy *Kline* B–C and BT89.1, Cat. 6 and 14, Figs. 72, 115a–b), it occurs on another decorated *kline* recorded by Choisy (Choisy *Kline* A, Cat. 5, Fig. 72) and is also found in two Phrygian rock-cut tombs on couches with Type B and animal-footed legs (in the West Tomb at Midas City and Zey Tomb 9, Cat. 142 and 157, Figs. 96b, 97).³⁴⁷ It also occurs on an otherwise plain couch in a Lycian rock-cut tomb at Limyra.³⁴⁸ Other instances of this headrest type occur on couches with no other decoration, as at Toptepe (Cat. 53) and Tombaktepe (Cat. 44). In the latter, the semi-oval depression in the raised end is an extension of the main bed-surface concavity, set off not by a raised step but by a painted blue band (Fig. 115d). The occurrence of the same type in a recently excavated tumulus in the Kibyratis (Cat. 65) should be seen, along with other features of the tomb that have parallels in Lydia,³⁴⁹ as evidence of the strength of Lydian traditions in the wider distribution of tumulus burials in Anatolia.

The distribution of the pillow-type headrest—with semi-oval concavity in the headrest balanced by a corresponding swell in relief on the bed surface—is more limited, so far attested only in Lydia. In addition to the example discussed above (Kendirlik 1, Cat. 16, Figs. 67, 115c), it is found in connection with Type B decoration in two other tombs (BT05.58 and Büyükbelen D, Cat. 15 and 19, Fig. 68) and with plain supports or unassociated with supports in three other tombs (Choisy *Kline* D, Kendirlik 2, and Harmandalı, Cat. 7, 17, 35, Fig. 72b). Three of these couches (Cat. 7, 15, and 17, Fig. 115e–g) have additional decoration on the flat surface of the headrest surrounding the semi-oval depression: a wide double volute connected in the middle along the outer edge of the headrest, framing the pillow. A single teardrop-shaped petal or small palmette is rendered at each volute “angle,” in the position where palmettes often appear in architectural Ionic capitals.³⁵⁰ The similarity of these three sculpted couches is striking and suggests some connection, possibly even a *kline*-carving workshop in this part of central Lydia. Two of the three come from near the village of Kendirlik in Bin Tepe, and it is quite possible that the tombs Choisy investigated were nearby. But there are slight differences among them, and it is equally possible that they represent a type that would have been more widely found in wood.

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

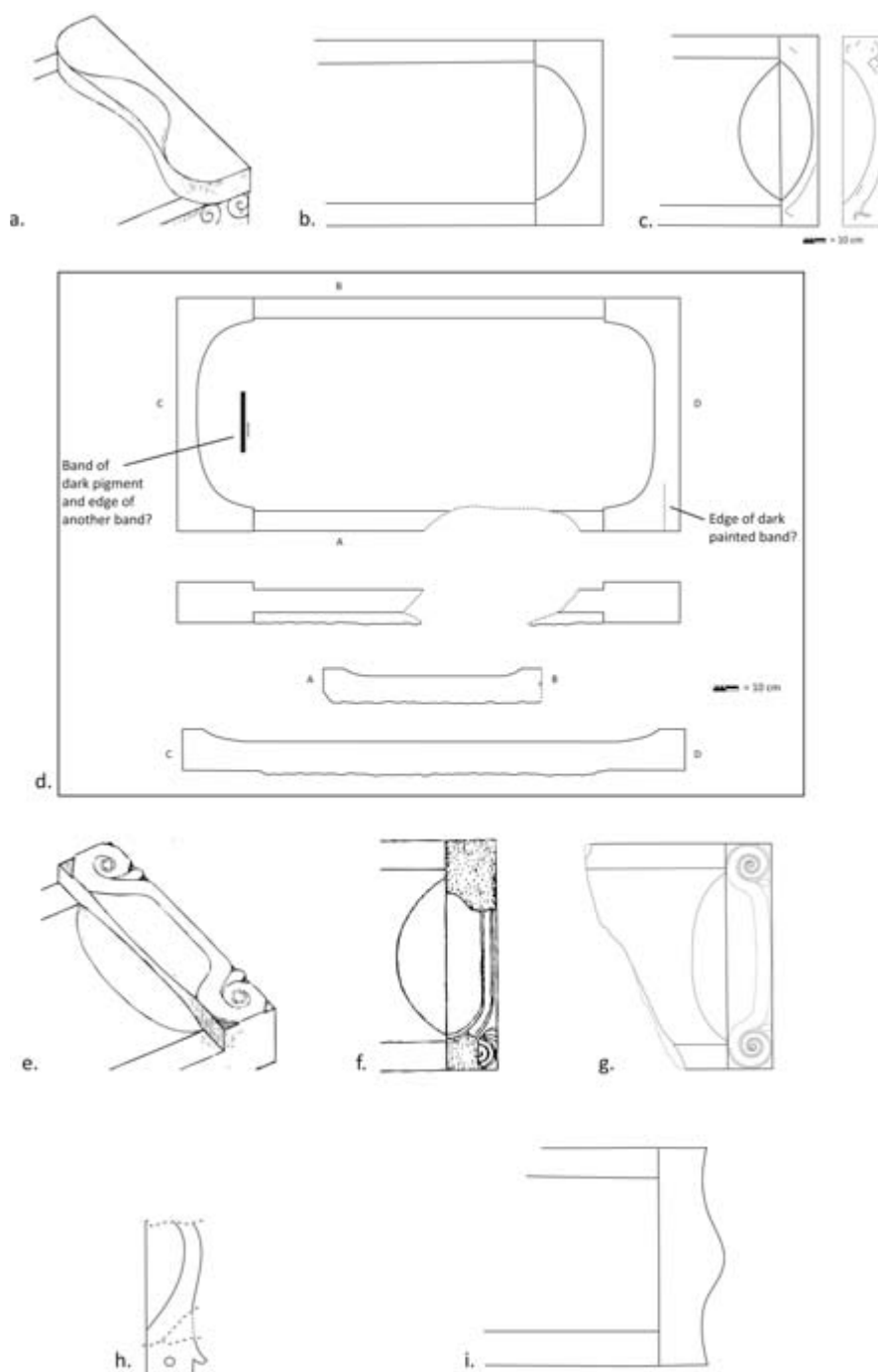


Figure 115. Drawings of the *kline* bedslab from Tombaktepe and details of other Lydian *kline* headrests: (a) Choisy *kline* B–C (Cat. 6); (b) BT89.1 (Cat. 14); (c) Kendirlik 1 (Cat. 16); (d) Tombaktepe (Cat. 44); (e) Choisy D (Cat. 7); (f) Kendirlik 2 (Cat. 17); (g) BT05.58 (Cat. 15); (h) Aktepe (Cat. 52); (i) Hamamtepe (Cat. 29). (Drawings b–d, h–i by author; a and e are details from Fig. 72; f is Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, fig. 12; g is courtesy of C.H. Roosevelt)

It is also possible that some plain headrests of this type once carried painted volute designs. The headrest from Kendirlik Tomb 1, for instance, is nearly identical in form—with carved pillow depression and corresponding swell on the bed surface—but carries a smooth outer border (Figs. 67, 115c). In certain lighting situations, however, faint curving lines can be discerned on the flat surface, and these could represent “ghost” traces of paint, where the areas that once held paint have weathered slightly differently than those that did not. Similarly, close analysis of the fragments of the rear *kline* at Lale Tepe have revealed, on a piece from the rear corner of the right headrest, traces of curving red bands on a green background.³⁵¹ The location of the fragment at the edge of the headrest and the small scale of the red motif do not exactly correspond to the designs seen on the sculpted volute headrests but hint at some kind of volute decoration in this location.

It is possible, too, that the volute headrest type originated—in wooden form—as an embellishment around structural bosses, of the kind commonly seen projecting from the tops of raised *kline* ends in vase representations. These may have been conceived as volute “eyes.” Support for this theory comes from a fragmentary headrest of the monolithic marble *kline* from Aktepe in eastern Lydia (Cat. 52, Fig. 115h). Unlike the solid raised ends found on the Kendirlik and Choisy *klinai*, the Aktepe *kline* had a fully carved headrest: a thin piece connecting two raised posts at the right end of the couch, with open space beneath. This made it vulnerable to breakage, and it exists now in several joined fragments displayed atop the right end of the *kline* in the Uşak Museum.³⁵² The former existence of a corresponding headrest of similar form on the left end of the couch is indicated by the raised post preserved at the left rear corner, with part of a horizontal slab projecting from it.³⁵³ The shape of the preserved headrest is distinctive but seems to be related, in overall outline, to the volute headrests of central Lydia. The inner edge is straight but has a shallow semi-oval depression in the top surface on the inner side. A flat band borders the semi-oval depression, and the outer edge follows this contour but flares out in pointed projections on each end. It seems as if the sculptor of this *kline* has crafted in three-dimensional silhouette what is represented in relief on the Kendirlik and Choisy headrests: in other words, the flaring projections on the Aktepe headrest recall the petals projecting from the angles of volutes flanking the semi-oval depression. No traces of volute decoration are discernible on the Aktepe headrest fragments, but on the top of the front right post, at one corner of the headrest, is a projecting round boss that must represent the method of attachment used for securing a plank headrest on a wooden *kline*.³⁵⁴ That this type of headrest, with curving outer edge, was more widely known in Lydia is suggested by similar contours on simpler forms on several other Lydian *klinai*. A similar outer contour occurs on a solid, continuous raised headrest on the fragmentary *kline* from Hamamtepe, near Manisa (Cat. 29, Figs. 79, 115i, where it is found again in association with Type B ornament, a schematic Aeolic volute painted on the front face of the slab). More subtle versions of the same design (a convex bulge at the center, flanked by slight concavities that flare out toward the ends) may possibly be found on the raised head ends of *klinai* from Büyükbelen D (Cat. 19) and Hacılı A (Cat. 46). Existence of the type outside Lydia is suggested now indicated by the recent discovery of two *kline*-tombs at Daskyleion (Cat. 58–59).³⁵⁵

Curved headrests with flaring ends are also found on rock-cut beds in Etruscan tombs (Fig. 116a). For instance, one of the rock-cut chambers at Caere has two beds with head places outlined with curving bands that flare up on each side (see Fig. 147c).³⁵⁶ A more elaborate variety with volute decoration

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

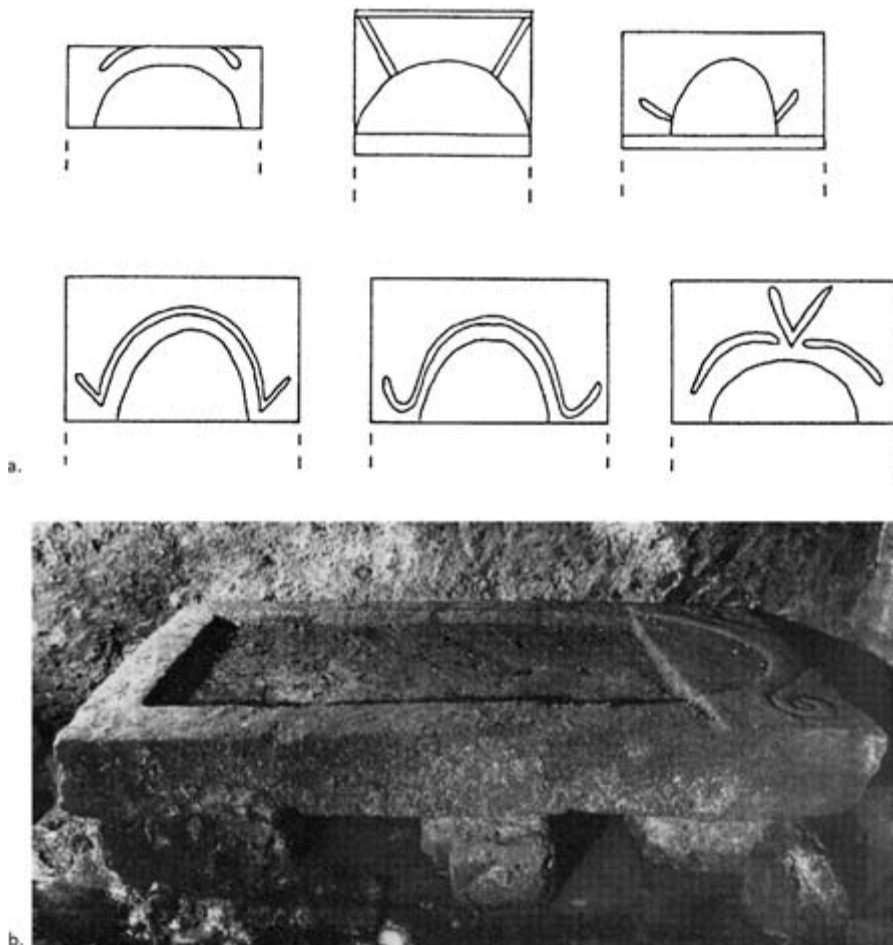


Figure 116. Headrests of Etruscan rock-cut funerary beds: (a) drawings of headrest designs from tombs in the Banditaccia nekropolis of Caere, Brocato 1996, fig. 2; (b) view of couch in Valle Cappellana Tomb 1, San Giuliano, Prayon 1975a, pl. 73.2. (Reproduced with permission of P. Brocato and F. Prayon)

on each end also occurs in Etruria, as in a tomb at San Giuliano (Fig. 116b).³⁵⁷ This is not exactly like the volute headrests from Lydia, since it lacks the relief half-pillow on the bed surface and the volutes are incised and more linear, but the resemblance is striking. Magness has recently discussed the similarity of Etruscan funerary bed headrests with those found in the rock-cut tombs of Jerusalem (see Fig. 132),³⁵⁸ but most are in fact closer to the Lydian examples presented here. In Judaeen tombs, the headrests are more horseshoe-shaped, and often only the curved portion (not the whole end) is raised above the resting surface of the bench.³⁵⁹ But the tighter curve of the flared head-framing element in the Jerusalem tombs suggests a clearer symbolism for the design that could possibly be extended to the Etruscan and Lydian examples. As Magness and others have noted, some of the Judaeen headrests resemble Egyptian Hathor-style hair.³⁶⁰ Magness suggests that the Etruscan curved headrests may represent schematized versions of this kind of Egyptianizing headrest, and that the fashion reached Etruria via Phoenician intermediaries.³⁶¹ The Lydian examples complicate this picture.

The volute ornament of the Lydian headrests could also derive from an anthropomorphic conception of the burial place, combining the conceit of the relief pillow with volutes suggesting stylized hair. When viewed from the edge or side of the *kline*, the double-volute form would resemble an elongated Ionic volute, the central part of which is stretched and sags along its base. If viewed from the opposite direction, however, the volutes spiral up and inward like the terminals of Hathor-style hair; with the connecting band they seem to frame the “pillow” like a schematic wig.³⁶² It is possible that this resemblance was intended, given the anthropomorphic articulation of other *kline* bed surfaces. This idea is supported by comparison with Phrygian rock-cut “idol” monuments, which show schematic anthropomorphic figures. Most simply have the outline of head and shoulders, but a few are covered at the top by an arcing band that curls up and inward on the ends in spiraling volutes similar to those found on *kline* headrests.³⁶³ Parallels with Phrygian rock-cut “idol” figures can also be drawn for the shape of some of the anthropomorphic burial hollows on the bed surfaces of Lydian funerary couches, as at Yabızlar Tepesi and in the Kordon Tumulus (Cat. 42, 43, Figs. 64, 78). The similarities could be coincidental, however, since both types of monument render schematic anthropomorphic shapes with the outline of head and shoulders.³⁶⁴ Similarly, although the head hollows carved in a Hellenistic- or Roman-period rock-cut tomb at Etenna in southeastern Pisidia are similar in shape to the curved headrests of the Silwan nekropolis in Jerusalem, they are more similar in conception to the anthropoid hollows of Lydian funeral couches, since they are carved rather than raised and are doubled.³⁶⁵ But as anthropomorphic forms, they need not have derived from either tomb tradition, even indirectly.

What can be concluded from the parallels noted above for Lydian headrest designs? At the very least, the headrests with sunken depressions and/or relief pillows seem to be special Lydian adaptations of the *kline* form to stone for funerary use. The headrests decorated with sculpted volutes appear to be a localized Lydian fashion centered at Bin Tepe and therefore produced by artists in the settlements associated with Bin Tepe.³⁶⁶ Owing to the dearth of preserved wooden *klinai*, it is uncertain whether this fashion also existed for wooden *klinai* and whether it would have been more widely found in wooden form, but conceptual similarities with headrests on stone and rock-cut couches in eastern Lydia and in Phrygia suggest either that this type did have a wider distribution or that Lydian craftsmen created a specialized form of a more widely occurring headrest type. As with the relief pillows, that type may have evolved in connection with the funerary use of *klinai* if the volute design was conceived of as stylized hair, but this theory remains speculative. Similarities with Phrygian rock-cut idols are in keeping with the development of this tomb type and its specialized furnishings during the sixth century, when Lydian-Phrygian cultural connections were strongest.

Occupancy, Orientation, and Arrangement

Discussion of headrests raises the topics of burial orientation and *kline* occupancy. Most of the tombs studied here have been disturbed in ancient or modern times; very few burials have been found intact, and even recoverable skeletal remains are often disturbed.³⁶⁷ Burial numbers and orientation must usually be gleaned from details of couch form: width and the presence of clearly distinguished head ends or anthropoid burial hollows. But these may not give an accurate idea of the number of tomb occupants, as vividly attested by the discovery of the Kordon Tumulus in Lydia

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

(Cat. 43, Figs. 64–65), where the remains of as many as twenty individuals were found on a couch of double width, with two head hollows. *Klinai* of double width seem to have been intended, at least originally, for two burials side by side. Double-width couches are found in both built and rock-cut form in Lydia and also occur in isolated cases in Phrygian and Lycian rock-cut tombs (Tables 1, 2).³⁶⁸ Couches of single width were likewise probably originally intended for single burials but could have held several people.³⁶⁹ One Lydian *kline* of single width has two head hollows defined, as if designed for two people from the start (Fig. 70).³⁷⁰

Klinai with raised headrests or pillows at both ends may be considered “amphikephalic,” but the question of how these forms related to intended or actual occupancy is difficult to answer. Like couches of double width, amphikephalic couches are found primarily in Lydia but also occur sporadically in other parts of Anatolia (Mysia, the Troad, and Lycia).³⁷¹ As noted in Chapter 1, amphikephalic *klinai* are relatively rare in Greek visual sources and are thought to have been particularly associated with couples.³⁷² It is unclear, however, whether funerary *klinai* with raised ends of equal height or with pillows on both ends were made with couples in mind. All known examples are of standard single width, if a bit generous (most are ca. 0.81–0.85 m wide), and in Lydia they are usually the sole couch in a tomb.³⁷³ Of course this does not exclude the possibility that they could have been used for multiple burials. On the other hand, the only amphikephalic couch found with an intact burial is the rock-cut one at Toptepe (Cat. 53), where looters reported the presence of a single skeleton whose head was placed on the right end of the couch. We cannot, therefore, assume that *klinai* with two pillow ends were meant for two occupants. It is possible that amphikephalism does not reflect function or occupancy so much as a desire for symmetry. Or, if amphikephalic *klinai* carried some association with marriage beds, perhaps the form alluded to nuptial bonds or marital status even in single burials. This reading, in turn, raises the question of whether the *kline* is meant in these cases to symbolize a banquet couch or nuptial bed.

Tombs with two or more couches were clearly intended for multiple burials and may have been family tombs. In Lycia, at least, funerary inscriptions carved near the entrances of rock-cut tombs often outline the familial relationships among those buried (or to be buried) on the usual three couches/benches within.³⁷⁴ But when skeletal remains are lacking (as they usually are), it is impossible to know whether all three sides of a plain, continuous Π -shaped bench were really intended for burials. Cuttings for the legs of biers or coffins on the surface of a continuous rock-cut bench in a Lycian tomb at Limyra, for instance, indicate that only the side locations accommodated burials; with the added wooden furnishings in place, the available space on the rear couch would have been severely limited, reduced by the two side couches to the area of an offering shelf or table.³⁷⁵ Few three-couch tombs with preserved skeletal remains, however, seem to have served only three burials.³⁷⁶ The floorbeds provided beneath *klinai* at Lale Tepe reveal that even three-couch tombs could have been intended for seven (or more) interments. Floor-burials are also attested in a later couch-tomb at Sardis (Tomb 89.11, Cat. 4) and in a tumulus in Mysia with strong Lydian affinities (Yağcılar, Cat. 60).³⁷⁷ In the Dardanos Tumulus in the Troad (Cat. 62), the remains of at least forty-two individuals were found on and beneath three stone *klinai*, stacked with intervening offerings that attest to continued reuse over several centuries.³⁷⁸ Greek inscriptions above the entrances to the antechamber and on the wall of the burial chamber suggest that the tomb served several

generations of the same family, at least for the first few centuries of its use.³⁷⁹ Even in the two-couch chamber at Dedetepe (Cat. 61, Fig. 74), where a fairly narrow date range is suggested by the surviving elements of its grave assemblage, the remains of at least three individuals were found in scattered locations. In Lydia, Roosevelt has identified a general trend over the course of the sixth and fifth centuries from single- to multiple-occupancy tombs and increased accessibility for reuse (via dromoi) and has connected this development with social changes following the Persian conquest of Lydia, notably increased social mobility and competition among aspirational elites.³⁸⁰ The relationship between the Persian conquest and the tradition of *kline*-burial in Lydia and elsewhere in Anatolia will be considered in more detail in Chapter 4, but it is worth noting here that all multi-couch (and multi-burial) tombs catalogued here are dated to the Persian era.

The alleged orientation of the burial on the Töptepe couch (Cat. 53) with head toward the right is consistent with the conventions of depicting *kline*-occupants in Greek art, whether enjoying a banquet or laid out for *prothesis*.³⁸¹ Although intact burials are rare, anthropoid burial hollows and *klinai* with only one certainly raised or otherwise differentiated head end are also useful in determining burial orientation, and in the majority of cases it is the same: head toward the right. There are, however, important exceptions. The anthropoid depressions in the double *kline* at the rear of the chamber in Yabızlar Tepesi (Cat. 42, Fig. 78) both have their head ends toward the left. The burial in the Lion Tomb at Miletos was also oriented with its head to the left, though it is not certain whether it was laid on a *kline*.³⁸² Other exceptions occur in multi-couch tombs: while single raised ends on rear couches are usually located on the right side, those on the side couches tend to be oriented toward the same part of the chamber—the rear wall or, more commonly, the door.³⁸³ In rare cases of skeletal preservation, orientation of burials on couches without raised ends can also be determined. In a chamber tomb recently excavated in the Sardis Nekropolis (Tomb 03.1, Cat. 72, Fig. 102), burials on both side couches were oriented with their heads toward the tomb entrance. This pattern—rear burial with head toward the right and side burials with heads toward the door—is paralleled in rock-cut tombs at Jerusalem and in the Cellarka nekropolis of Salamis on Cyprus and for some built *klinai* in Macedonian tombs.³⁸⁴ The occurrence of this arrangement in the Lale Tepe tumulus, however, may have been dictated by the unique overlapping and interlocking arrangement of the *klinai*: the socketing of the supports of the rear *kline* into the top surfaces of the side couches required that the head ends of the side couches be placed at the opposite end, nearest the door. The burial hollows carved in the floorslabs beneath the *klinai*, on the other hand, have a consistent orientation with head end on the right.³⁸⁵ The floor hollows were evidently planned from the beginning of the tomb's construction,³⁸⁶ and it seems that for these a rightward orientation was preferred. But there are only a few known cases of consistent rightward orientation of head ends in multi-couch tombs in Anatolia. Two are in Phrygian rock-cut tombs (the West Tomb at Midas City and Zey 9, Cat. 142 and 157, Figs. 97, 96b); the others are fifth-century or later: at Dardanos (Cat. 62, Fig. 82) and in Lycia and Caria.³⁸⁷

Symbolic Function

The position and arrangement of couches within tomb chambers may help us determine which of the many known functions of *klinai* was most important, symbolically, in the choice of *klinai*

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

as burial receptacles.³⁸⁸ The rarity of “sympotic” orientation is surprising only if we expect the arrangement of *klinai* in Anatolian tombs to follow standards used in contemporary Greek dining rooms—an expectation that involves not only assuming that dining customs were the same in Anatolia as in Greece but also selecting “banquet couch” as the operative symbolic referent of the *kline*. The fact that few multi-couch tombs have the interlocking arrangement of *klinai* in a Greek andron (in which each wall, even the rear wall, accommodated at least one couch placed lengthwise as well as the short end of another couch) could be a clue that the arrangements are not necessarily meant to evoke banquet halls. Of the tombs catalogued here, only the “Triclinium Tomb” at Midas City (Cat. 139, Fig. 98) has this interlocking arrangement, and it differs from Greek convention in the orientation of the head end of the leftmost couch toward the door, or on the left.³⁸⁹ The Çeştepe Tumulus in the Kibyratis (Cat. 66) has a burial chamber with off-center door, in association with built-in, shelf-like couches along the right and rear walls (it is uncertain whether the bed surfaces were delineated as if interlocking or whether the rear couch was conceived of as filling the whole rear wall). A tumulus with rock-cut chamber in northeastern Caria near Aphrodisias (at Karindere) has both an off-center door and interlocking arrangement of five couches, each carved as a shelf projecting from the wall, with a sunken bed surface surrounded by carved borders.³⁹⁰ Comparison of the more typical Π-formation of couches with the Karindere tomb or with the even more clearly “sympotic” arrangement of sarcophagi in a tomb at Tarentum—seven arranged as if they were *klinai* in a canonical andron, complete with off-center door—highlights just how much most *kline* arrangements in Anatolian tombs differed from canonical symposium spaces.³⁹¹ But the Tarentum tomb also proves that burial orientation could differ from normal sympotic orientation, even in such an andron-like space, since at least four of the seven burials were oriented with their heads toward the left.

But perhaps it is wrong to try to compare these Anatolian tomb arrangements with Greek dining rooms in the first place, or to assume that Greek conventions apply to every aspect of Anatolian dining practice. Fourth-century dining rooms (*andrones*) at Carian Labraunda differ markedly from contemporary (and earlier) Greek dining rooms: the doors are on- rather than off-center, and the axiality of the room is further emphasized by a raised niche in the center of the rear wall.³⁹² The couch that occupied the center of the rear wall would thus have been visually emphasized, and Hellström has hypothesized that “the banqueters in the andrones were reclining in ranking order with the least prestigious positions nearest to the entrance.”³⁹³ These tomb plans might, then, reflect a different, Anatolian tradition of arranging couches for banqueting: one that favored the rear location. In the multi-couch tombs discussed above, the rear couch is often distinguished from the others—by greater height or width, or greater articulation of structural details (see Plate 1).³⁹⁴ That *klinai* in single-couch tombs are usually located before the rear wall supports the view that the rear position was the “place of honor.”³⁹⁵ The privileging of the rear or central position in a banquet was also a characteristic attributed to royal Persian dining in Greek sources, as discussed above.³⁹⁶ As with many Persian fashions, it is possible that this one was inspired by customs among Anatolian dynastic cultures subsumed by the Persian empire.³⁹⁷ The prominence of the central/rear position in multi-couch tombs could also be explained by the axiality of the overall tomb architecture, accentuated in many cases by access dromoi. In that case the *klinai* need not have a banqueting

significance, or a desire for symmetry or axiality in the funerary realm may have overridden other rules governing the arrangement of *klinai* in spaces for the living.

We must also remember that *klinai* were not *only* banquet couches but also beds. Dentzer has cautioned against overestimating a banqueting significance for burial-*klinai*, with the observation that the simplest arrangement of multiple beds in a rectangular tomb chamber may only coincidentally resemble a dining room.³⁹⁸ In a funerary context, the meaning of *kline* as “bed” must always have been active to some degree, since these furnishings served as final resting-places for the tomb occupants. The special treatment of bed surfaces with anthropoid hollows and pillow-shaped headrests on sculpted stone couches in Lydia is a formal clue that these furnishings were not simply replicas of wooden *klinai* but locally specific adaptations of *kline* form to a different medium and a different function: as burial receptacles. While a real wooden *kline* or an exact replica in another material could serve this function adequately, these additional elements may have been conceived especially for funerary contexts. The anthropoid hollows are comparable with Egyptian and Phoenician anthropoid sarcophagi.³⁹⁹ Though Lydian sarcophagi were bathtub-shaped rather than anthropoid, there is an Archaic sarcophagus from Samos with anthropoid interior,⁴⁰⁰ and the concept of an anthropomorphic resting place for the dead is perhaps a natural one. On the other hand, cists/sarcophagi carved into the surfaces of Phrygian, Carian, and perhaps some Lydian rock-cut tombs in later periods underscore the conceptual difference between these furnishings and burial containers. The occasional occurrence of terracotta sarcophagi *atop* rock-cut benches in chamber tombs in the Sardis Nekropolis⁴⁰¹ also underlines this essential difference, and at the same time brings into question the perceived function of the benches. The placement of sarcophagi or cinerary urns atop stone or rock-cut couches could have satisfied several conceptual functions at once—burial on a couch but at the same time in a container.⁴⁰² The possible combination of wooden biers or *klinai* with rock-cut couches, as suggested by finds of wood and nails in some Lydian and Lycian chamber tombs, would have offered the convenience of a single, constant resting-place for the deceased in the presumed transition from house to tomb.⁴⁰³

The common assumption that funerary *klinai* were meant to equip the dead for an eternal banquet must be more fully investigated. As demonstrated above, the arrangement of funerary *klinai* in Anatolian tombs does not neatly answer the question of symbolic function, because we do not know what the “rules” of dining arrangements were in these cultures. Besides the form and arrangement of the *klinai* themselves, several other contextual factors may be explored in search of a clearer answer: associated finds and chamber type.

Remnants of original grave assemblages often contain eating and drinking vessels or other furnishings that point strongly toward the sphere of banqueting. The so-called “Lydian Treasure” recently returned to Turkey by the Metropolitan Museum includes items from at least two couch-tombs (Toptepe and İköztepe, Cat. 53–54).⁴⁰⁴ These were equipped with silver and bronze drinking and pouring vessels and ladles as well as other items perhaps associated with a banquet ambience: incense burners, oil containers (lydia, lekythoi, and alabaster), and gold rattles (see Figs. 153–54).⁴⁰⁵ Some 125 objects were allegedly looted from İköztepe’s Chamber 2 alone, and several fragments of decorative ivory, perhaps belonging to wooden tables, were found in Chamber 1 during salvage excavation.⁴⁰⁶ Remains of wooden legs that probably belong to tables were also recovered at Yabızlar

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia

Tepesi (Cat. 42) in Lydia⁴⁰⁷ and at Dedetepe in the Troad (Cat. 61, Figs. 51, 74a), along with pottery vessels and ivory fragments that could belong to musical instruments.⁴⁰⁸ Rock-cut tables (or seats) were provided in some Phrygian rock-cut tombs (Cat. 117, 126, Figs. 95e, 93). The chambers of the Kızılbel and Karaburun tumuli in northern Lycia (Cat. 68, 69, Fig. 88) were equipped with stone tables, and the surface of the table at Kızılbel preserved traces of metal vessels that once stood there as impressions left in the soft limestone.⁴⁰⁹ Most other *kline*-tombs must have originally contained similar assemblages that were looted long ago.⁴¹⁰ Though even pottery finds are rare in looted tumuli and rock-cut chambers, those that do occur often belong to cups/bowls, kraters, amphoras, and jugs, in addition to small unguent jars (lydia, lekythoi, and alabastra).⁴¹¹ Containers for perfumed oil may be seen as accoutrements of banqueting, but they could also have a special significance in funerary rituals.⁴¹²

Associated tomb decoration is another aspect of context that may help clarify the symbolic significance of funerary *klinai*. In each of the two spectacularly painted tombs in the Milyas, Kızılbel and Karaburun (Cat. 68, 69, Figs. 117–18), the occurrence of a banqueting scene painted on the chamber wall just above the couch implies a close connection between the stone funeral couch and the one painted on the wall above, even though in both cases the type represented in the painting differs from that provided for the tomb.⁴¹³ In other words, the tomb arrangement seems to offer a three-dimensional representation of the deceased as a banqueter while the wall painting expresses the same idea in two dimensions. As noted above, both tombs also contained a stone table, and both probably originally held banqueting vessels, though this can only be confirmed for Kızılbel, where

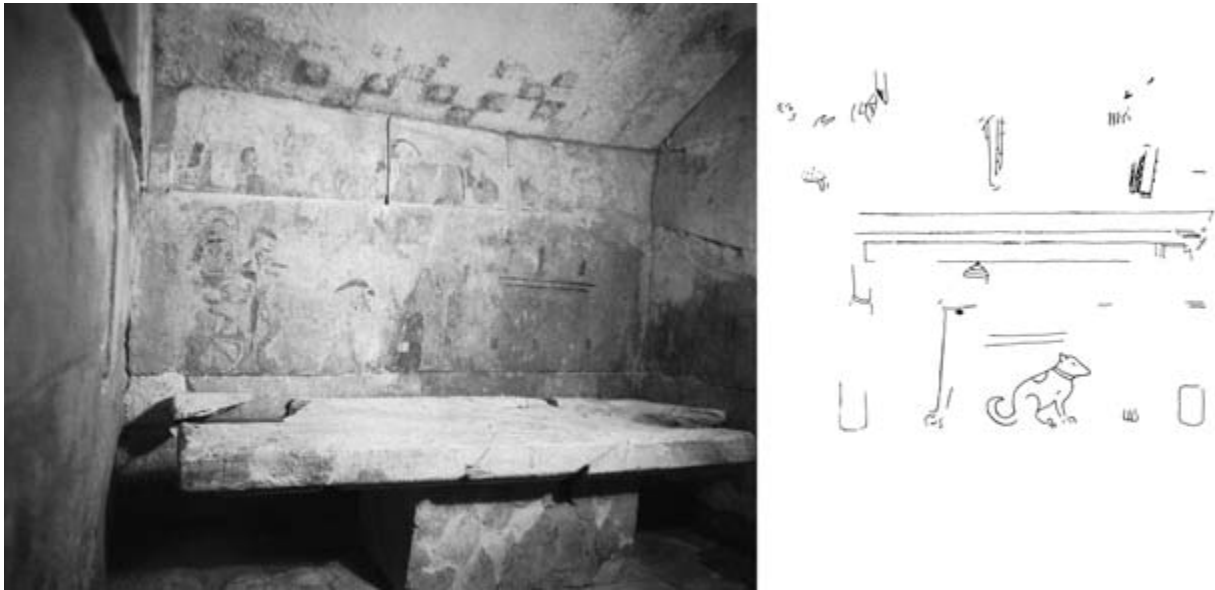


Figure 117. Kızılbel Tumulus (Cat. 68), view of chamber with reconstructed couch and detail of banquet scene painted on wall above, Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, pl. VII and Guide Sheet A. (© Bryn Mawr College)



Figure 118. Karaburun Tumulus II (Cat. 69), painted banquet scene on rear chamber wall above *kline*, Mellink 1973, pl. 44. (© Bryn Mawr College)

the impressions of looted vessels remain. The fragmentary paintings of a few other *kline*-tombs are less helpful in determining the symbolic significance of the *klinai*. Wall paintings in the Harta tumulus in northwestern Lydia (Cat. 36) evidently showed a procession of some sort, with walking figures as well as a wheeled vehicle, and their location in the tomb is uncertain. At the very least, a banqueting significance for the unique double *kline* with sphinx supports from Harta would be compatible with the combination of banqueting and procession imagery in contemporary Perso-Anatolian funerary art (see Chapter 4).⁴¹⁴ The wall paintings of the Aktepe tumulus, on the other hand, seem almost to have interacted with the *kline*: a standing figure on each side wall, facing the *kline* and each holding out a branch toward it (Fig. 119).⁴¹⁵ Together, the paintings, the *kline*, and the deceased person who must once have occupied it create a three-dimensional tableau representing a funerary ceremony like the *prothesis* or—if the deceased is imagined alive and banqueting—a dynastic banquet akin to the Karaburun scene, where a single banqueter (or “monoposias”) is served by attendant figures.⁴¹⁶ One of the figures may have originally held an alabastron, a vessel that would have been appropriate in both banqueting and funerary rituals, and the branches (myrtle?) likewise could have held symbolic significance in either context.⁴¹⁷ The program of the Aktepe chamber, with its lifesized wall paintings and exceptional *kline* (not only monolithic but also unusually ornamented, with a figural frieze), encapsulates the dual significance of the *kline* in a funerary context as both banquet couch and funeral bed.

In sum, *klinai* accompanied by banqueting assemblages and tables are likely to have been conceived of, at least in part, as banquet couches, and those associated with representations of banqueters reclining on *klinai* almost certainly were. But such contextual clues are quite exceptional, and

Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia



Figure 119. Aktepe (Cat. 52), reconstruction of chamber with wall paintings and *kline*, Özgen et al. 1996, fig. 82. (Reproduced with permission of İ. Özgen)

we must remain open to alternative, or additional, meanings. And even if we can conclude that a banqueting significance was primary for the symbolic meaning of these funerary *klinai*, the implications of this meaning are not certain. It is easy to draw a connection, as Hanfmann did, between the couches provided for burials in Lydian tombs and the reclining banqueters shown in contemporary funerary art, such as a pediment from Sardis, probably part of a monumental temple-style tomb (see Fig. 161).⁴¹⁸ But it does not necessarily follow that Lydians buried their dead on *klinai* and with banquet equipment because they believed “the dead, reclining on beautiful couches in their chamber tombs, may go on (or at least at times awaken) to eat and drink.”⁴¹⁹ An emphasis on banqueting in funerary assemblages, like the presentation of the dead person as a banqueter in funerary art, may have explanations other than belief in a “Totenmahl” concept. It could serve to define the status of the deceased as a member of the elite class that enjoyed the leisure and luxury of banqueting, or it could be explained by the prominent role of banqueting in actual funerary ceremonies. These explanations, of course, are not mutually exclusive.⁴²⁰ Recently Roosevelt has identified some form of commemorative banqueting in Lydian funerary rituals, based on the presence not only of banqueting vessels, but also of cookware and traces of burning in connection with tumuli, “even if banquet assemblages and imagery were also intended to serve as status markers.”⁴²¹ Ritual funerary

banquets in Lydia may have been large affairs that involved many participants dining “with” the deceased, as suggested by “the excessive number of vessels in some assemblages and the inscription of some grave goods with personal names.”⁴²² Evidence for such banquets is stronger in Phrygia, where new discoveries continue to shed light on the participatory aspect of this feasting,⁴²³ but it is not attested for any certain Phrygian couch-tombs. As Roosevelt has concluded for Lydia, “whether an actual banquet was indeed part of the funerary ceremony or had any relation to conceptions of the afterlife . . . is nearly impossible to determine without textual corroboration.”⁴²⁴

Although it may be impossible to reach certainty about the symbolic significance of *klinai* in Lydian and other Anatolian tombs, it is important to note that this may owe as much to the multivalence of the *kline* form itself as to the multiplicity of meanings for banqueting in a funerary context. Similar conclusions have recently been drawn by Huguenot in her thoughtful discussion of Macedonian funerary *klinai*, which represent the legacy of the Anatolian tradition. These, too, are not usually arranged in the manner of a dining room and may symbolize eternal *prothesis* or repose as well as (or rather than) eternal repast.⁴²⁵ The frequent “amphikephalism” of Anatolian burial couches and the pillow-shaped headrests of some *klinai* in Lydia are possible clues that their intended meaning, in some cases, may have had more to do with nuptial symbolism than sympotic significance. Just as formal variability made the *kline* a perfect paradigm for Plato’s discussion of ideal forms and representation, the multifunctionality and multivalence of *klinai* made them particularly apt for use in the funerary sphere. They could serve at once as beds for eternal rest or *prothesis* and as a means of identifying their occupants as elite banqueters—recalling feasts enjoyed during their lifetimes or imagining their participation in a funerary feast or afterlife banquet.

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

Where did the *kline*-tomb concept originate? It has sometimes been assumed that the custom of burying the dead on a *kline* was imported to Anatolia from Persia after Cyrus the Great's conquest of Lydia ca. 545.¹ Dusinger has suggested that this burial type amended a preexisting concept of funerary banqueting in Lydia to reflect new dining habits (i.e., reclining) and to elevate the corpse above the ground, in accordance with the Zoroastrian beliefs of resident Persian nobility, and that it was soon emulated by local elites who wished to express an affiliation with the new power-holders.² Some of the tombs discussed in Chapter 2, however, probably pre-date the Persian conquest. In this chapter I examine and refute the theory of Persian origin and propose an alternative based on an investigation into the essential conceptual components of the burial type. Since *kline*-burial represents an intersection of two different concepts—the “funerary banquet” (in all possible senses of the phrase) and the use of beds in funerary rituals—its origins are most likely to be found in an area where both concepts already existed. Another necessary ingredient is the *kline* itself: *kline*-burial most likely emerged in an area where *klinai* were used or at least known by the elite class that chose to bury their dead on them—that is, in a culture familiar with the reclining banquet and furniture designed for it. All these ingredients are found in West Anatolia. Preexisting traditions of bed-burial and funerary banqueting in Anatolia may have made this region particularly ripe for the emergence of the “*kline*-tomb concept” after the adoption of the reclining banquet, when the “bed” took on the additional function of “banquet couch.”

PERSIAN PRECEDENT?

The theory of Persian origin rests primarily on written accounts of the furnishings within the tomb of Cyrus at his royal capital, Pasargadae (see Fig. 1). The Persian ruler's tomb has been convincingly identified with the gabled structure elevated on a pyramidal platform, known locally as the “Tomb of the Mother of Solomon” (Fig. 120). Its form and appearance accord well with ancient descriptions of the building, and details of construction and design place it in the right era, around the time of Cyrus's death in 530.³ Though the chamber now stands empty, Greek historical sources claim that it once held a golden *kline*.

Arrian and Strabo both provide descriptions of the interior of Cyrus's tomb at the time of Alexander's visit to Pasargadae, based on the account of Aristoboulos, whom Alexander put in charge of restoring the monument to its original state when he discovered in 324 that the chamber had been plundered.⁴ Despite slight differences, both authors' inventories include a golden *kline* in addition



Figure 120. Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae, ca. 530. (Bryn Mawr College [MJM-03738]; photographed by Machteld Johanna Mellink, © Bryn Mawr College)

to the coffin or sarcophagus (*puelos*)⁵ that contained the body. Arrian's account is the more detailed of the two: "In the chamber lay a golden coffin, where the body of Cyrus was buried, and next to/nearby (παρά) the coffin was a couch (*kline*). The *kline* had feet of hammered gold, a tapestry of Babylonian workmanship as a coverlet, and purple cloaks as coverings."⁶ He goes on to describe the items placed on the couch, including a *kandys* (sleeved cloak), Babylonian garments, Median *anaxyrides* (trousers),⁷ robes dyed various rich colors, and jewelry, and then returns to the overall spatial arrangement of the chamber: "and a table stood there. In the middle of the couch [or, between the table and the couch]⁸ lay the coffin that held the body of Cyrus." After a description of the exterior setting of the monument and its epitaph, Arrian goes on to relate the discovery of the looting and Aristoboulos's restoration of the tomb interior: "[Alexander] found that everything else had been taken away except the coffin and the couch. . . . And Aristoboulos says that he himself was assigned by Alexander the task of decorating the tomb of Cyrus as it was originally."⁹

While Arrian makes no effort to explain how Aristoboulos knew what the tomb originally looked like, Strabo claims that Aristoboulos had viewed the undisturbed tomb during an earlier visit to the royal city: "[Aristoboulos says that he] saw a golden couch and a table equipped with cups and a golden coffin and many garments and decoration inlaid with stone; and that he saw these things on his first visit but that later it had been robbed and that though the other things had been taken away, the couch and coffin had only been broken up."¹⁰ As Bosworth has suggested, however, Strabo may have inferred this previous eyewitness viewing from the vividness of Aristoboulos's description of the tomb's original arrangement.¹¹ Strabo also fails to mention Aristoboulos's restoration of the tomb, so emphatically outlined in Arrian's account.¹² It therefore remains unclear on what evidence Arrian's (and Aristoboulos's) description of the pristine state of the tomb is based. As Stronach points out, if Aristoboulos had no propagandistic reason to mention that Alexander examined the tomb on his first visit, he may well have omitted this detail; and since Aristoboulos was evidently

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

“instrumental in confirming the Magi ‘who guarded the tomb’ (Ar. 6.29) in the prosecution of their duties . . . it would have been curious indeed to have taken no account at that time of the treasures that were under guard,” especially given the role of the tomb in the symbolic signification of the kingship that Alexander was then beginning to assume.¹³

Further problems arise from a discrepancy within the text of Arrian itself. While Strabo gives no indication of the spatial arrangement of the items within the tomb, Arrian does so twice, but in different ways: first the *kline* is beside (*παρά*) the coffin; later the coffin is described as either “in the middle of (on top of ?) the *kline*” or, with a popular emendation, “between the *kline* and the table.”¹⁴ The emendation restores spatial consistency, with the *kline* “beside” the coffin,¹⁵ but the matter is further complicated by the physical remains of the tomb itself. The chamber measures only 3.17 by 2.11 m, limiting the possible arrangements of a couch, coffin, and table.¹⁶ Scholars have dealt with the narrowness of the available space in various ways: the coffin could have been placed atop the *kline* after all (as the “corrupt” text indicates);¹⁷ or (less likely) the *kline* could have been placed inside the sarcophagus.¹⁸ In these cases, one could read “*παρά*” as “close by / near” rather than literally “beside.”¹⁹ Bosworth has argued that Aristoboulos’s description itself “rests upon the contemporary expectations of what was inside the tomb and reflects wishful thinking rather than personal autopsy.”²⁰ Comparison with Lydian tomb chambers and furnishings, however, demonstrates that all three elements (sarcophagus, couch, and table), even allowing a generous estimation of their dimensions, could have been arranged in the tomb in an intelligible (if crowded) way. As illustrated graphically in Figure 121, placement of the coffin or couch along the rear wall, the other along one side wall, and the table against the opposite side wall would in fact have left “room for an observer to enter,”²¹ and would have accorded well with contemporary tomb design.²² And if the sarcophagus was placed against the rear wall, it could easily have been perceived as “between” the *kline* and the table to a visitor entering through the doorway.

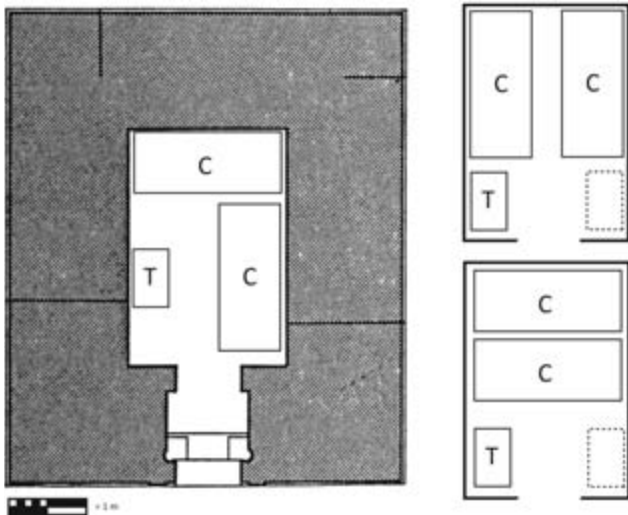


Figure 121. Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae, plan of chamber with hypothetical arrangements of couch, coffin, and table (dimensions of furnishings are estimated on the basis of average *kline* and table sizes; dotted lines indicate alternative placement of table), after Stronach 1978, fig. 9. (Plan reproduced with permission of D. Stronach)

There is less uncertainty surrounding the descriptions of the tomb's plundered condition than the details of its "pristine state." Both Arrian and Strabo treat the couch and the coffin as separate items in their accounts of the discovery of the looting, and both note that the robbers left them behind because they were difficult to carry off.²³ It is unclear whether this unwieldiness was due to size or weight (or both),²⁴ but if these items were in fact hard to maneuver, it is likely that their locations after the robbery were not too far removed from their original placement. But whether the coffin was originally located beside the couch, between the couch and the table, or even on top of the couch, its very presence rules out the possibility that the body of Cyrus was laid directly on the couch for burial. The *kline* seems instead to have served to display luxurious garments and jewelry, more like an attribute or offering than a funeral couch;²⁵ and the couch, table, and drinking vessels together may have composed a royal banqueting set.

The placement of furniture and banqueting equipment in tombs had a long history in the ancient Near East. From Assyrian records we learn that royal tombs often held beds or other furniture, drinking or eating vessels, and items of clothing.²⁶ It is possible that the interior decoration of Cyrus's tomb followed in the tradition of earlier Mesopotamian kings—including household furnishings, vessels, and garments—and that this combination of items was simply "read" by Macedonian viewers along the lines of the *kline*-tombs to which they were accustomed.²⁷ It is also possible, as noted above, that the Greek descriptions of the pristine state of the tomb were not based on eyewitness reports but rather on expectations, or perhaps on oral accounts (passed on by the guard of Magi assigned to protect the tomb), but it is nevertheless likely that Alexander *did* inspect the tomb in 330 on his first visit to Pasargadae. As Stronach has pointed out, Alexander, in envisioning himself as a successor to the Persian throne, had a particular interest in Cyrus the Great, and it is likely that he would have shown interest in the ruler's tomb for its own sake, whether or not it had been plundered (and whether or not Aristoboulos felt the need to record this interest in his account of the visit).²⁸ Cyrus's tomb, after all, figured prominently in the ceremonies surrounding the coronation of the Persian king.²⁹

This reported assemblage must also be viewed alongside the cultural associations of the tomb's architecture. It has been amply demonstrated that the design of the monument draws upon earlier western (especially Anatolian) traditions in addition to Near Eastern models: Ionian features are evident in the masonry style and techniques,³⁰ the design of the chamber interior shares several features with Lydian tumulus chambers,³¹ and the gable construction has Phrygian parallels.³² The overall form of the tomb, too, is paralleled in a contemporary tomb at Sardis, the "Pyramid Tomb."³³ The two tombs are, however, so close in date that it is, on present evidence, impossible to determine which came first, and a somewhat later rock-cut tomb of similar form near Phokaia in the western part of the Hermos valley (Taş Kule) has some strong Persian elements: a molding with upturned ends above a false door in relief, before which is a bowl-like hollow that could have been used in Zoroastrian fire ritual.³⁴ Still, the basic form of Cyrus's tomb could reflect elements of a local (if rare) Anatolian tomb type with which Cyrus or his architects became familiar while campaigning there.³⁵ It is also possible that this type of tomb developed as a unique product of Anatolian-Persian interaction. The combination of Near Eastern and West Anatolian elements in both the Tomb of Cyrus and the Pyramid Tomb seems to be "in some way the product of interactions of Persian and

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

Western traditions.”³⁶ The *kline* in Cyrus’s tomb was probably a further western feature,³⁷ reflecting familiarity with Anatolian fashions and burial traditions.

Even if Cyrus was buried on a *kline*, this would have been exceptional in the Persian heartland. Evidence for the placement of a bed or couch in a tomb, either as the burial location or as general tomb furniture, is extremely rare in the Persian empire outside Anatolia. Admittedly, Achaemenid burial customs are not fully understood, and can differ widely in various parts of the empire.³⁸ Burials in Persia proper, whether inhumations or secondary burials after exposure, are usually located in cists or sarcophagi.³⁹ The tombs of Cyrus’s successors at Naqsh-e Rostam contain rock-cut cists.⁴⁰ Von Gall notes Schmidt’s suggestion that these cists could have held wooden items and wonders whether the “*kline*-throne” supporting the altar and the stepped plinth on which the king stands in the accompanying relief façades (Fig. 122) could allude to a royal tradition of *kline*-burial, *within* the cists.⁴¹ The couch-like form on the tomb façades, however, functions more as a platform or dais, and its distinctive leg design is known only on thrones, not couches, in the Persian heartland.⁴² Von Gall finds further evidence for a Persian tradition of couch-burial in the *prothesis* scene on a grave stele from Memphis, where a man in Persian attire and with a Persian-style beard lies on a couch of hybrid Assyrian-Achaemenid form (Fig. 123).⁴³ This relief, however, cannot be used as an unequivocal document of “Achaemenid” iconography—it must be seen against the backdrop of contemporary “Caromemphite” stelai (characterized by a unique combination of Egyptianizing style, “Greek” *prothesis* iconography, and Carian inscriptions) as a Persianizing example of the same phenomenon (see Fig. 128).⁴⁴ Only one possible parallel for the placement of a couch or bed in a tomb exists among Achaemenid burials outside Anatolia: a chamber tomb at Tell el-Far’ah in Palestine contained bronze fittings of a wooden bed or couch and stool along with a silver phiale and ladle (see Fig. 25).⁴⁵ Though no skeletal remains were recorded, the find circumstances make it



Figure 122. Tomb of Artaxerxes III, Naqsh-e Rostam, Persepolis, fourth century. (Bryn Mawr College [MJM-004814]; photographed by Machteld Johanna Mellink, © Bryn Mawr College)

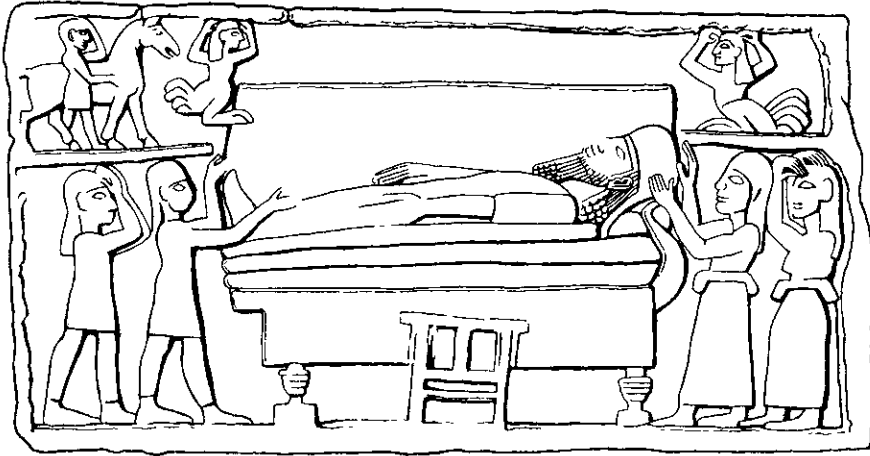


Figure 123. Drawing of relief from Memphis, Berlin Eg 23721, Boardman 2000, fig. 5.57. (Reproduced with permission of J. Boardman)

unlikely that the couch served as the burial location, and its strong western features (Type A legs) betray some degree of Greek inspiration.⁴⁶ Therefore, not only do the written sources exclude the possibility that Cyrus himself was buried on a *kline*, but there is also no evidence to support the claim that *kline*-burial was a particularly Persian mode of interment.

In sum, however we explain the presence of a couch in Cyrus's tomb, the literary evidence does not indicate that it served as the burial location. The Greek accounts present some problems of interpretation but agree that when the tomb was opened at the behest of Alexander in 324, it held a coffin as well as a couch. There is only one possible Achaemenid parallel for bed- or couch-burial outside Anatolia. The theory that *kline*-tombs in Anatolia in the Achaemenid era reflect Persian burial tradition therefore has no basis. It is more likely that the furnishing of Cyrus's tomb chamber, like the construction features and possibly even the overall design of the tomb itself,⁴⁷ was inspired by Anatolian traditions. With the theory of Persian origin set aside, the evident popularity of *kline*-burial in Achaemenid Anatolia takes on new significance, which will be explored in Chapter 4.

ROOTS OF THE *KLINE*-TOMB CONCEPT

If the idea for *kline*-burial was not introduced to Anatolia by Persians, where and how did it develop? The funerary ideas that intersect in the *kline*-tomb concept are found in many different cultures worldwide, but all have a long history in Anatolia, prior to the Persian conquest. Representing the deceased as a banqueter, outfitting tombs with banqueting assemblages or even the remnants of actual funerary feasts, burying the dead on beds or bedding and using beds in funerary rituals are all attested among earlier cultures of Anatolia. Western Anatolia also seems to have played a critical role in the transmission of the custom of the reclining banquet to Greece and the birth of Archaic sympotic culture.

The "Funerary Banquet" in Anatolia

Food and drink, banqueting equipment, and images of banqueters are found in tombs or on grave monuments of many different cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world.⁴⁸ The term "funerary

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

banquet” can connote a wide range of meanings, from a ritual meal that is part of a funerary ceremony to an imagined eternal banquet to a more basic idea that the dead will need food and drink to sustain their journey to or long stay in the afterlife. The representation of the dead person as a banqueter could be connected with any of these ideas but could also refer simply to his or her status during life, as a member of the elite class with the leisure time to enjoy luxurious banquets.⁴⁹ These explanations correspond to the three interpretive approaches to funerary iconography laid out by D’Agostino for Etruscan funerary art (“realistic,” “magico-ritual,” and “social”) and similar categories recently put forth by Fabricius in particular connection with the “funerary banquet” (“ritualistic,” “prospective-eschatological,” and “sociohistoric-retrospective”).⁵⁰ Regardless of the type of interpretation, a funerary context can “charge” images “with a particular semantic intensity,” as D’Agostino notes.⁵¹ It is therefore difficult to be certain of the significance of banqueting implements and images found in funerary contexts. It may prove too limiting to try to pinpoint a single “meaning” or significance for each occurrence of “the banquet” in “the tomb.” The prospective concept of a “Totenmahl” seems clear only when heroizing elements are present, beginning in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁵² Funerary banquets may express more than one symbolic referent, carrying “ritual,” “realistic,” and “social” implications at the same time. Whatever the meaning(s), banqueting seems to have been an important part of funerary ceremony and imagery in Anatolia from an early period.

Evidence for graveside feasting has been identified in Anatolia as early as the Early Bronze Age, in the remains of cattle bones found above the flat lid-like roofs of chamber tombs at Alaca Höyük. Since the types of bones found (mainly skulls and leg bones) suggest the deposition of hides, however, the consumption of the rest of the animals is hypothetical.⁵³ Clearer evidence of funerary feasts comes in the Late Bronze Age, in Hittite texts from Boğazköy (Hattusa) that outline Hittite royal funerary customs. At one point in the fourteen-day ritual, the cremated remains of the king or queen, wrapped in linen, were set upon a chair or stool, respectively, before a table equipped with bread and other offerings.⁵⁴ Archaeological evidence for Hittite funerary customs is slight but seems to confirm an interest in banqueting. As at Alaca Höyük, the animal bones found in some Hittite burials do not unequivocally represent the remains of feasts (in addition to pig, sheep, and cow bones, dogs, domesticated horses, and donkeys are also represented),⁵⁵ but the pairing of drinking and pouring vessels in many Hittite-era graves in central and western Anatolia suggests a desire to provide the dead with banqueting sets.⁵⁶

The representation of the dead person as a banqueter enjoying a feast is an idea that manifests clearly in Neo-Hittite (or Syro-Hittite) reliefs of the ninth through seventh centuries.⁵⁷ An inscribed stele from Neirab in the Louvre, for instance, shows a figure raising a cup to his mouth, seated on a stool before a table loaded with food, attended by a smaller figure with fly-whisk (Fig. 124).⁵⁸ Though a funerary function is not certain for many of these monuments, several carry funerary inscriptions or were found near cemeteries.⁵⁹ Bonatz has suggested that they may reflect the Mesopotamian *kispu* ceremony, in which food and drink were offered to dead ancestors, and thus that they were not necessarily grave markers but memorial locations for funerary cult.⁶⁰ The recent discovery of an inscribed banquet relief in its original context at Zincirli seems to confirm this reading, since it was located in a building within the settlement, perhaps a funerary chapel.⁶¹ The banquets depicted on

Origins of the *Kline-Tomb*



Figure 124. Basalt funerary stele with Aramaic inscription from Neirab, Syria, early seventh century, Paris, Musée du Louvre AO3027. (Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

Syro-Hittite reliefs so far known all show the banqueter seated upright (on a chair or stool) before a table.

There may have been a tradition of offering food to the dead or conceiving of the dead as banqueters also in Urartu. Reconstructing Urartian funerary customs is hampered by the fact that most known Urartian tombs are rock-cut chambers, found devoid of their original contents.⁶² It has been suggested that bowl-like depressions cut into various horizontal surfaces within them (on floors, benches, and the floors of niches) may have held food or liquid offerings, or vessels that held food or drink,⁶³ but it is equally possible that they served as receptacles for cinerary urns.⁶⁴ But the furnishings and vessels that have been found in some Urartian tombs may be the remnants of banqueting assemblages.⁶⁵ Tomb A at Kayalıdere, for instance, yielded numerous fragments of bronze furniture fittings, along with pottery, an iron “pan,” and various items of personal adornment.⁶⁶ Thirty-three bowl-like depressions were carved in the floor of one of its chambers. Most intriguing in the context of this study are the finds from the small room adjoining the burial chamber in Tomb 3 at Altın-tepe, dated to the early part of the seventh century: metal fittings from a wooden table and an oblong piece of furniture (a bed or couch) were found in place where they collapsed when the wood decomposed, and among the table remains were several ceramic vessels that had apparently been placed on top of it (Fig. 125).⁶⁷ This room was accessible only from the burial chamber, through a doorway that never held a door, in sharp contrast to the functional door separating the burial chamber from the entrance chamber. The couple interred in sarcophagi in the burial chamber would therefore have had symbolic access to the banquet furnished in the next room. The burial

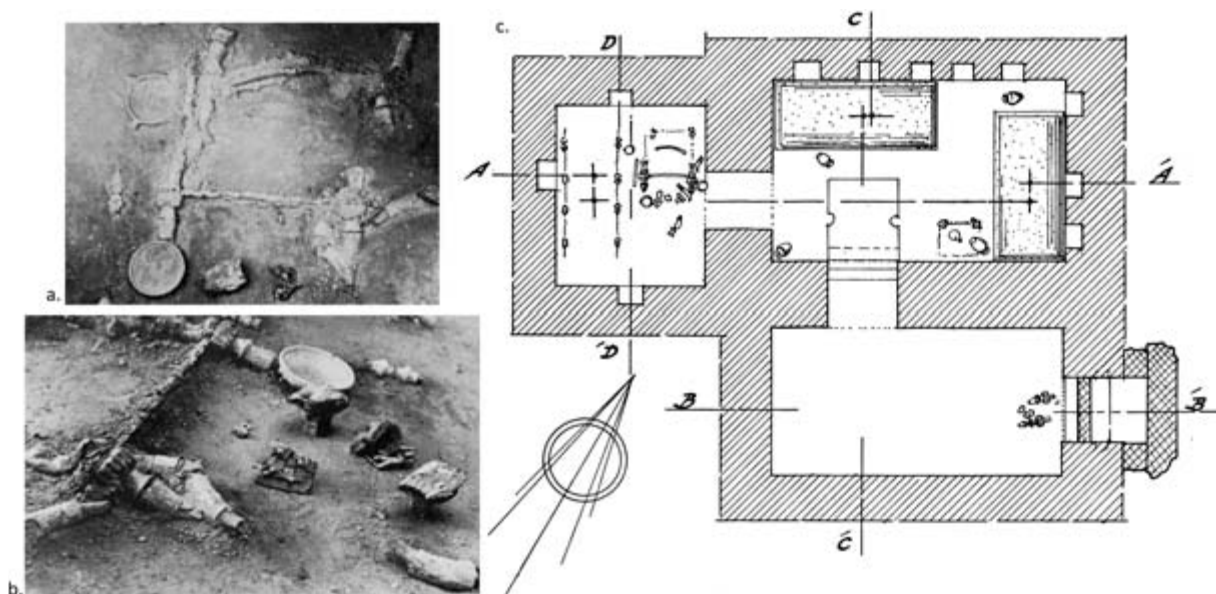


Figure 125. Urartian tomb, Altın-tepe Tomb 3, early seventh century: (a) remains of table, vessels, and front rail of couch or bed (at left); (b) remains of table; (c) plan, Özgüç 1969, fig. 18, pl. 20.1-2. (Reproduced with permission of the Türk Tarih Kurumu)

chamber itself contained another table, set before one of the sarcophagi, and other furniture parts (as well as a bronze cauldron and chariot parts) were recovered in the entrance chamber. It seems likely that the extra room adjacent to the burial chamber in Altintepe Tomb 3 was conceived as a symbolic banquet room for the tomb occupants. The presence of a bed or couch in this room raises the question—to be explored below—of when the custom of reclining to dine was adopted in eastern and central Anatolia.

By far the clearest evidence for funerary banqueting in Anatolia comes from Phrygian tumuli at Gordion and Ankara. The finds from the chambers of Tumuli W, P, and MM at Gordion all include similar groupings of large open vessels (cauldrons), ladles for distribution, and shallow bowls for individual drink consumption—combinations that suggest full “banquet services.”⁶⁸ Though the Körte brothers interpreted the ceramic assemblage in Tumulus K-III as a “beer-drinking-service,” and many of the strainer-spouted vessels found in other tumuli at Gordion and on the city mound may well have been intended for the consumption of beer, vessels designed for wine service and consumption (cauldrons, ladles, shallow bowls) are “even more numerous.”⁶⁹ DeVries argues that the proportional distribution of different vessel types within the individual tomb assemblages supports the theory that together they formed wine “services,” with anywhere from seven to thirty-eight bowls and about one ladle per large cauldron.⁷⁰ Rather than reflecting actual drinking occasions in which the deceased took part while alive—Tumulus P, after all, contained a child’s burial—these sets may reflect ritual drinking that formed part of the funeral ceremony; DeVries adds that they probably held additional “significance beyond their likely primary functions,” as items of material value.⁷¹ The fact that they occur in sets, however, underlines their functional significance and seems to indicate that beyond marking the deceased as a member of the social class that enjoyed the luxury of banqueting and its valuable equipment, these items either reflect a “real” funerary banquet or were meant to equip the deceased for a symbolic, “eternal” one.⁷²

Scientific analysis of residues in the vessels from Tumulus MM (the so-called Tomb of Midas) has revealed that its “funerary banquet” was not (only) a symbolic one, but a real feast that preceded the burial, ca. 740.⁷³ The tomb contained over 150 metal vessels and numerous intricately decorated wooden serving stands and tables.⁷⁴ Analysis of the vessels’ contents suggests a grand royal feast including a stew of spicy barbecued sheep or goat with lentils and a potent concoction of wine, beer, and mead.⁷⁵ The feast was not, however, laid out in the tomb untouched; ceramic vessels (dinoi and “amphoras”) containing the remnants of the meal were placed in large bronze cauldrons that would have originally held the fermented beverage mixture, like leftovers stacked in an emptied punch bowl.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Simpson has concluded that “the assembled coffin must have been used in a funerary ceremony outside the tomb” before it was partly disassembled and lowered into the burial chamber.⁷⁷ The remains of food and drink and the banquet service in Tumulus MM therefore appear to be the remnants of an actual funerary feast in which the mourners took part prior to the deposition of the body in the tomb (Fig. 126).⁷⁸ Newly recognized inscriptions on one of the roof beams enhance this picture of the funerary ceremony, as they seem to represent a “commemorative signing” of the names of the banquet’s participants, corollary to the wax inscriptions added to some of the bowls included in the burial.⁷⁹

Grave assemblages similar to those at Gordion have been recovered in several tumuli in the

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb



Figure 126. Tumulus MM, Gordion: reconstruction of the funeral ceremony held before the burial of the king; Tumulus MM is shown under construction in the background, Simpson 2010, frontispiece. (Painting by Greg Harlin, copyright Greg Harlin and Elizabeth Simpson)

region of Ankara, excavated by Macridy in the 1920s and by teams from the Middle East Technical University (METU) in the 1960s and 1980s. The burial in the largest of the Ankara tumuli, known as the Great Tumulus, contained an assortment of items comparable to that of Gordion's Tumulus MM, but the collapsed state of the chamber makes the original locations of the items much more difficult to reconstruct.⁸⁰ One large bronze cauldron held fibulae and pottery; another contained a series of bronze cups and was covered by a cloth. Numerous bronze bowls and phialai and several iron "trivets" were found along the north wall of the chamber with a varied assortment of ceramic vessels ("small jars, amphoras, lebes pots, pots with spouted brims, flat-bottomed and high-stemmed cups").⁸¹ Wood fragments strewn throughout this assortment probably belong to a table or shelf on which some of the offerings were placed. "Ashy material" found inside the lebetes has been chemically identified as cooked food; "ashy" organic remains were also recovered in the pottery amphoras.⁸² Additionally, evidence outside the chamber suggests that a ritual meal took place there at the time of burial: a large quantity of animal bones, mostly oxen and some with butchering marks, along with much ash.⁸³ Of the other excavated tumuli in Ankara, METU Tumulus I included bronze bowls, a bronze cauldron and ladle, and fragments of grayware pottery; METU Tumulus II also yielded bronze and ceramic bowls.⁸⁴ In Anittepe Tumulus I, an iron tripod was found along with an assortment of bronze vessels (including omphalos bowls and ring-handled bowls) and pottery vessels (some filled with ashy material).⁸⁵

Also relevant here are the Phrygian-style tumuli at Bayındır, near Elmalı in the Milyas (northern Lycia). Tumulus C was heaped over a cremation pit that contained the remnants of food offerings burned along with the dead.⁸⁶ Nearby Tumulus D contained a wooden chamber for an inhumation; the deceased was placed in a log coffin and equipped with an assortment of metal vessels particularly associated with banqueting—cauldrons, phialai, bowls, and ladles.⁸⁷

Whether remains of food and drink and banqueting sets found in Phrygian tumulus chambers in all cases reflect ritual feasting that attended the burial or could sometimes have served symbolic functions, as markers either of a concept of eternal banqueting or of the social status of the deceased, it is at least clear that banqueting played an important role in funerary traditions and ideology in central Anatolia in the Iron Age. Parallels and precedents can be found further to the east in contemporary Urartu and earlier, in the Bronze Age.

Beds in Funerary Contexts

It is in many of the same cultural areas that we find earlier precedents in Anatolia for burials on beds. And as with the "funerary banquet," the prominence of beds in funerary ritual is a worldwide cultural phenomenon, probably connected with the widespread association of death with sleep. Death was compared with sleep in the Epic of Gilgamesh, and the common positioning of corpses in diverse regions "in an attitude of repose," whether laid on the back or on the side, or even in the fetal position, underscores the universality of this concept.⁸⁸ One of the words for "bed" in the Old Testament is the same used for "coffin" in Phoenician and Ugaritic texts (*mškb*).⁸⁹ In Greek art and literature, Thanatos and Hypnos were perceived as twin brothers who often worked together or balanced each other, as in Euphronios's depiction of the death of Sarpedon.⁹⁰ This connection is further suggested by the occasional use of the word *thalamos* for "tomb chamber"—though perhaps this is

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

part of a broad conception of the grave as a house for the dead person, since the word usually connotes a bedroom, often a bridal chamber.⁹¹ Another possible point of symbolism for the idea of the bed in the tomb, at least for the Greek world, is the marriage bed, via a symbolic association of death with marriage (especially for young, unmarried women).⁹² Connotations of sleep and marriage must therefore be kept in mind as possible explanations for beds in tombs and funerary imagery, alternatives to or in combination with their ritual significance as *prothesis*-beds and *ekphora*-biers.

Beds in Funerary Rituals

In many cultures the bed is the primary locus of funerary ritual between death and burial. In ancient Egyptian art, a leonine bed is often depicted supporting the mummy at various points in the funeral process, from embalming to transport to the tomb.⁹³ In ancient Greece, the “lying-in-state” or *prothesis* took place on a bed or couch in the deceased person’s home.⁹⁴ Pictorial evidence attests to this practice in Greece as early as the Late Bronze Age,⁹⁵ and scenes of *prothesis* occur in Homeric poetry and in Geometric art, as one of the first types of figural motifs explored by Greek artists after the so-called Dark Age.⁹⁶ Most *prothesis* scenes come from Attica and were produced in Attic workshops for specialized funerary use,⁹⁷ but the ritual was probably more widespread than our pictorial evidence suggests. *Prothesis* scenes also occur in significant numbers in Archaic Etruria, on relief cippi from Chiusi, and later in the painted tombs of Paestum.⁹⁸ Similarly, while the use of the *prothesis*-bed as a bier in the *ekphora* is attested in only a few cases in Greek art, the practice may have been more widespread than artistic evidence indicates. Several instances are known on Late Geometric vases in scenes resembling a *prothesis* on wheels, with mourners surrounding the bed and riding along on the cart (Fig. 127).⁹⁹ The same sort of mobile *prothesis* is represented in a terracotta model from Vari in Attica, dated to the early seventh century.¹⁰⁰

A similar mobile *prothesis* is represented on the gabled lid of a painted terracotta sarcophagus recently discovered in the Akpınar nekropolis of Klazomenai and dated by associated pottery ca. 600 (see Fig. 33): the deceased lies on a Type A *kline*, covered by a cloth, flanked by seated female mourners, in a four-wheeled cart pulled by horses; a standing male figure on the left end of the cart

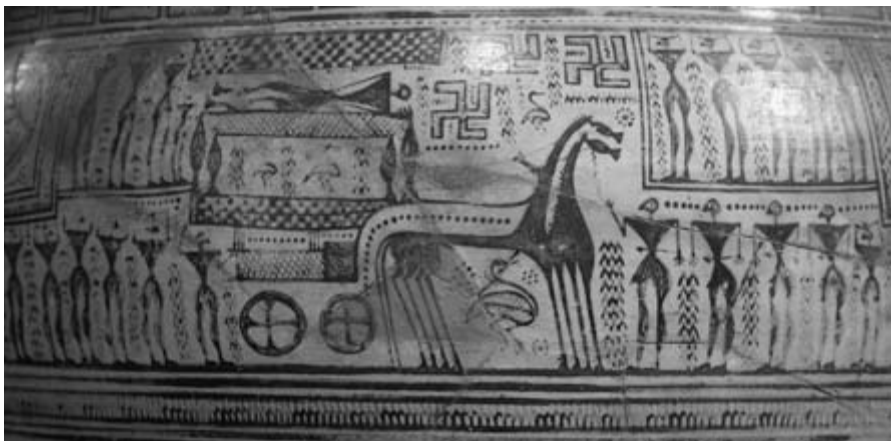


Figure 127. Late Geometric krater with *ekphora* scene, attributed to the Hirschfeld Painter, late eighth century [B5]. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 990. (Photo: Vanni / Art Resource, NY)

holds a tympanon (?), and the mourning woman seated to the left of the *kline* holds a flag-shaped fan.¹⁰¹ This discovery is important not only because the scene offers one of the earliest known representations of a Type A *kline*, but also because it provides critical testament to the use of the *kline* in funerary rituals in Western Anatolia as early as the end of the seventh century.¹⁰²

Otherwise, pictorial evidence for a *prothesis* ritual in Anatolia is enigmatic or indirect: a puzzling stele recently discovered at Harran in Upper Mesopotamia, and a series of stelai produced for Carians resident in Egypt. On the Harran stele (dated to the sixth century), the upper register shows a person lying face-up on a bed or couch of Assyrian type (see below), flanked by attendant figures with fans and tables with vessels atop them.¹⁰³ As Bruns-Özgan points out, the presence of the tables and the upraised hand of the supine figure call into question whether a funerary *prothesis* is meant and raise the possibility that the scene combines *prothesis* and banqueting imagery.¹⁰⁴ But the combination is complicated by the scene in the lower register, with a female figure seated before a table stacked with offerings, attended by several smaller figures. It is unclear whether the seated figure is meant to be the same as the person lying on the couch in the upper register (now conceived in life or afterlife) or the wife of the reclining figure, an accessory to the implied banquet above (the composition recalls Assurbanipal's "Garden Party": see Fig. 133 and discussion below). Bruns-Özgan suggests that additional Egyptian inspiration may lie behind the "*prothesis*" scene,¹⁰⁵ but while the style of the couch, seat, and tables definitely point toward Assyria, the idea of representing the deceased on a bed need not come from Egypt. There is at least one Neo-Hittite parallel—a relief from Halaf in the Mosul Museum in Iraq that reportedly depicts a *prothesis* "with sheet over the dead body marked as a checkboard just like on Attic Geometric vases"¹⁰⁶—and there is textual evidence that beds figured prominently in earlier Hittite royal funerals (see below). The Harran stele demonstrates the close connections between *prothesis* and banqueting imagery in the funerary arts of Anatolia.

The *prothesis* scenes on "Caromemphite" stelai, which seem to have been produced for Carian settlers in Memphis (e.g., Fig. 128), are also more comparable to Greek than to Egyptian funerary imagery. These reliefs date to the second half of the sixth century and display a mixture of Greek and Egyptian (or Egyptianizing) style and iconography and, in some cases, Carian inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ All carry three zones of very low, almost incised relief, of which the upper two are Egyptian in style and subject matter and the lowest "Greek": a *prothesis* scene, with a female figure standing to the right of the *kline* and touching the head of the deceased and three other mourners standing behind or at the foot of the bed.¹⁰⁸ *Klinai* of both standard types (A and B) are represented, sometimes supported on unusual flaring feet or bases.¹⁰⁹ A significant divergence from the Attic pictorial tradition of *prothesis* is the occasional presence of a table before the *kline*: in one case the table is empty, but in another it is covered with cakes and fruits (pomegranates).¹¹⁰ Nicholls has noted that these items are "peculiar to the ritual feasts offered to certain chthonic and fertility deities and to the much more widely attested symbolic banquets offered heroes or the 'blessed' dead" and suggests that "local funerary practices in some way linked the *prothesis* with some form of symbolic meal."¹¹¹ The tables may thus allude to a "funerary banquet" or even to a concept of an afterlife banquet, as may also be true of the Harran stele.¹¹² Although there are Egyptian parallels for the representation of the deceased on a bed, as noted above, the "Caromemphite" *prothesis* scenes are closer to Greek

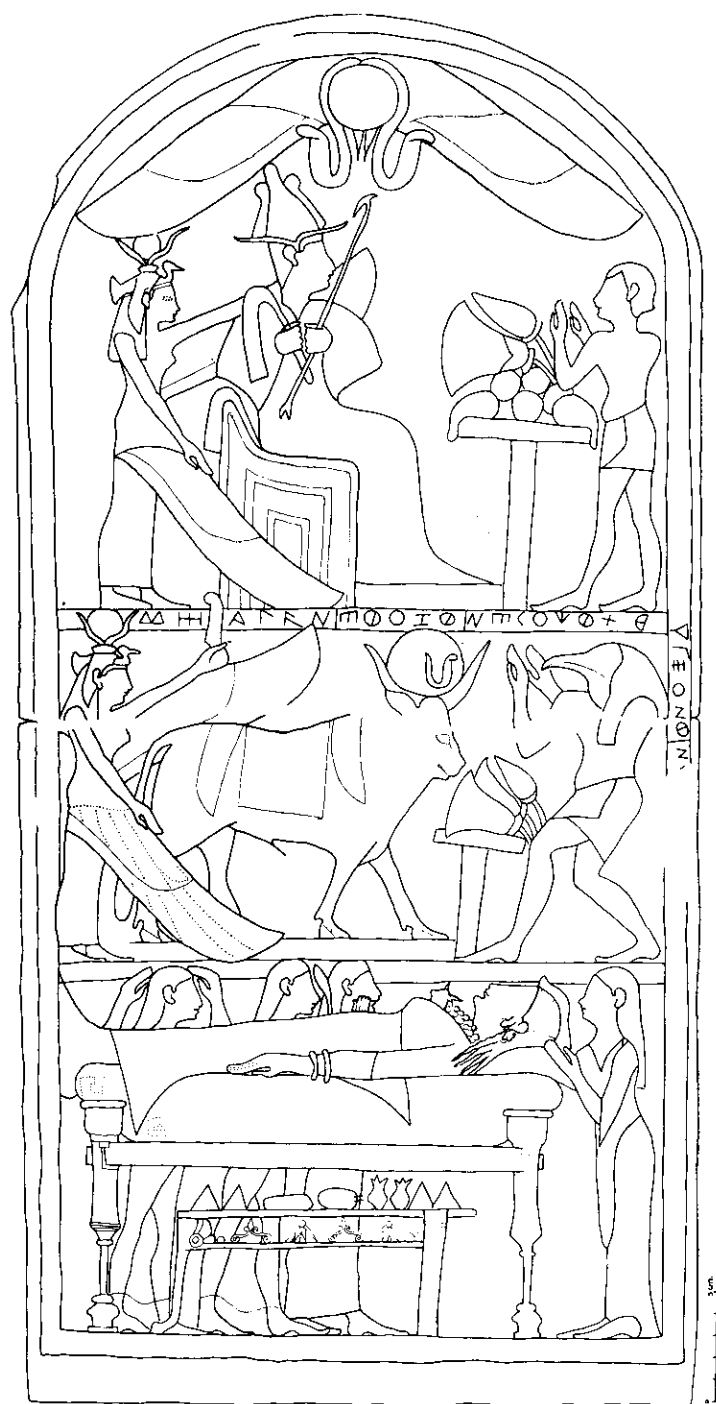


Figure 128. "Caromemphite" stele with *prothesis* scene, Masson 1978, pl. 33.1. (Reproduced with permission of the Egypt Exploration Society)

prothesis scenes in both compositional and formal details (furniture forms), and they may indirectly suggest the existence of a *prothesis* ritual in Archaic Caria.

Whether the *prothesis* imagery found in Anatolia reflects foreign (Greek or Egyptian) iconographic models or native ones, the important place of the bed in funerary rituals had local precedent. As mentioned above, textual evidence suggests that the bed played an important role in Hittite royal funerals. In the same fourteen-day ritual in which the cremated remains of a Hittite king or queen were set before a table for a symbolic banquet, they were at other times placed upon a bed within a “stone house.”¹¹³ It is also important to remember that the ceremonial display of the corpse on a bed/bier prior to burial was probably not limited to areas that produced specialized funerary art decorated with scenes of funerary ritual—the custom was likely much more widely practiced than the representational evidence indicates.

Burial-Beds

Burial of the dead on a bed or bier is even more widely attested than the use of beds in funerary rituals leading up to burial, among disparate cultures over a broad expanse of space and time. Burial beds have never been systematically surveyed. Because they may be seen as predecessors and corollaries of burial-*klinai*, examples from cultures outside Anatolia must be considered here before focusing on evidence from Anatolia, even though this discussion is in no way comprehensive. It is often difficult to distinguish between beds and biers in the archaeological record: when no legs are clearly identifiable, the item is usually called a “bier,” implying a stretcher-like form. Since beds with legs could also be used as biers for transporting or burying the dead, however, the term “bier” could also apply to portable beds with legs, when these are found in tombs.¹¹⁴ Only in certain cases (e.g., stone beds) is it clear that a burial bed did not also serve as the bier in the funerary ritual and procession. In the following discussion, the use of the terms will follow this formal distinction, “bier” denoting a stretcher or carrier without legs; “bed,” a four-legged bedstead.

As early as ca. 4000 BCE, burials in Egypt and Nubia were sometimes laid on a “matting of twigs” supported on “simple timber poles.”¹¹⁵ Early Dynastic burials on beds consisting of wooden pole-frames with rush webbing for the mattress surface and legs of bovine form have been found at Tarkhan and Abydos,¹¹⁶ and similar burial beds were common at Kerma, capital of the Nubian kingdom of Kush. In the graves excavated by Reisner at Kerma, remains of wooden beds were more common even than pottery, and the dead were usually placed on their sides slightly flexed, as if sleeping.¹¹⁷ Signs of wear indicate that many of these beds were used in life prior to deposition in the grave. Though graves with beds were more numerous than those without them, Reisner concluded that “the practice of burying beds was probably reserved for the affluent, who could afford to leave valued furniture in the tombs of their relatives.”¹¹⁸ In modern Nubia (Sudan), beds are still used for conveying the dead to the grave but are returned to the home after burial and reused “after a period of ritual purification,” as specified also in the fifth-century sumptuary law from Keos in Attica, discussed in Chapter 1.¹¹⁹

A similar law from Mesopotamia provides the earliest evidence, though indirect, for the practice of bed-burial there. In the middle of the third millennium, Urukagina of Lagash in Sumeria issued an edict limiting items used in funerary ceremonies: for example, reducing the permissible number

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

of beer jars from seven to three and loaves of bread from 420 to 80.¹²⁰ This regulation stipulates that, as before, only one bed and one head-support will be allowed but that the bed must be removed from the grave after the burial. The regulation thus implies that it had earlier been customary to leave the funeral bed in the tomb. The earliest known physical evidence for burial-beds in the Near East comes from Middle Bronze Age tombs at Jericho. The primary burial in Tomb H18 lay on a rush mat atop a wooden bed, next to a long table laden with food, surrounded by at least twelve other burials (including infants and children) placed directly on the floor or on mats.¹²¹ Fragments of wood that may have belonged to a similar bed were found in a pile of disturbed burials in Tomb J1,¹²² and three tombs contained low mud-brick burial platforms.¹²³ These grave assemblages seem to have been intended to recreate domestic environments and to indicate household wealth.¹²⁴ Burial beds are also known from second-millennium tombs at Baghouz in Syria.¹²⁵ Cist tombs cut into bedrock and covered by flat slabs and small tumuli, these graves usually contain single interments in contracted positions, placed on beds composed of wooden frames and legs, with more perishable netting for the mattress surface.¹²⁶ As at Jericho, these bed-burials were often accompanied by remains of meals, sometimes set on tables.¹²⁷

Evidence for burials on wooden biers is more widespread than that for burials on beds, with examples known from Egypt and the Near East as well as Greece.¹²⁸ When there is no evidence for legs or supports, these must be understood as funerary stretchers rather than as “beds,” but often the evidence is ambiguous. Wood remains found beneath a burial in Blegen’s excavation of a Mycenaean chamber tomb at Prosymna (Tomb 29), for instance, had projecting elements at the corners that could be remnants of either horizontal handles or low legs.¹²⁹ Similarly, iron fittings found in association with wood remains in several Geometric graves in the Kerameikos of Athens could have served either as reinforcements for wooden bed legs or hand-grips on bier edges.¹³⁰ Sometimes find context can help distinguish wood remains beneath a burial as part of a bier or bed: for instance, the presence of offerings beneath wood remains in a Late Minoan burial at Sellapoulo, near Knossos, led to the conclusion that the wooden item must have had legs “sufficiently raised off the ground to allow offerings to be placed under it.”¹³¹ In other cases a distinction has been made on the basis of wood type, construction, and decoration. Cedarwood “biers” with copper “staples” that secured the straps or thongs of the resting surface to the frame are attested in Late Minoan tombs at Poros and Katsambas.¹³² Though no traces of legs have been identified in association with these remains, Muhly has concluded that they were probably beds for household use rather than stretcher-biers used only for funerary purposes, since “the type of wood, the sturdy construction, and the time and effort expended on the attachments are more suitable for constructions made to be used over a long period of time rather than just once.”¹³³ It could be argued, though, that funerary stretchers, too, could have been used multiple times before final deposition and may even have been ornamented for funerary display.

Beds found in tombs may also have been included as personal or household possessions or as indicators of wealth rather than as resting-places for the dead, as occurred in Egypt once the practice of burial in a coffin had become standard.¹³⁴ The same is true for furniture in some Mesopotamian tombs. In the inventory of a Neo-Assyrian royal tomb, a bronze bed is listed along with a variety of garments and headdresses, sacrificed horses and other animals, metal vessels, and a rug.¹³⁵ The

burial itself was located in a sarcophagus, carefully sealed by the king's son.¹³⁶ In this case the bed may have been included as household furnishing or personal possession or simply as an item of material value, rather than for any ritual significance. In the case of the spectacular ivory-clad bed found in the late eighth-century Tomb 79 at Salamis on Cyprus (Fig. 129), it is impossible to say with certainty what its original relationship with the burial was. The chamber itself had been robbed, but a rich assortment of grave offerings was discovered in the tomb's wide dromos: jars, pottery and bronze vessels, a large bronze cauldron with griffin protomes, food items, firedogs and spits for roasting a meal, weapons and armor, three chairs, two stools, a small table, a bed, remains of chariots, and skeletons of horses.¹³⁷ The bed, unlike the other pieces of furniture, had been disassembled. Its ivory panels were found piled with other items in the northwest corner of the dromos.¹³⁸ Karageorghis has surmised that the bed had been "dismantled at the time of the second burial" but "obviously . . . must have [originally] been inside the chamber itself."¹³⁹ Another "royal" tomb at Salamis, Tomb 3, may also have contained a bed. "Impressions" of decayed wooden furniture uncovered on the floor of its dromos include two stools and "two bars obliquely joined together," perhaps from a bed frame.¹⁴⁰

Even more prevalent than wooden, clay, metal, or stone beds, though much more difficult to interpret, are rock-cut benches in chamber tombs, found in many different parts of the Mediterranean world. Since most rock-carved tombs have visible entrances in rock faces, they are rarely found undisturbed. When benches are narrow (less than ca. 0.40 m wide), they are generally assumed to have been intended for the placement of offerings or cinerary urns rather than for direct inhumations. Only benches with carved details imitating a bed-like structure or delineating individual resting-places, or with intact burials found atop them, certainly functioned as built-in beds, but

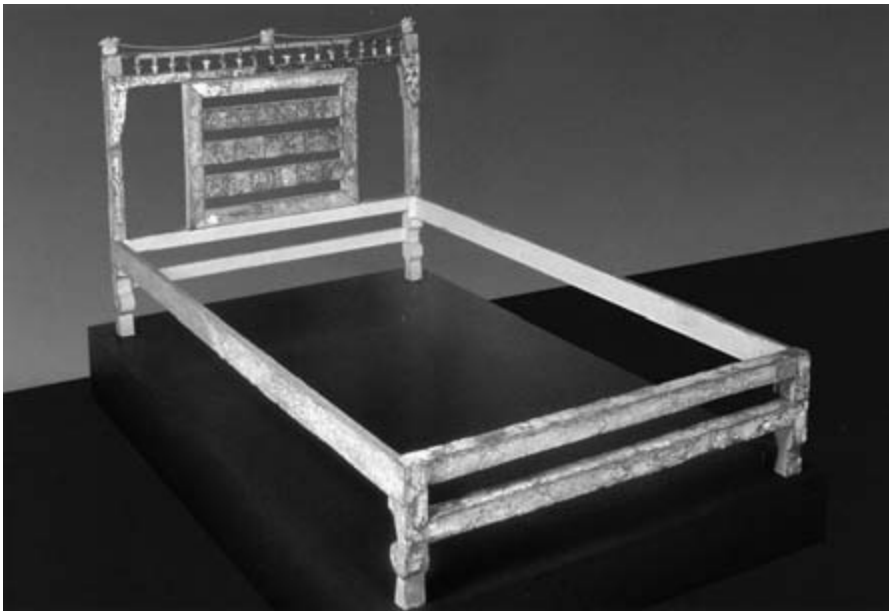


Figure 129. Ivory bed from Salamis Tomb 79 (restored), late eighth century, Karageorghis 2002, fig. 350. (Reproduced courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

others of appropriate length and width probably also served this purpose. Carved “pillows” confirm a bed-like conception for some of the earliest known rock-cut funerary benches, which are found in third-millennium tombs of the Middle Euphrates region.¹⁴¹ Plain benches in Mycenaean chamber tombs, on the other hand, seem to have served a variety of practical and symbolic purposes, from offering and burial platforms to “attention-focusing devices” and loci for postfunerary rituals.¹⁴² Rock-cut benches in Iron Age tombs in Palestine are often plain,¹⁴³ but some have anthropoid depressions with rounded “headrests” indicating their burial function (see Fig. 132).¹⁴⁴ Similarities with Lydian and Etruscan *kline* headrests have been discussed above, but here it is worth pointing out that the same kinds of headrests occur on the floors of carved cists, so the form is not confined to a bed-like space and probably has more to do with burial function than bed-like form, as is true also for the anthropoid hollows of Lydian *klinai*.¹⁴⁵

Especially comparable to the rock-cut furnishings presented in Chapter 2 are the rock-cut funeral beds of Archaic- and Classical-period tombs on Cyprus (in the Cellarka nekropolis of Salamis), where carved rectangular “pillows” and *in situ* burials clarify their function as burial places (Fig. 130).¹⁴⁶ In one tomb, the low benches have additional “legs” carved on their faces, and cuttings for the legs of a wooden bed of similar (six-legged) form beneath the burial in another Salamis tomb suggest that the rock-cut benches were conceived as alternatives to wooden furnishings.¹⁴⁷ Whether the furnishings in the Salamis tombs should be considered “beds” or “couches” is uncertain; given the evidence presented below for the origins of the reclining banquet, it is likely that the custom was known on Cyprus at least by the seventh century, when the first rock-cut tombs were cut in the Cellarka nekropolis.

Bed-Burials in Anatolia

Bed-burial and the idea of the bed in the tomb have a particularly long history in Anatolia. The earliest evidence for the placement of furniture in tombs in Anatolia comes from an Early Bronze Age tomb at Horoztepe, ca. 2000 BCE, where metal casings for the ends of wooden furniture parts suggest an array of different household items, including several tables, a chair or throne, and possibly a bed.¹⁴⁸ In contrast to the furnishings placed in the Jericho tombs or in Egyptian tombs, these had all been “intentionally bent, flattened, and reduced to a useless state” before deposition in the grave.¹⁴⁹ Still, the assemblage represents, on a symbolic level, the trappings of a “royal” household. Although the remains cannot have served as the burial location, they constitute the earliest possible evidence of a bed in a tomb in Anatolia, in the area that later became the heart of the Hittite empire.

It is in the Hittite era that we find textual confirmation for the conception of the tomb as a house and the role of the bed in funerary ritual. Texts from Boğazköy (Hattusa) outline a fourteen-day ceremony for the death of a king or queen and mention a “stone house” at several points: the cremated remains are collected and placed on a bed within the “stone house” and then periodically brought out for feasts, before finally being left on the bed.¹⁵⁰ This ritual, then, combines cremation with the idea of laying the dead to rest for eternity on a bed in a house-like space. Archaeological corroboration for this custom is, however, not certain. Hittite “stone houses” have been identified in a number of places—a “shrine” on the Büyükkale at Boğazköy,¹⁵¹ a subterranean tomb at Gâvurkalesi,¹⁵² a building on the akropolis of Zincirli,¹⁵³ even a chamber of the open-air rock-cut

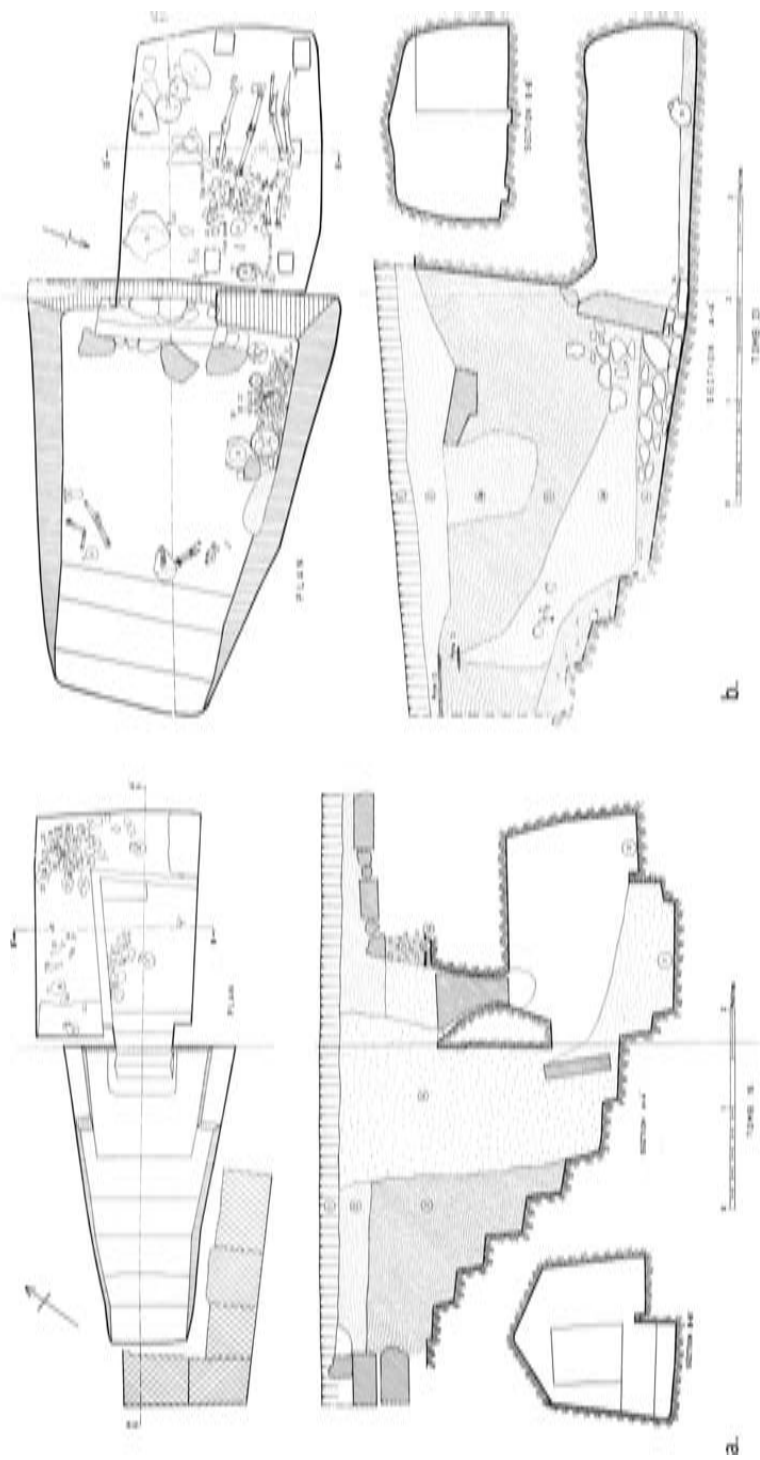


Figure 130. Rock-cut tombs in the Cellarka nekropolis at Salamis, Cyprus: (a) plan, elevation, and section of Tomb 16, from Karageorghis 1970, fig. XXIX; (b) plan, elevation, and section of Tomb 23, fig. XXXV. (Reproduced courtesy of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

sanctuary of Yazılıkaya¹⁵⁴—but these identifications are difficult to verify, since the texts do not offer any clues as to the appearance or construction of these “stone houses,” and none of the places identified as such have any evidence of beds. Still, the Hittite royal funeral texts establish the existence of these funerary concepts in Bronze Age Anatolia, however they may have been physically expressed.

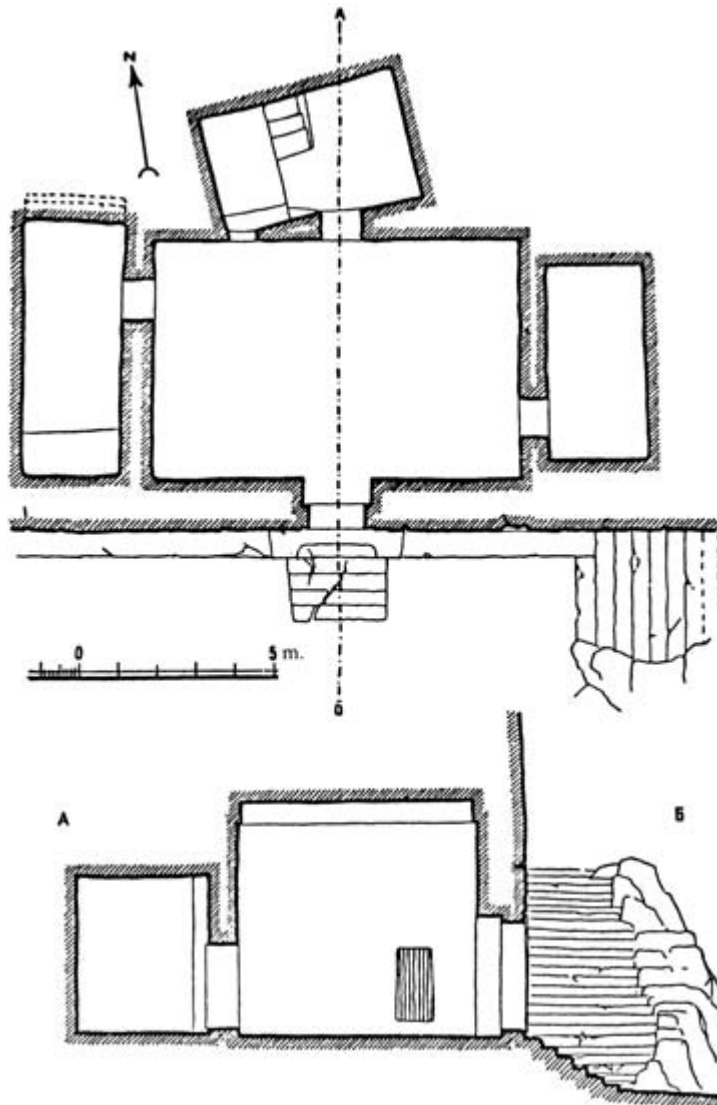
After the collapse of the Hittite empire, these funerary concepts found expression in other ways in the tombs of the major Iron Age cultures of central and eastern Anatolia: Phrygia and Urartu.¹⁵⁵ Both Phrygian and Urartian tombs have structural details that seem to reflect domestic architecture, and both also have yielded evidence for bed-like furnishings. The Phrygian material (presented in Chapter 2) consists of possible wooden beds and soft bedding materials in tumuli and rock-cut beds or couches in rock-chamber tombs. Evidence from Urartu is just as fraught with problems of chronology, since most tombs are cut from bedrock, and even more limited, since many Urartian burials were cremations. Many Urartian rock-cut tombs contain benches, but these could have been intended for the placement of cinerary urns or grave offerings rather than direct inhumations, as narrow dimensions or small, round depressions in some of them suggest.¹⁵⁶ Some of these raised platforms contain sunken cists or sarcophagi, seen as reflections of Assyrian influence by some scholars.¹⁵⁷ Others, however, have raised rectangular elements that seem to be pillow-like headrests (Fig. 131),¹⁵⁸ or raised lips/borders that separate bench surfaces into distinct resting-places.¹⁵⁹ Çevik, in his comprehensive study of Urartian rock-cut tombs, identifies such benches as “ölü yatakları” (funerary beds).¹⁶⁰ These are more common in single-chambered tombs than in tombs with multiple chambers and can occur singly, against the rear wall, or in continuous Γ- or Π-shaped benches. The architectural details of Urartian rock-cut tombs include “cornices” carved along the tops of chamber walls and lintels above doorways, sometimes with scalloped patterns that seem to replicate a series of projecting ends of round half-beams.¹⁶¹ Tomb entrances are thus thought to represent or recall palace façades, and the architectural articulation of interior spaces may recall domestic structures.¹⁶² The platforms or benches may also be related to the creation of an interior, house-like space within the tomb chambers, and niches for the placement of cremation urns or offerings probably also had domestic counterparts. Similar niches are seen today in village houses in central Anatolia, serving as all-purpose shelf-surfaces.¹⁶³

Although the dating of Urartian rock-cut tombs is uncertain, they are generally assigned to the eighth or seventh century, in accordance with historical dates for the kingdom of Urartu.¹⁶⁴ An Urartian inspiration for Phrygian rock-cut tombs has been proposed,¹⁶⁵ but there are important differences in the two tomb traditions. Shared features include recessed frames around tomb entrances and the presence of rock-cut beds or couches, though these are much more numerous and are given more structural articulation in Phrygia than in Urartu. The Phrygian tombs also display a more consistent interest in replicating wooden architectural forms in tomb interiors. Similarities have also been noted between Urartian rock-cut tombs and those in Jerusalem (in particular, cornice-like elements along the wall tops as well as burial benches; see, e.g., Fig. 132), but the relationship between these tomb traditions is uncertain and the direction of inspiration, if any, unclear.¹⁶⁶

It is possible that some elements of both Phrygian and Urartian rock-cut tomb traditions stem from earlier funerary concepts in Anatolia. The recent redating of the destruction level on the city mound at Gordion to the ninth century¹⁶⁷ narrows the gap between Hittite and Phrygian culture

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

Figure 131. Plan and section of Urartian rock-cut tomb at Van, Ussishkin 1993, fig. 197. (Courtesy of Prof. David Ussishkin, Tel Aviv University)



in central Anatolia, and new evidence suggests that reoccupation of Boğazköy/Hattusa in the Iron Age may not have followed a long interval of abandonment, as once thought.¹⁶⁸ In addition, material contact between Phrygia and Neo-Hittite/North Syrian states to the south and east is beginning to appear stronger, as more artistic borrowings, in both directions, are recognized.¹⁶⁹

Origins of the Reclining Banquet

Unlike the ideas of the banqueting or resting dead, which are found in many different eras and cultures worldwide and may be natural human approaches to death, the custom of reclining while

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

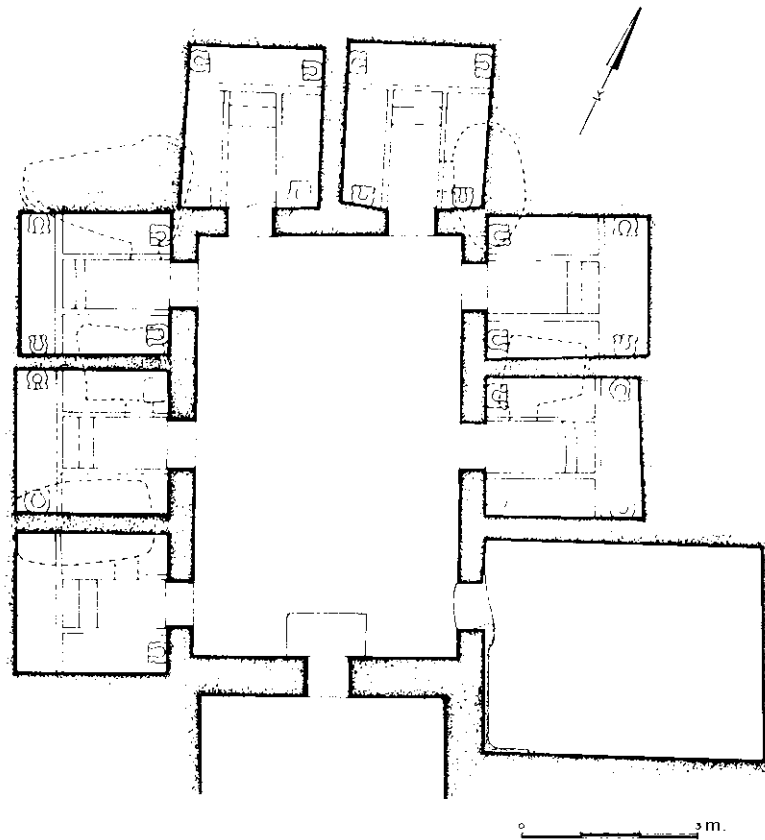


Figure 132. Plan of rock-cut tomb at Monastery of St. Etienne, Jerusalem, Ussishkin 1993, fig. 189. (Courtesy of Prof. David Ussishkin, Tel Aviv University)

dining is documented only for the ancient Mediterranean and culturally contiguous areas and does not seem to be a practical or natural human behavior, as those who have tried it (whether lying on the ground or on specialized furniture like *klinai*) can certainly attest. Even with pillows, it is uncomfortable to lean on one's elbow for a long time, and it is somewhat difficult to eat with only one hand. The very impracticality and limited distribution of this custom supports the idea that it originated in one area and spread to others as a distinctive if illogical fashion, much like the wearing of high-heeled shoes today. That it originated in the Near East has long been accepted by classicists, who list it among the many eastern fashions and styles adopted by Greeks in the Orientalizing period.¹⁷⁰ In recent decades, several scholars have tried to pinpoint a more precise location of origin in the Near East and have come to different conclusions. Reconsideration of this question will allow us both to clarify when the custom could have reached Anatolia and to investigate the role of Anatolian cultures in its westward transmission. It is also important to rethink the assumptions that have driven the construction of scholarly narratives about the development of this defining feature of classical cultures.

It is often assumed that the custom of reclining to dine stemmed from a nomadic lifestyle, where the portability and multifunctionality of household belongings are critical: one mat or cushion

placed on the ground could accommodate eating as well as resting and sleeping.¹⁷¹ Sitting on mats for meals on the ground might naturally lead to reclining to rest after the meal, and the reclining posture could then become the preferred mode for dining as well. Or, shedding modern bias, one could argue that leaning on one elbow with the legs stretched out to one side on a mat is more comfortable or more natural than sitting upright when resting directly on the ground rather than on furniture. The association of this practice with nomads in antiquity is suggested by Herodotos's description of royal Scythian burial ritual: the body of the king was placed on a *stibas*, a simple cushion or woven mat used for outdoor or cultic banqueting or as a camp bed.¹⁷² In classical Greece, dining on *stibades* was deemed "primitive" or uncivilized and was associated with certain cults.¹⁷³ Although it is not clear in Herodotos's description that the *stibas* was conceived there as a dining "couch," a fragment of the lost epic *Alkmaionis* associates it more directly with funerary banqueting.¹⁷⁴ The ritual described in this fragment for the funerals of ordinary Scythians is strikingly similar to that described by Herodotos for the burial of a king. Their embalmed bodies were carried around to different families and were included at banquets in their honor, with food set before them.¹⁷⁵ But the use of *stibades* by Scythians, whether in funerary meals or burials or in living banquets, does not make the practice of reclining to dine essentially nomadic. The fact that Scythian nomads did not evidently use furniture for their reclining banquets does not mean that the custom was in essence and in origin nomadic; they could have adopted it from neighboring cultures and adapted it to their own mobile needs. If reclining to dine is really the most natural way of eating on the ground, we should expect to find instances of the practice in at least some other, unrelated nomadic societies, but no cases have been documented outside the interconnected web of cultures surrounding the Mediterranean and their peripheries.

Recently, Matthäus has questioned the assumption of nomadic origins, citing the luxuries associated with the reclining banquet: "Luxurious reclining banquets with eating, drinking, music, poetry, and the use of aromatic oils" are more at home in "highly civilized city states" than in nomadic societies.¹⁷⁶ For Matthäus, the origin of the custom must be sought in Phoenicia, a theory that will be explored below. But first it is important to stress the implications this basic question of behavioral origin may have for understanding the significance of the reclining posture. If the custom grew out of an economical nomadic behavioral adaptation, then its adoption by settled cultures and its distribution as an elite fashion represents an interesting transformation of social referent. If, on the other hand, the reclining banquet was from the start associated with luxury, then perhaps that very luxury or indulgence was the point of reclining rather than sitting upright. Again, though, we might expect at least one of the many other cultures that have embraced luxuries to have independently discovered this luxurious affectation. And this raises another important question about the essential significance of the reclining banquet: what was it that made it luxurious?

Topper has recently argued that it was not the reclining posture itself but the use of specialized furniture (*klinai*) that made reclining banquets luxurious, based on the distinction between the austere meal on *stibades* in Plato's ideal city and contemporary symposia on *klinai*, as outlined in the *Republic*.¹⁷⁷ But the reclining posture, even stripped of material and culinary luxuries as in Plato's vision of the ideal city, does indicate leisure—the privilege of having time to relax over a long meal and whatever might follow. As Dunbabin reasons, "To lie down to eat and drink while others stood

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

to serve you was a sign of power, of privilege, of prestige.”¹⁷⁸ And Topper’s conclusion that Athenians projected the custom of reclining into the primitive past as a means of defining sympotic privilege for all autochthonous Athenians requires us to understand the posture itself as distinctive. Perhaps, then, the posture emerged not from nomadic practicality but as an essential part of a new kind of elite banqueting, one that was self-consciously luxurious—in other words, its appearance was not a natural human adaptation but an active construction of elite self-definition. A social motivation best explains its restriction to Mediterranean cultures connected with one another throughout the long span of Graeco-Roman antiquity. The symposium may not have been as strictly “elitist” as has long been thought,¹⁷⁹ but even in fifth-century Athens the reclining posture still carried elite connotations, and it remained a social privilege through the Roman period, to be broadcast especially by those to whom that privilege was noteworthy or new (for instance, on the grave monuments of freedmen and -women).¹⁸⁰ The gradual disappearance of this dining posture in Late Antiquity can also be explained by changing social conditions, as it came to be restricted again to “only the grandest figures” of the Byzantine empire, where by the tenth century CE it was viewed by outsiders as a “strange and alien procedure.”¹⁸¹

Another aspect of the reclining banquet that is sometimes overlooked but is made clear by many Greek symposium scenes as well as later Roman depictions of conviviality is its close relationship with sexual activity. As Roman moralists have long noted and as Murray has reiterated, “The seated banquet with food is much less well adapted to the pleasures of love than the reclining symposium.”¹⁸² Roller has recently identified “eroticism” as “one of the fundamental convivial pleasures.”¹⁸³ If an erotic element was present in the earliest reclining banquets, the reclining posture could have emerged in that context. It is important to keep in mind that one of the luxuries enabled by the reclining posture may have been, from the beginning, erotic pleasure.

Where, When, and with What Furnishings?

Where might this distinctive banqueting posture have originated? Fehr and Dentzer tackled this problem independently in 1971 and reached different conclusions.¹⁸⁴ Both assumed that the posture emerged in nomadic societies and was made fashionable on an international scale when it was adopted by Assyrian kings like Assurbanipal (Fig. 133), but Fehr’s nomads were the Iranian “Reitervölker” on the borders of the Assyrian empire, while Dentzer’s were Aramaeans who settled in the Syro-Phoenician region early in the first millennium.¹⁸⁵ For Fehr, Scythian details (such as drinking horns) in later Greek banqueting scenes are the material residue of the early origins of the custom.¹⁸⁶ He outlined a case for transmission of the custom via Scythians and Medes to Lydia, and thence to Greece, after the fall of the Assyrian empire in 611 and the rise of Iranian peoples to “great powers” of the Near East.¹⁸⁷ Dentzer, on the other hand, based his theory on archaeological and epigraphical evidence for the production of luxury couches in Syria and Phoenicia,¹⁸⁸ and the prophet Amos’s association of such ivory-clad furniture with reclining at feasts among the Samaritans: “Woe to those who lie upon beds of ivory and stretch themselves upon their couches . . . who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp and . . . who drink wine in bowls.”¹⁸⁹ This passage of Amos, probably written in the mid- to late eighth century BCE, is the earliest certain evidence for the custom of the reclining banquet anywhere.¹⁹⁰ The two different words used for reclining furniture here (*mith* and *ʿrs*)

refer to beds elsewhere in the Old Testament,¹⁹¹ but the context makes it clear that they are being used here for feasts. The distinction of various different words for “bed” and “couch” in the tribute lists of Assurnasirpal II suggests that there may already have been some specialization in luxury reclining furniture in the ninth century, with types made of boxwood, gold, ivory, or “ivory overlaid with gold.”¹⁹² It is notable that the cities that provided couches were located not in Phoenicia but in northern Syria and southeast Anatolia: Bit-Adini, Patina, Carchemish, and Bit-Zamani, the last an Aramaean settlement. But Assyrian depictions of royal banqueting continued to show the king seated or standing until the reign of Assurbanipal.¹⁹³

Amos’s denunciation of such luxury couches has been understood as a reference to the Phoenician *marzeah*, which involved feasting with the spirits of dead ancestors and some sort of ritual marriage and which elite Samarians may also have celebrated.¹⁹⁴ Banquet scenes on several “Phoenician” (or Cypro-Phoenician) bowls have been identified as illustrations of such feasts, with banqueters reclining on couches or on the ground in the open air, sometimes in erotic pairings (Figs. 134–37). Though these bowls may have been made not far from their findspots on Cyprus, their Phoenician style and inspiration, if not manufacture, situates them firmly in the Syro-Phoenician cultural milieu.¹⁹⁵ Textual evidence thus places the earliest banquet couches in Syro-Phoenicia, on the outskirts of the Assyrian empire in the ninth and eighth centuries BCE.

At the time of Fehr’s and Dentzer’s studies, the earliest known visual evidence for the custom of the reclining banquet was the mid-seventh-century relief from the palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, showing the king banqueting with his queen in an outdoor setting and often hailed as progenitor of the reclining banquet motif (Fig. 133).¹⁹⁶ The Phoenician bowls were known but had been dated to the seventh or sixth century, contemporary with and later than Assurbanipal’s relief. Therefore, they did not factor into Fehr’s or Dentzer’s analyses of origins, and Dentzer treated them as anomalous divergences from both the Greek and the Assyrian formulae, like independent iconographic offshoots rather than missing links. In the following decades, renewed interest in



Figure 133. Assurbanipal’s “Garden Party,” gypsum wall relief from the north palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, ca. 645. London, British Museum WA 124920. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

this class of material led to a reassessment of the bowls' artistic significance and their chronology, which has important implications for the documentation of the reclining banquet, as Matthäus has stressed.¹⁹⁷ In Markoe's thorough study of the bowls, a new chronology was proposed that pushed the tradition back to the eighth century, and the subsequent discovery of two Phoenician bowls in secure contexts at Lefkandi on Euboia has attested the wide circulation of such vessels as early as the ninth century.¹⁹⁸ The banqueting scenes on some of these precious metal bowls are now critical to our understanding of the origins and transmission of the reclining banquet as well as its social dimensions, since these bowls are inherently associated with luxury.

A silver bowl in the Cesnola collection, thought to be from Kourion and probably made on Cyprus, with a "king" and "queen" reclining on couches on either side of table loaded with fruit, is now dated to the late eighth or early seventh century (Markoe's Period III, 710–675), prior to the reign of Assurbanipal (Figs. 134, 137a).¹⁹⁹ The couple is attended by musicians, a cupbearer, and "votaries bearing offerings."²⁰⁰ Markoe reads this scene as an adaptation of the more common motif of a votive procession toward an enthroned goddess, with the deity here replaced by the two reclining figures.²⁰¹ A Cypriot inscription above the reclining woman is now read as Κυπρομέδουσα, or "she who holds sway over Cyprus," and it is unclear whether this title/name identifies a divine or a mortal personage.²⁰² Either way, the banquet probably reflects contemporary lifestyles and confirms the existence of the reclining banquet in the Cypro-Phoenician cultural milieu ca. 700 BCE.²⁰³



Figure 134. Fragmentary silver bowl from Kourion, Cyprus, ca. 710–675. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.4557). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

A somewhat later bronze bowl from Salamis in the British Museum, dated by Markoe to Period IV (675–625), shows a livelier banquet, with multiple figures (both male and female) reclining on couches (Figs. 135, 137b).²⁰⁴ Musicians and servants attend the scene, and drinking vessels abound; some of the figures are nude and/or embracing, and the legs of one reclining figure appear to kick in the air. The erotic context of the banquet has been noted in support of the theory that this banquet represents some version of the Phoenician *marzeah*.²⁰⁵ On Cesnola bowl 4555, also from Cyprus, an outdoor banquet shown on the inner registers, with a “king” reclining on a couch while his “courtiers” recline on cushions placed on the ground and the queen and other figures sit on chairs, is paired with a traveling scene in the outermost zone, where figures appear to recline on cushions in horse-drawn wagons, seemingly returning to the city from their *al fresco* repast (Figs. 136, 137c). This bowl had been dated by Gjerstad to the sixth century but now is normally placed in the middle of the seventh, and Matthäus has suggested that it could be as early as the late eighth.²⁰⁶

Matthäus has also identified banquet scenes on two fragmentary bronze bowls or miniature shields from the Idaean Cave on Crete, probably of the late eighth century and probably made on Crete by artists familiar with Phoenician traditions.²⁰⁷ One, now lost, showed the lower portions of two standing figures wearing long garments and the lower part of a low, rectangular piece of furniture with a curved, raised element on its right end; further to the left is the lower part of



Figure 135. Bronze bowl from Salamis, Cyprus, seventh century. London, British Museum 186 (1892,0519.1). (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb



Figure 136. Silver bowl from Cyprus, seventh century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, U.S.A., The Cesnola Collection, purchased by subscription, 1874–76 (74.51.4555). (Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image source: Art Resource, NY)

another piece of furniture: a broad leg with a small square panel on its front face, over a recessed, flaring foot (Fig. 138b).²⁰⁸ The item in the center of this fragment has been identified as a couch or *kline*,²⁰⁹ though its form is unclear: the raised endpiece curves in the opposite direction from those seen in Assyrian art and more resembles the curved leg of a table (cf. Fig. 134), but the space beneath it is filled with vertical hatching, as if to depict a solid or woven mass supporting an armrest and enclosing the cushion on the end (cf. Fig. 47).²¹⁰ The broad leg of the even more fragmentary item at the far left side of the fragment, called an “unidentifiable fixture” by Markoe, may in fact belong to a couch, as the concave indentations on each side at the bottom recall the leg form seen on the Kourion bowl (Fig. 134).²¹¹ An unpublished fragment from the same bowl or shield, according to Matthäus, shows the upper parts of two female figures similar to those seen in “ritual dances and ceremonial processions” on other bronzes from the cave and so strengthens an interpretation of this fragmentary scene as another banquet.²¹² The other fragmentary bowl or shield (Fig. 138a) shows part of a “different type of couch,” with slender legs terminating in animal feet, an upcurving end on the left, and a small stepstool beneath, similar to one on the bowl from Kourion; Matthäus concludes that here, too, the context was probably a ritual

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

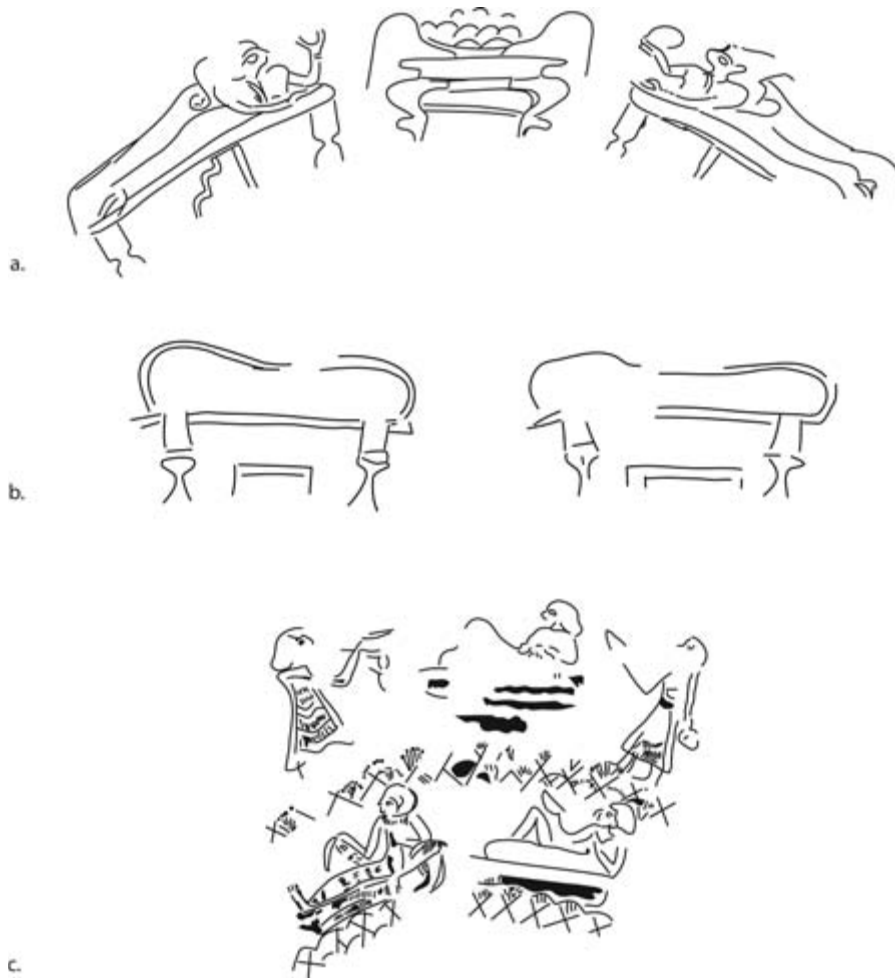


Figure 137. Details of reclining banquets on “Phoenician” bowls, eighth–seventh centuries: (a) fragmentary silver bowl from Kourion, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4557, after museum photo (see Fig. 134); (b) bronze bowl from Salamis, London, British Museum 186, after museum photo (see Fig. 135); (c) silver bowl from Cyprus, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4555, after museum photo (see Fig. 136). (Drawings by author)

banquet scene.²¹³ The evidence is admittedly fragmentary and the dating subjective, but it seems that Cypro-Phoenician bowls and related metalwork on Crete now provide the earliest visual evidence for the reclining banquet, contemporary with the earliest attestations of the custom in the written record.²¹⁴

What implications do these representations have for locating the origins of the custom and its dispersal? And where does this leave Assurbanipal, long thought to be the prime trend-setter? For Matthäus, the evidence from Cyprus and Crete indicates the means by which the custom of reclining reached Greece: it was adopted by members of the Cretan elite in the middle of the eighth century in emulation of Phoenician habits.²¹⁵ This may well be true, but it does not explain the East Greek associations of the couches that appear in the first symposium scenes produced in mainland Greece, about a century later, and it is at odds with a later tradition that Cretans were some of the

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

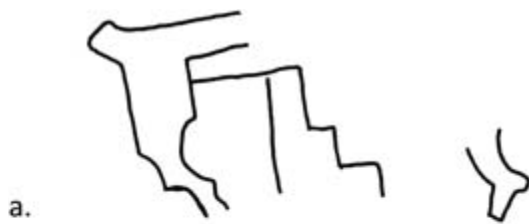


Figure 138. Detail drawings of possible banqueting scenes on bronzes from the Idaean Cave, Crete, eighth century: (a) Heraklion Museum, after Matthäus 1999, fig. 101; (b) once Athens, National Museum X 11764, 1a–b (now lost), after Kunze 1931, pl. 44. (Drawings by D. Weiss)



last Greeks to adopt the custom of reclining.²¹⁶ Nor does it explain the adoption of the custom in Assyria and the cultures of Anatolia, a primary concern here.

It is time to look more closely at the couch forms shown in these early representations of reclining banquets, beginning with Assurbanipal's "Garden Party" (Fig. 133). The couch on which Assurbanipal reclines is a type seen in earlier and contemporary Assyrian reliefs, with a distinctive C-shaped headboard or armrest at one end. The earlier examples are not clearly intended for banqueting: they are shown being prepared as beds in tents in military camps, in one case while a commander enjoys a seated banquet on the other side of the same tent (Fig. 139).²¹⁷ But in reliefs from the time of Assurbanipal, they are shown with vessels and tables close by, as if they might be being prepared for use in banquets.²¹⁸ In a fragmentary relief from Assurbanipal's palace (Fig. 140), a wide cauldron and an amphora-like jar flank the bed, the head end of which is placed on the right.²¹⁹ In the other half of the tent, a servant holding a small bowl aloft greets a man who seems to have just stepped in from the battlefield; in an adjoining tent, servants prepare meat. Both the pictorial context and the orientation of the furniture (with raised end on the right) seem to reflect a significant change in function.²²⁰ Textual evidence from Nineveh confirms the existence of this new fashion: one text describes a royal banquet, beginning with the "arrival of the king's table and couch."²²¹

But Assurbanipal's couch differs from the others shown in Assyrian art in a few other ways besides its clear banqueting context. Several decorative details, such as the rampant lions on the stretcher and the figured panels at the tops of the legs, represent an elaboration of the basic couch

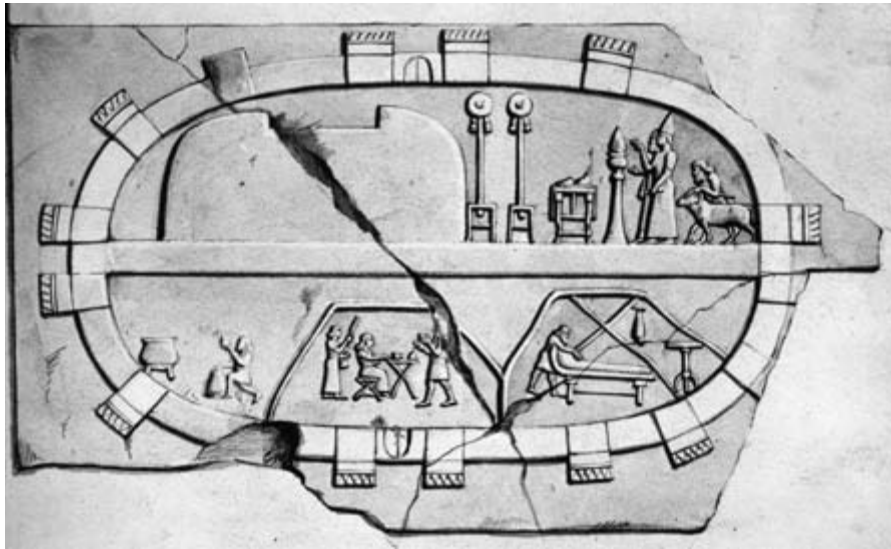


Figure 139. Assyrian camp scene: drawing of relief from Nimrud, from the reign of Tiglathpileser III, eighth century. London, British Museum, Or. Dr. I, 14. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

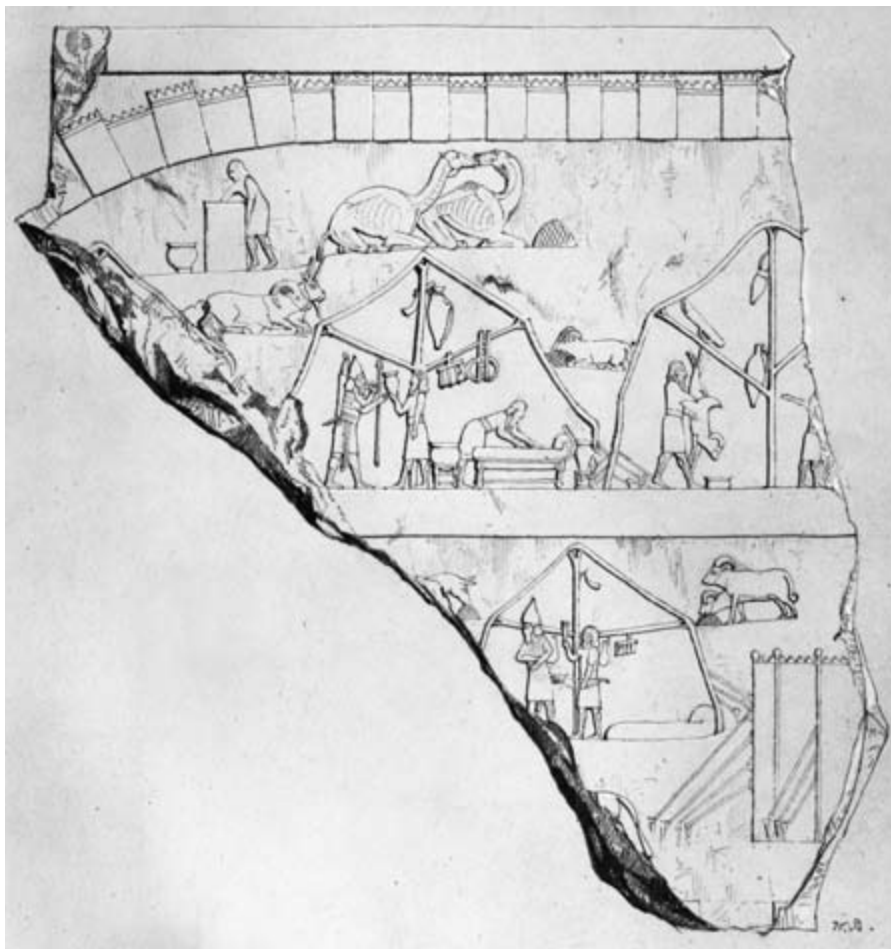


Figure 140. Assyrian camp scene: drawing of relief from the north palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, mid-seventh century. London, British Museum, Or. Dr. V, 26. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

type, fit for a king and perhaps for the context of the banquet—a victory celebration, for which the head of the enemy king suspended in a tree is a grim reminder.²²² By one interpretation, the vine arbor is the *qirsu* in which the Assyrian king was said to take a meal following war and at other “critical moments.”²²³ But the figured panels at the tops of the legs have often been compared to the Syrian “woman at the window” motif and taken as a sign of a Syro-Phoenician inspiration for the banquet. Since that motif is known from carved ivories that probably decorated furniture, the scene has been connected with the ivory-encrusted couches denounced by Amos.²²⁴ Barnett has even proposed that Assurbanipal’s banquet represents an Assyrian version of the Phoenician *marzeah*, with an allusion to a ritual marriage in the pairing of reclining king with enthroned queen.²²⁵ As Rehm has shown, however, the figural panels on Assurbanipal’s couch are actually quite different from the formulaic “woman at the window” motif and can be understood as an adaptation to the couch form of the supporting “genie” figures common in representations of Assyrian thrones.²²⁶ Even if one allows for some formal inspiration from the Syrian motif in this adaptation, there is no evidence that the *marzeah* ritual was ever adopted in Assyria.²²⁷

Similar couches in other contexts in Assyrian reliefs, however, strengthen the possibility of locating in Assyria’s western territories the source of the new fashion of reclining. Couches or beds with distinctive upcurving ends also appear in Assyrian representations of spoils confiscated from conquered lands, as early as the reign of Assurnasirpal II in the ninth century.²²⁸ In two reliefs from Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh, the goods being carried off from cities defeated in his western campaigns include beds or couches of this type, along with thrones or chairs and tables.²²⁹ Another, probably from the period of Assurbanipal, shows a similar bed/couch packed upside down in a cart, along with a table or stool, a large krater-like vessel, and other spoils from a Babylonian campaign.²³⁰ Piles of confiscated goods on other reliefs illustrating campaigns in southern Babylonia commonly feature this distinctive bed/couch, often accompanied by cauldrons and tables or stools as well as weapons and other items, sometimes in close proximity to piles of severed heads (Fig. 141).²³¹ In one case, the combination is particularly suggestive: before the couch is a footstool, and placed on top are a table, stool, and stood cauldron, while three more cauldrons, two jars, and other items (including weapons and quivers) hover above.²³² The couch, table, stool, krater, and footstool seem to make up a concise iconographic unit. The frequent association of these “beds” with implements of banqueting may underline their dining function in addition to their role as status or luxury items (probably made of or decorated with precious materials).²³³ The spoil reliefs thus complement Assurbanipal’s feast—the only representation of this type of couch actually being used for dining²³⁴—and attest to the wide distribution of the couch-table-vessel combination (at least in the western and southern parts of the Assyrian empire) at the time of the earliest documentation of the reclining banquet in Assyria. It is not surprising to find piles of war booty and piles of severed heads in close proximity, but it is tempting to wonder whether the confiscation of banqueting sets in particular may have carried some allusion to the “decapitation” of the leisure privileges of local elite and their transfer to the king.²³⁵ The visual association of this couch type with war spoils also charges Assurbanipal’s banquet with an additional element of victory, appropriate to its evident context.

But here we encounter a problem common to interpretations of iconographic programs at imperial centers (such as the tribute reliefs at Persepolis): to what extent are the material goods depicted



Figure 141. Gypsum wall relief from the southwest palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh showing spoils confiscated during campaigns in Babylonia, attributed to the reign of Assurbanipal, ca. 640–620. London, British Museum, WA 124782. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

by court artists representative of the subject areas with which they are associated in imperial reliefs? Are the couches represented in spoils scenes accurate depictions of the types of furniture confiscated from subject lands, or do they represent Assyrian artists' conceptions of what "couches" looked like?²³⁶ The presence of this type of furniture in the earlier camp scenes would seem to suggest that it was a native Assyrian bed type that took on the additional function of banqueting by the middle of the seventh century. But one of the fragments from the Idaean Cave (Fig. 138a) may provide evidence for this distinctive type elsewhere in the Phoenician sphere of cultural influence. Although the depiction of the couch is not complete, the rail begins to curve upward at the left, as if it was the beginning of an in-curving headboard. The animal-footed legs, however, differ from those seen on couches in Assyrian art, which normally have cone-shaped feet. Scattered earlier instances of beds with in-curving headboards suggest that the type may have had a much older and more generally Near Eastern heritage, and in at least one case an up-curved headboard occurs in conjunction with animal-footed legs. An Akkadian-period seal shows a woman lying face-up on a bed with curved headboard at left and bull's-hoof feet, a scene probably alluding to a sacred marriage.²³⁷ A Neo-Babylonian bronze or copper plaque with an exorcism/healing scene shows a sick man lying on a bed with curved headboard at the left and plain round or rectangular legs.²³⁸ And a couch with a

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

curved end closely resembling those on Assyrian reliefs occurs on a Syro-Hittite grave relief from Maraş, probably of the eighth century. In this case a veiled woman sits upright in the middle, holding a spindle, so the couch may here function more as a bed than a banquet couch, alluding to family wealth or possibly to marriage.²³⁹ Thus, while this distinctive type is certainly most well-attested in Assyrian art, it is not necessarily “Assyrian” in origin and seems to have a longer history than the custom of the reclining banquet.²⁴⁰

It would help to know more about what the “ivory-encrusted” beds of the Samaritans actually looked like.²⁴¹ While most Near Eastern ivory inlay plaques probably decorated furniture, there are very few pieces that can be definitively assigned to beds or couches.²⁴² One of the earliest archaeologically attested ivory beds comes from Late Bronze Age Ugarit (Ras Shamra) in Syria (Fig. 142), and its panels are thought to have decorated a vertical element such as a footboard on an Egyptian bed or the headboard on the later ivory bed from Tomb 79 at Salamis (see Fig. 129).²⁴³ Similar ivory panels found in storerooms at Nimrud may have decorated the headboards of beds or couches or, more likely, the backs of chairs, and they have been identified as products of North Syrian ivory-carvers.²⁴⁴ In any case, these vertical paneled “headboards” are very different from the C-shaped armrests on couches of the type used by Assurbanipal. The only certain instance of a bed or couch attested archaeologically in Assyria comes from Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud (Fig. 143). It evidently had a curved armrest overlaid with bronze, at least one leg sheathed with cylindrical pieces of bronze, and rails decorated with inlaid ivory plaques. The armrest differs from those on Assyrian reliefs in having a subtle S-shaped curve, more like later *fulcra* on Greek and Roman *klinai*.²⁴⁵ So on present evidence it is difficult to visualize precisely what type of “bed” Amos had in mind. And it is possible that even “beds” with vertical head- or footboards could have been used in banquet contexts: the Ras Shamra bed was found in a courtyard of the palace, along with the remains of a spectacular ivory-inlaid table, and both pieces may have originally been associated with a nearby pavilion (and discarded in looting immediately following the destruction of the



Figure 142. Ivory relief panels for head- or footboard from Ugarit (Ras Shamra), thirteenth century. National Museum, Damascus, Syria. (Scala / Art Resource, NY)



Figure 143. Remains of bed or couch from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser NE 26, eighth-seventh century, Reade 1982, pl. 8a. (Courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, formerly known as the British School of Archaeology in Iraq [www.bisi.ac.uk])

palace ca. 1185 BCE).²⁴⁶ Contemporary representations of banqueting from Ugarit, however, show seated banqueters.²⁴⁷

If we turn to the other early depictions of banquet couches, in “Phoenician” metalwork, we find other types that look forward to those later standardized in the Greek world. On the bowl from Kourion (Fig. 134, 137a), the couches have broad legs with concave indentations on each side in the lower portion.²⁴⁸ Concave indentations also occur at the bottom of the leg on the far left of the lost fragment from the Idaean Cave (Fig. 138b). Although these indentations are much lower and less elongated than those on the legs of later Type B *klinai*, the basic concept of undercutting the leg in the lower portion is comparable, and it may be that the inspiration for this feature of Type B *klinai* derived from Near Eastern models.²⁴⁹ The couch legs on the bowl from Salamis (Figs. 135, 137b) are of a different type, with bulging rounded moldings at mid-height, with the lower portion widening toward the bottom in an inverted cone shape (the opposite pattern appears in the cone-shaped feet of couches depicted on Assyrian reliefs: see Figs. 133, 141). This couch type has been compared to the bed depicted on the Balawat Gates,²⁵⁰ but the legs are comparable to those seen in Urartian art and also attested in the Persian era, in “Melgunov’s Barrow” in Scythia (Fig. 144) and on a relief from Ödemiş in Lydia (see Fig. 160c).²⁵¹ Although the flaring foot is quite different from the tapered lower portion of Greek Type A *klinai*, it is possible that the central bulge of the Type A profile drew inspiration from this Near Eastern type. The couch of the reclining “king” on Cesnola bowl 4555 (Figs. 136, 137c) is unfortunately not well enough preserved for us to understand its formal type, but it is significant that only the “king” reclines on furniture; his “courtiers” recline on cushions placed directly on the ground. This restriction to the “king” (as seen later in the Persian empire) not only underlines the luxury of specialized banqueting furniture but also demonstrates the coexistence of banqueting on the ground and banqueting on couches and so challenges the presumed chronological priority of banqueting directly on the ground and its assumed primitiveness

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

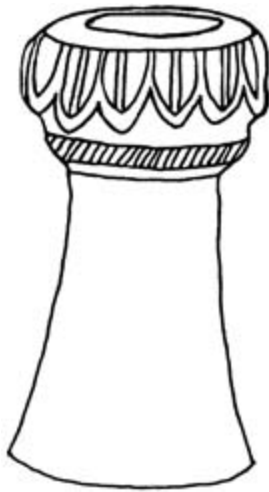


Figure 144. Drawing of silver furniture foot from “Melgunov’s Barrow,” Scythia (Ukraine), sixth century, after Barnett 1962, pl. 6. (Drawing by author)

or “nomadic” associations.²⁵² Here all the participants enjoy a leisurely, reclining banquet, but the king is distinguished from the others by having a high couch. In other words, there are gradations of luxury that correlate with social hierarchy. That other early Phoenician couches were relatively high is indicated by the presence of a short step stool in two of the banquet scenes on Phoenician bowls (on the Kourion bowl and on one of the fragments from the Idaean Cave, Figs. 134, 138a). It is also worth noting here that both seated and reclined banqueting are attested on “Phoenician” bowls.²⁵³ Even the banqueters represented on Syro-Phoenician ivory furniture inlays are always seated, and most of these ivories are attributable, if at all, to chairbacks rather than to couches.²⁵⁴

It is logical to assume that the earliest reclining banquets made use of existing furniture types, and that specialized furniture designed to aid the posture of reclining on one elbow (like *klinai* with raised armrests or *fulcra*) was developed only once the custom was well established. If the curved bronze piece from Fort Shalmaneser really does belong to an armrest and represents an otherwise lost Near Eastern tradition that served as the prototype for later Greek and Roman *fulcra*, it would be the first evidence for this kind of specialization. The C-shaped curved headboards of other “Assyrian” couches could serve equally well to support an elbow, but they were evidently used on “beds” long before the reclining banquet was conceived, and could just as well accommodate sleeping, with the end of a cushion curled up in the curved recess to provide extra cushioning for the head (Fig. 140) or with several cushions superimposed to fill the curved recess so that the head lies on top, as in the *prothesis* scene on the gravestone of a Persian from Memphis (Fig. 123).²⁵⁵

To recap before returning to the questions of transmission to Greece and Anatolia and of the “primitive” associations of banqueting on the ground, it seems likely that the custom of the reclining banquet emerged in Syro-Phoenicia and was subsequently adopted on Cyprus and Crete to the west and in Assyria to the east.²⁵⁶ Various couch forms are attested in the earliest representations and among excavated finds in the Near East, and it seems that at least some of these evolved from earlier “bed” types. While Dentzer thought the practice of reclining to dine

emerged among nomadic Aramaeans who settled in this region and then was popularized (and concretized with built couch form) by Assyrian rulers who appropriated it from subject tribes, there is no need to posit a hypothetical “nomadic” stage of development. Since the earliest written evidence associates the practice with the Phoenician *marzeah* and the earliest visual evidence now known is from the Cypro-Phoenician cultural zone, it is logical to understand the custom as a socially inspired habit, an expression of elite status and luxury, perhaps also connected with eroticism in a ritual context.

Transmission to the Greek World

As mentioned earlier, Matthäus finds in the early representations from Crete evidence for the critical role of eighth-century Crete in the transmission of this dining custom to Greece, despite a later tradition of Cretan resistance to the fashion.²⁵⁷ These later sources are admittedly all written from a non-Cretan perspective and may be tainted by a generalizing bias against Crete as a remote “backwater.”²⁵⁸ Still, archaeological evidence for dining in Archaic Crete is often closely associated with so-called hearth temples outfitted with benches (as at Dreros, Kommos, and Prinias). These have been identified as possible *andreia* (public dining halls), with narrow benches to accommodate seated dining.²⁵⁹ Recent excavations at Azoria have yielded a large civic building complex with a benched hall and associated food-preparation spaces, the best candidate yet for a civic *andreion*.²⁶⁰ So how can we reconcile this evidence with the hints of reclining banquets from the Idaean Cave? And if Cretans were the first Greeks to recline while dining, how can we explain the association of the standard Greek *kline* types not with Crete but with East Greece? For one thing, the presence of banqueting scenes on bronzes found in the Idaean Cave by no means indicates that the custom had been widely accepted on Crete, even if the bronzes were produced locally, as seems likely. These scenes indicate only that local artists were aware of the custom as a visual motif or that members of the local elite, or even resident Phoenicians, commissioned local works in emulation of Phoenician styles and motifs for dedication in this votive context. Moreover, our understanding of the Cretan *andreion*—as an institution as well as a spatial context—is still quite limited. Just as Crete has been seen as a “dead end” in the early development of Greek monumental sculpture,²⁶¹ the custom of the reclining banquet seems not to have become the norm in Archaic Crete.

Although Crete provides the earliest visual evidence for knowledge of the custom in Greece, the East Greek associations of the standard Greek *kline* types and of the symposion in general, along with the sudden bloom of representations in Greek art in the late seventh/early sixth centuries, suggest that the custom became fashionable among elites elsewhere in Greece about a century later, with the emergence of Archaic sympotic culture. But how early and from how far east did the inspiration for reclined banqueting come to Greece? And what was the role of Asia Minor, particularly Lydia, in this transmission?

Since the time of Athenaios, the absence of couches and of the reclining banquet in Homeric poetry has been noted, and it has come to be used as a *terminus post quem* for the adoption of the custom in Greece.²⁶² Since Homeric heroes sit on chairs (κλισμοί or θρόνοι) to dine, and since beds in Homeric poetry are referred to by the terms εὐνή or λέχος, never κλίνη,²⁶³ it has normally been assumed that the reclining banquet was unknown in eighth-century Greece, the most commonly

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

accepted date for the first written versions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In seeming confirmation of this theory, the rare scenes of banqueting in Geometric art show seated, not reclining, participants.²⁶⁴ Recently, however, several scholars have found subtle evidence for knowledge of the practice in Geometric Greece, and these arguments are closely tied with discussions about the origins of the Greek symposion and about whether reclining was an essential component from its earliest stages. Murray was the first to find material traces of a “sympotic life-style” in the eighth century, in the verses inscribed in Euboian script on a Rhodian drinking vessel known as “Nestor’s cup,” from a Late Geometric grave at the Euboian colony of Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia, just off the coast of Italy near Cumae, ca. 720 BCE: “I am the cup of Nestor, a joy to drink from. Whoever drinks this cup empty, straightaway the desire of beautiful-crowned Aphrodite will seize.”²⁶⁵ Murray has stressed how the verses jokingly juxtapose heroic and sympotic modes of drinking and allude to erotic arousal following drinking. For Murray, the prominent place of Aphrodite here “implies the arrival of the reclining couch” in drinking festivities; the fact that an erotic component was essential in the earliest evidence for this “sympotic life-style” supports a connection with the Phoenician *marzeah*; and understanding Phoenicians as the primary agents of the westward transmission of the reclining banquet helps to explain why evidence for a new kind of convivial drinking makes its appearance in Italy (see below) about a century before mainland Greece.²⁶⁶ The early presence of eroticism in the symposion also supports the idea that the reclining posture itself developed within a context in which sexual pleasure was one of its attendant luxuries.

More recently, Węcowski has proposed that hints of sympotic behavior can be found even in Homeric poetry, in the rightward (ἐπὶ δεξιὰ) direction of the serving of drinks as well as other activities, as in the contest of the bow in *Odyssey* 21.²⁶⁷ He argues that “the habit of doing things *epidexia*, in conformity with the circulation of wine, was self-evident to Homer and to his audience” and reasons that “the fact that he never shows the *symposion* in the heroic world could be considered as a kind of archaisation” or as a conscious suppression of a new, still somewhat controversial social institution.²⁶⁸ Other scholars have seen other, more general indications of sympotic “ethics” in Homeric depictions of feasting.²⁶⁹ This raises the question of whether reclining was an essential feature of the earliest symposia, and Węcowski would argue that it was not.²⁷⁰ But given the implications of the inscription on “Nestor’s cup” and the evidence now recognized on contemporary Cyprian-Phoenician bowls and Cretan bronze reliefs, there is no good reason—other than the absence of clear evidence, textual or visual—to doubt that some elite Greeks could have been reclining in the eighth century.

Similarly, Carter has argued that something like the Phoenician *marzeah* was known in eighth-century Greece, as a ritual performance context for Homeric poetry, but that it involved couches used as beds in funerary displays rather than as feasting furniture: “The Oriental couch appeared in Geometric art as a funeral bier more than a hundred years before we see it used for feasting.”²⁷¹ Rather than suggesting direct borrowing from the Levant, she argues that “in the metaculture of the Eastern Mediterranean, certain religious, social, and political structures occurred with similar forms in different regional cultures”; she even identifies, in Mycenaean tablets and frescoes, traces of a *marzeah*-like institution in Bronze Age Greece.²⁷² For Carter, the high

beds featured in Geometric *prothesis* scenes are signs of Near Eastern inspiration for these funerary displays. In her view, “the reason for the adoption of the Oriental couch as a funeral furniture was surely similar to the reason for its subsequent adoption as feasting furniture, because it was appropriate for aristocratic display at a warrior funeral. Its dual use in Greek society strikingly reflects the original context of the Oriental couch in a ritual feast, the *marzeah*, that sometimes (if not always) commemorated a cult of the dead. Analogously, the continued use of the *klinē* in funerary art suggests that, just as the idea of feasting had a place in the iconography of death, so a consciousness of the heroic and aristocratic dead was present in the iconography of the symposium.”²⁷³ This explanation, however, fails to acknowledge that in Greece the banquet couch and the bed were often one and the same piece of furniture, or at least so similar in form as to be virtually indistinguishable (thus the dual meaning of the term *kline*), and that the *kline* was thus inherently connected with death through the widespread association of beds with dying, death rituals, and even tombs, regardless of its possible use in *marzeah* feasts honoring the dead. And not only do the beds depicted on Geometric vases differ from later Greek *klinai*, as outlined in Chapter 1, but they also differ from what we know of contemporary Near Eastern couches.²⁷⁴ The presence of step stools in two of the Cypro-Phoenician banquet scenes does suggest that the couches were somewhat high, but their leg styles differ considerably from those seen in Geometric art.²⁷⁵ And there is only a tenuous formal connection between the ivory decoration of Near Eastern couches and that of later Greek *klinai*. Although Carter’s argument that Homeric poetry may have been performed in the context of aristocratic funerals that involved feasting, much like Phoenician *marzeah*, is compelling, her identification of eastern couches in Geometric *prothesis* scenes is problematic.

For Matthäus, the absence of the reclining banquet in Homeric poetry may be explained not only by archaizing but also by “place of origin: the coastal region of Asia Minor, at a distance from those cultural provinces of the Aegean, which were in close contact with Phoenicia at that early period.”²⁷⁶ But this reasoning, in turn, raises a central problem with Matthäus’s hypothesis of a Cretan role in setting the fashion of reclining while dining in Greece. Just as Murray noted for Italy in his discussion of “Nestor’s cup,”²⁷⁷ the visual evidence for the reclining banquet on Crete pre-dates its attestations in mainland Greece by about a century. Of course we should expect a gap between the first occurrence of a behavioral practice and frequent visual depictions of it, but there is another angle to the problem here: the strong East Greek associations of both the symposion, in the Archaic poetry that celebrated it, and the *klinai* specially designed for it.

By the end of the seventh century, the *kline* was known to East Greek poets as a location for drinking, dining, and luxurious living.²⁷⁸ While the earliest reference to the term *kline* occurs in a fragment of Alkman, normally dated to the late seventh century, subtle indications of the reclining banquet are found as early as the middle of the seventh century, in the elegies of Kallinos of Ephesos and Archilochos of Paros. The opening phrase of Kallinos fr. 1 (West), μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε, seems to situate this military exhortation in a sympotic context.²⁷⁹ Though often translated, “How long will you lie idle?” the verb κατάκειμαι may carry a more pointed reference to sympotic reclining.²⁸⁰ As Murray has suggested, “assumptions about the late arrival of the reclining *symposion* have unduly influenced” interpretations of this fragment as well as a famous couplet of Archilochos, fr. 2 (West):²⁸¹

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

ἐν δορὶ μὲν μοι μᾶζα μεμαγμένη, ἐν δορὶ δ' οἶνος
Ἰσμαρικός· πίνω δ' ἐν δορὶ κεκλιμένος.
[On my spear risen bread for me, on my spear Ismaric wine.
And I drink reclining on my spear.]

Various translated, these lines are often interpreted in an exclusively military context, as the (self-) portrait of a soldier enjoying his rations.²⁸² Murray, however, suggests that this is “surely an elegant sympotic distich, relying on the sympotic image throughout, and playing with the contrast between war and the *symposion*,” with “the final element as a witty *aprosdoketon*” and the general meaning of the whole being that “my spear is my (right to the) *symposion*.”²⁸³ Whatever the social implications of Archilochos’s pairing of this trio of activities with his “spear,” his clear reference to reclining while drinking (“πίνω . . . κεκλιμένος”) presupposes the existence of the custom.²⁸⁴ Alkman’s verses refer more directly to sympotic conventions, with the canonical seven reclining-places, food, drink, and even boys.²⁸⁵

κλίνειν μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τόσαι τραπέσδαι
μακωνιᾶν ἄρτων ἐπιστεφοίσαι
λίνω τε σασάμω τε κῆν πελίχναις
†πεδεστε† χρυσοκόλλα
[Seven *klinai* and as many tables around with poppy cakes,
linseed, and sesame, and honey cakes for the boys amid the bowls.]²⁸⁶

In Boardman’s view, “whether this is a Spartan wedding feast or a recollection of Alkman’s early life in Lydian Sardis, or a combination of both, we cannot say.”²⁸⁷ The later tradition that Alkman hailed from Lydia before settling in Lakonia may find confirmation in some of the details in his own poetry.²⁸⁸ Other lyric poets from East Greece allude to the luxurious comforts of the reclining symposion, in references to a “soft cushions,”²⁸⁹ “soft bedding,”²⁹⁰ or a “soft *kline*.”²⁹¹ A steady stream of references from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the sixth century in the works of Archaic poets associated with the East Greek world therefore situate the development of the reclining symposion and its place in the Archaic imagination in the eastern Aegean in the seventh century. It has been suggested that traveling East Greek poets who sang of the symposion probably introduced the idea to mainland Greece in the seventh century.²⁹²

As seen in Chapter 1, the archaeological evidence for the advent of the reclining banquet to Greece is largely pictorial, beginning with Early Corinthian vases of the late seventh century, such as the “Eurytios krater” (Fig. 26), followed shortly by Middle Corinthian, Lakonian, and Attic examples (e.g., Fig. 34).²⁹³ But these should necessarily have lagged behind the spread of the practice itself. Physical evidence for specialized dining rooms designed for *klinai*—with off-center doorways and/or low platforms for the placement of couches along the walls—is very slight before the Classical period.²⁹⁴ The dearth of domestic architecture in the archaeological record of the Archaic period may be partly to blame; or it may be that specialized (eventually standardized) dining rooms reflecting new habits of eating and socializing also lagged somewhat behind the adoption

of the custom. The term “andron” is not attested in Greek literature until the fifth century.²⁹⁵ Low platforms in some seventh-century houses at Perachora have been identified as prototypes for the *kline*-plinths seen later in Classical dining rooms,²⁹⁶ but scattered evidence for benches along the walls of Geometric-era houses cannot be certainly associated with reclined dining (and may just as well have been used for storage or for sitting).²⁹⁷ Recently, better evidence for the reclining banquet in seventh-century Greece has been identified in sanctuary buildings: in the Aphaia sanctuary on Aigina, ca. 650–600,²⁹⁸ and in the sanctuary of Dionysos at Iria on Naxos, ca. 625.²⁹⁹ These finds help support the theory that the earliest symposia may have taken place more often in sanctuaries, whether outdoors or in cult buildings (*hestiatoria*), than in domestic spaces.³⁰⁰ While seated banqueting seems to have continued in certain regions and certain political or religious contexts,³⁰¹ the reclining banquet had evidently become fashionable for elites in most parts of the Greek world by the end of the seventh century.

Anatolian Intermediaries

When and how, therefore, did the custom of reclining reach the cultures of Anatolia and the Greek cities of western Asia Minor? The earliest possible textual evidence for the custom in Anatolia is a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription on a Neo-Hittite grave stele from Kululu/Kaletepe, dated to the mid-eighth century, with the phrase: “on my bed(s) eating and drinking . . . I died.”³⁰² The “bed” is indicated by a pictogram that shows a bed or couch with an angled, raised pillow or armrest on the left, broad rectangular legs, and a low cross-rail (Fig. 145). The type is general enough to elude cultural classification (as, say, “Assyrian”) but specific enough to convey the idea of a bed or couch rather than a chair. Hawkins calls the monument a “verbal equivalent of the funerary repasts depicted on so many uninscribed tombstones,”³⁰³ but contemporary banquet scenes in Neo-Hittite art show diners seated on chairs or stools, not reclining on beds or couches.³⁰⁴ One shows a woman seated on an “Assyrian”-style couch or bed, but she is not evidently banqueting.³⁰⁵ Even the sixth-century stele from Harran discussed above shows a seated banquet, but in connection with a *prothesis* (or *prothesis*-banquet?) on an Assyrian-style couch.³⁰⁶ Matthäus takes the Kululu stele as evidence of “Phoenician cultural influence in this area,”³⁰⁷ roughly contemporary with the testimony of Amos. The persistence of the seated banquet as a visual motif in this region suggests,

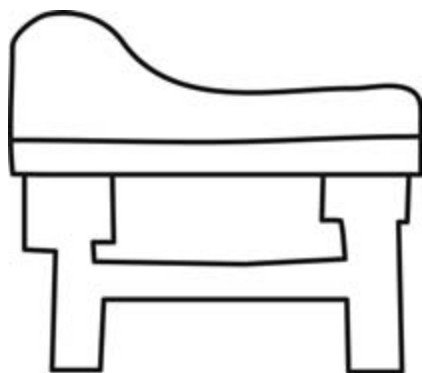


Figure 145. Drawing of Luwian hieroglyph on stele from Kululu (Kaletepe), Kayseri Museum, after Hawkins 1980, pl. 8b. (Drawing by author)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

however, that this dining fashion—if in fact the implication of reclining was intended—was not uniformly adopted there.

Evidence for Phrygian banquets comes in the form of material remains rather than visual representations or textual descriptions, so it is difficult to determine whether they may have been reclining affairs. The Tumulus P bed, with its vertical head- and footboards, seems more like a bed for sleeping than a couch for dining, but it was accompanied by a full banquet service.³⁰⁸ Though the “bed” from Tumulus MM is now rightly interpreted as a log coffin, a presumed lack of evidence for chairs or thrones in the accompanying funerary assemblage (Fig. 126) led one scholar to wonder whether the feast of “Midas” may have been a reclining one.³⁰⁹ Simpson’s reanalysis of the furniture remains from the chamber has, however, led to the identification of a backed chair and two low stools among the fragments from the northeast corner.³¹⁰ The presence of these items and the absence of evidence for couches do not necessarily mean that the feast that accompanied the burial of the king was not a reclining one, since it was evidently an outdoor banquet and most of the diners probably would have used portable mats. Given the low height of the tables from the tomb (0.48–0.55 m), they could have served diners either on cushions or on low seats.³¹¹ But whether the participants in the banquet reclined or sat upright on such cushions remains unknown. The identification of a fabric-covered “couch” from Megaron 3 on the city mound at Gordion is intriguing but less secure.³¹² This piece of furniture apparently stood “along the rear wall of the building,” and against the adjoining east wall were found fragments of other pieces of furniture, elaborately decorated with wood and ivory reliefs, including a wooden table with inlaid “mosaic” top.³¹³ The large room was also equipped with a wide assortment of vessels for eating and drinking.³¹⁴ Recent reanalysis of organic materials from the destruction stratum in which Megaron 3 and its contents were preserved has yielded new dates for the Gordion destruction in the late ninth century.³¹⁵ If in fact the Megaron 3 furnishings include a couch used for banqueting, this would constitute our earliest known physical evidence for the reclining banquet, anywhere. The existence of the custom in ninth-century Phrygia would not be impossible, especially in light of Phrygian connections with Syro-Hittite and Phoenician cultures,³¹⁶ but it is far from certain and must remain speculative upon present evidence. Later Greek sources placing the myth of Midas and Silenos in a sympotic context—consider not only the wine-fountain that made Silenos drunk but also their discussion of what is the “best thing” for man, a well-known sympotic trope³¹⁷—offer enticing support for this speculation but could be merely anachronistic constructions of Phrygian culture in the Greek imagination.

For Urartu, physical evidence more strongly suggests knowledge of the reclining banquet. As noted above, the bed or couch in the side chamber of Altintepe Tomb 3 was accompanied by a table laden with banqueting vessels (Fig. 125).³¹⁸ The exact form of the bed or couch is not known, since only the ring-shaped bronze fittings along the rails survive, but their spatial distribution at the time of excavation clearly indicated a long rectangular piece of furniture rather than a chair or stool. The tomb is dated by its contents to the early part of the seventh century, contemporary with the Cypro-Phoenician banqueting scenes and just about half a century before East Greek literary sources attest to knowledge of the custom in western Asia Minor. It is therefore likely that the symbolic banquet in Altintepe Tomb 3 was conceived as a reclining one and that at least some members of the Urartian

elite had adopted the custom of the reclining banquet by the early seventh century.³¹⁹ This may have been in emulation of the concurrent trend in Assyria or possibly through contacts with Cyprus, as some aspects of Urartian tomb design are comparable to tombs there.³²⁰ The pictorial evidence suggests that as in the Syro-Hittite realm, the practice may have coexisted with seated banqueting.³²¹ Sargon II's account of the sack of Urartian Musasir in 714 BCE lists tables and chairs among the booty, along with an ivory couch and a silver bed of the god Haldi.³²²

For Lydia, evidence for the reclining banquet prior to the Persian period is entirely indirect. There are no representations of banqueting in Lydian art until the Persian era, when it is difficult to sort out which elements are native and which are Persian (see Chapter 4). Lydian funerary inscriptions are also unhelpful, since all are later than the sixth century, and it is difficult to isolate the word for *kline* in our present understanding of the Lydian language.³²³ The assumption that Lydians were reclining to dine in the seventh and sixth centuries has been driven primarily by the strong complex of Lydian associations in sympotic imagery in Archaic Greek poetry and visual representations. The lifestyle of ἀβροσύνη (*habrosyne*, “soft luxury” or “delicacy”), for which Sappho declared her love,³²⁴ was closely associated by Archaic poets with Lydia: Xenophanes of Kolophon says that it was “learned from the Lydians,”³²⁵ Lydians are described as ἀβροδίατοι by Aeschylus,³²⁶ and those who enjoyed a soft, luxurious lifestyle could be called Λυδοπαθεῖς.³²⁷ Lydia in general occupied an important place in the Archaic image landscape. In addition to pointed references to Lydians and Lydian places in Archaic poetry,³²⁸ some of the material trappings of the symposion carry distinct Lydian associations. The turban-like *mitra* is described as “Lydian” by Sappho and Alkman,³²⁹ and the inventor of the *barbiton* lyre, Terpander of Lesbos, was said to have been inspired by harps heard at Lydian banquets.³³⁰ Of course, not all references to Lydians in Archaic poetry are positive: some recall hostile encounters with Lydian forces.³³¹ This is not surprising, since three generations of Lydian kings had tried to subdue cities on the Ionian coast, with varying degrees of success.³³² Lydians and the lifestyle of *habrosyne* so closely associated with them had their share of detractors, even in the sixth century: in a characteristic parody, Hipponax applies the term λυδίζουσα (“playing the Lydian”) to a woman performing an unusual lewd act on the speaker of fragment 92,³³³ and Xenophanes describes the luxurious ways (ἀβροσύνας) “learned from the Lydians” as “useless” (ἀνωφελές).³³⁴ So the adoption of Lydian habits and fashions by Ionian (and Athenian) aristocrats occurred in a complex social environment, along the lines of the “Persianisms” that Miller has observed in Athens after the Persian Wars.³³⁵ It is surely no coincidence that detractors of Lydian luxury were writing in the “middling” iambic/elegiac tradition while its supporters worked in the more “elitist” genre of sympotic lyric.³³⁶

The custom of reclining is never expressly related to the concept of *habrosyne* in literary sources, but the two are celebrated by many of the same poets, and it is surely significant that when we meet the poet Anakreon in Herodotos, he is reclining in Polykrates' andron on Samos.³³⁷ Figures dressed in eastern fashions (wearing long gowns, *mitrai*, and earrings, and often carrying *barbita* or parasols) on so-called Anakreontic vases made in Athens ca. 530–470 are usually shown upright (walking or dancing) rather than reclining, but this probably results from the fact that “dressing up” was particularly associated with the *komos*—the mobile revelry following a symposion—rather than with the time of reclining.³³⁸ In one case, “Anakreontic” revelers on one side of a krater are

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

juxtaposed with similar figures (also wearing *mitrai*) reclining on couches on the other side.³³⁹ *Mitra*-wearing banqueters also recline on several other Athenian vases, though this type of head-dress was “preferred for the representation of the more vigorous, or at least upright, activity of the komast.”³⁴⁰

Existing evidence, therefore, supports Xenophanes’ claim that the Archaic obsession with *habrosyne* had its roots in East Greek contacts with Lydia, and it seems likely that the luxury of the reclining banquet was part of this lifestyle, as first suggested by von der Mühl in 1926.³⁴¹ Alkman’s possible Lydian heritage strengthens the theory, since his is the first attested use of the word *kline* in Greek literature. Other indirect evidence suggesting that *klinai* were associated with Lydia comes in Herodotos’s account of the holocaust offering of gold- and silver-plated *klinai* dedicated by Kroisos to Apollo at Delphi.³⁴² Of course, Herodotos was writing in the second half of the fifth century, by which time Lydians had been closely associated with sympotic luxury in Greek literature for more than a century. It could be argued that the image of Kroisos burning *klinai* may be anachronistic, saying more about classical Greek perception of Lydia than about Lydians in the time of Kroisos; but given the sympotic nature of the many references to Lydia and Lydians in Greek poetry contemporary with and prior to the time of Kroisos, there is no reason to doubt Herodotos’s testimony. The unusual prominence of the imagery of reclining banqueters in the monumental arts of Ionia in the sixth century is also relevant here. Following the dedication of the Geneleos Group on Samos ca. 560 BCE, at least nine other monuments with representations of reclining banqueters were erected at Ionian sanctuaries, not to mention banquet scenes in architectural friezes (in stone as well as terracotta).³⁴³ Nowhere else in the Greek world, except perhaps Etruria, does the reclining male figure loom so large. The dedications attest to the importance of banqueting in the self-representation of Ionian elites and may be seen as analogues of the *kline*-tombs in neighboring Lydia. Again, the evidence is not direct, but it does confirm that the reclining mode, as a form of elite self-expression, was fashionable in western Asia Minor as early as ca. 560. Given how much else in Archaic East Greek culture was inspired by Lydia, it is likely that Lydia was the source for this fashion, too. The image of the reclining banqueter in poetry and the visual arts of the Archaic period was politically and socially charged with an affirmation of a lifestyle closely associated with Lydian luxury.

Miller has recently suggested that the Larisa banquet frieze, in particular, provides the closest reflection of Lydian banqueting just prior to the Persian conquest.³⁴⁴ A series of architectural terracottas from the palatial complex at Larisa on the Hermos, in the border zone between Ionia and Lydia, show pairs of banqueters reclining on Type B *klinai* in the manner of a Greek symposion (Fig. 146).³⁴⁵ But one figure holds a bowl on the tips of the fingers, in eastern fashion, while others hold a round-bottomed bowl and a cup with animal-head protome.³⁴⁶ Miller has recently proposed that these eastern elements suggest that some eastern fashions were already being adopted in Lydia before the Persian conquest, “in the context of diplomatic relations with Assyria.”³⁴⁷ The custom of reclining may have been one of those fashions.

As Franklin has recently stressed, it is important to understand that Assyrian cultural influence was felt in Lydia from the time of Gyges, as Lydians were among the peoples of the “tribute-paying periphery beyond the provinces proper.”³⁴⁸ He reasons that once the reclining posture gained social

Origins of the *Kline-Tomb*

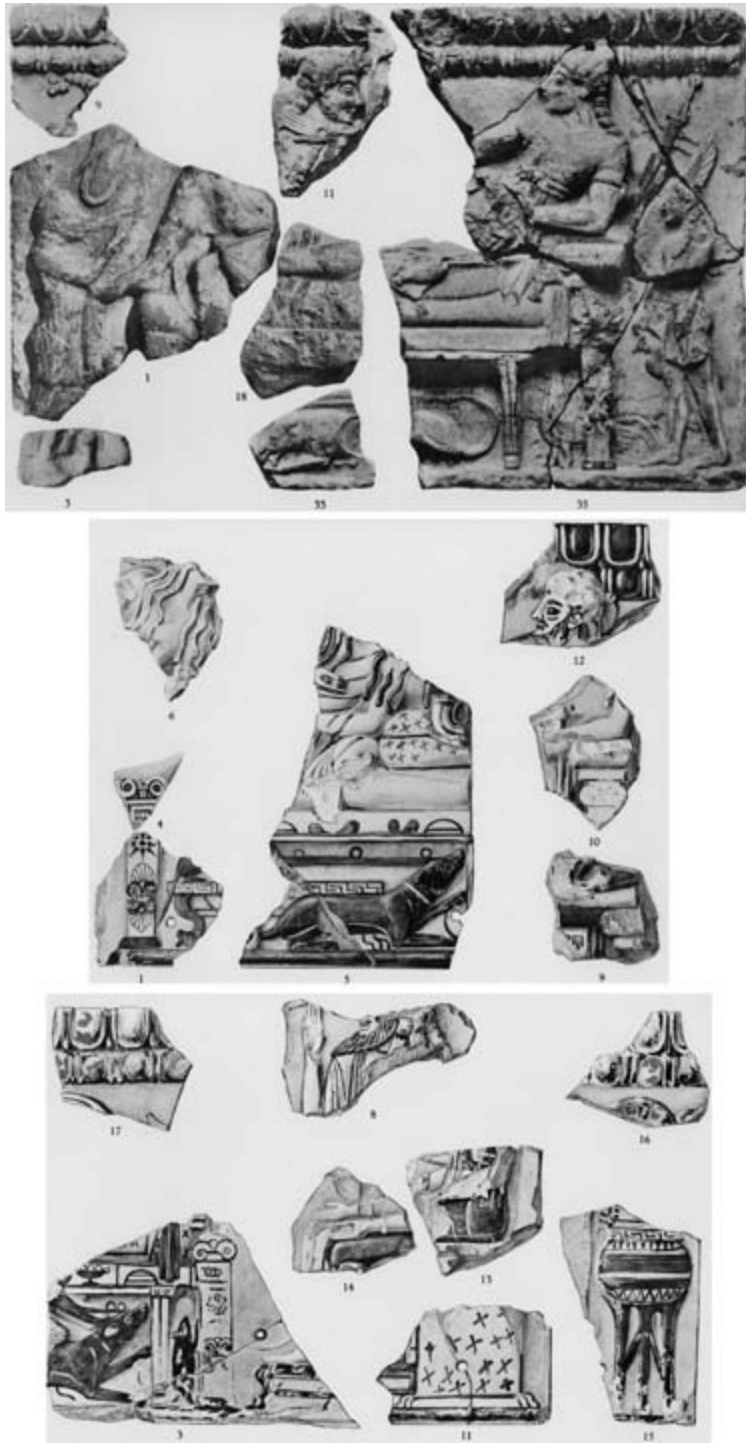


Figure 146. Terracotta frieze fragments with banquet scenes, from Larisa on the Hermos, sixth century, Kjellberg 1940, pls. 24, 28, 31. (Reproduced courtesy of the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

“cachet” through its adoption by Assyrian rulers, Lydian kings soon followed: “There is every reason to suppose that the Mermnad kings would have imitated this posture, invested with much more prestige by the Assyrian emperors than any Greek contemporaries or predecessors could have given it. And once reclining was practiced in ‘Sardis at the height of its wealth’ and witnessed by ‘all the *sophistai* of Greece,’ its mainstreaming throughout Hellas would have been heavily accelerated, to be complete by the middle of the sixth century.”³⁴⁹ In this scenario, regardless of the fact that Phoenicians likely spread the custom to Crete and Italy (where Greeks may have encountered it at key points of interaction like the island of Ischia),³⁵⁰ it was the Lydians who accelerated its cultural transfer to Greece. This theory best accounts for the probable East Greek origins of the main *kline* types. It also helps to explain why “the ceramic evidence coincides not with the great age of Levantine expansion in the ninth and eighth centuries . . . but rather with the Lydian acme.”³⁵¹ Franklin makes the additional point that the primacy of Corinth in the production of the earliest reclining banquet scenes in mainland Greek art may be explained by its connections with Lydia in the early Archaic period: Periander had an alliance with Alyattes, and it was the Corinthian Treasury that housed Lydian dedications at Delphi.³⁵²

One objection to this scenario might be that if Lydians adopted the custom of the reclining banquet from Assyria, we would expect Greek *klinai* to resemble the “Assyrian” type of couch in some way. Instead, the Type A and B schemes that arose in Ionia in connection with the flourishing of Archaic sympotic culture share more features with the couches represented on “Phoenician” bowls found on Cyprus and Crete and with Phrygian stool legs.³⁵³ Perhaps the eastern couch types attested visually on Crete were also known to craftsmen in western Asia Minor, who created the Type A and B *kline* schemes there to meet the needs of reclining symposiasts in the seventh century. Of course, none of the many different cultures of the eastern Mediterranean existed in a vacuum in the seventh century. As noted above, there is good evidence for Phoenician contacts with Anatolia during this period as well, and it is possible that the popularity of the reclining banquet among elite diners in western Asia Minor had as much to do with cultural interactions with Phoenicians and/or Phrygians as with Assyrians. Cypriot connections are particularly strong in Ionia and are also evident on Naxos, where one of the earliest banquet halls in Greece has recently been identified.³⁵⁴ The similarity of the couch legs depicted on the Phoenician bowl from Salamis to throne legs in Urartian metalwork, as noted above, suggests a broad sharing of forms among cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia in the eighth century.

Summary

To sum up this lengthy and digressive discussion of the origins of the reclining banquet and relate it to some of the conclusions made earlier, it seems most likely that the custom first emerged as a self-conscious posture of luxury within the Syro-Phoenician realm, perhaps in connection with *marzeah* feasting. By the end of the eighth century, it had spread along with Phoenician wine culture to certain parts of Greece (Crete, Euboea?) and Italy (see below), and by the time of Assurbanipal, in the middle of the seventh century, it had been appropriated by Assyrian rulers. Iron Age Anatolian cultures may possibly have learned of the custom through contacts with Phoenicians or Assyrians (or both), though there is no certain evidence for the custom in either Phrygia or Urartu, and the

seated banquet persisted on Syro-Hittite reliefs through the seventh century, despite the implication on the stele from Kululu that the custom of “eating and drinking” on a “bed” was known in this area in the eighth century. It is not until the era of the Mermnad kings of Lydia in the seventh and early sixth centuries that the custom was more widely celebrated in Greece by poets and artists in the context of the symposion. Although Lydians certainly did not invent the reclining banquet, they seem to have been instrumental in its popularity within elite circles of Archaic Greece. The development of the two main *kline* types in Miletos and Chios around the same time must be understood against this background. Like the custom of reclining itself, their ultimate inspirations lie in Near Eastern couches that had been used in *marzeah* and similar feasts for centuries, but they are products of East Greek cultural interactions with Lydia.

In this new narrative of the origins of the reclining banquet—admittedly a theoretical construction based on current evidence—the posture is inherently connected with luxury and eroticism rather than nomadism and primitivism. This change of perspective has important implications for understanding the significance of reclining directly on the ground (on *stibades*) in Greek cult banqueting, usually understood as “an old and natural custom.”³⁵⁵ It has often been assumed that *al fresco* dining without couches in religious contexts was meant to recall a primitive or primordial era. *Stibades* were often not merely placed on the ground; they were composed of plant materials rather than soft cushioning, and certain plants were associated with specific cult contexts: ivy for Dionysos, *lygos* for Hera on Samos and for Demeter at the Thesmophoria in Athens.³⁵⁶ The *stibades* imagined for the banquet in the ideal city in Plato’s *Republic* are strewn with smilax and myrtle.³⁵⁷ How can these primitive associations be reconciled with the inherent luxury of reclining and its origins in elite, rather than nomadic, social contexts? Topper’s recent reassessment of Athenian images of banqueters reclining directly on a groundline or on an intervening cushion provides a useful, if unintentional, means of rethinking the associations of “primitive” cult dining in classical Athens. Although her argument that the reclining banquet was perceived in classical Athens as neither foreign nor new but rather as birthright for autochthonous Athenians is problematic in several ways,³⁵⁸ her point that this primitive ideal may have been wholly constructed in fifth-century Athens is important. Whether or not all the vases Topper discusses actually support or reflect this construction, it seems that reclining on the ground came to represent an *imagined* “primitive” phase of the reclining banquet. The use of plant materials for *stibades* in Greek religion may be understood as part of this construction while also being connected with ritual symbolism relevant to particular cultic contexts.

KLING-BURIAL AND LYDIA

The funerary and cultural elements that intersect in the “*kline*-tomb concept” seem to converge in Anatolia in the eighth to sixth centuries. With the advent of the reclining banquet at least by the seventh century, the stage was set for the combination of these elements in funerary assemblages presenting the deceased as a reclining banqueter. A case can be made for the essential role of Lydia in the genesis of this tomb type and its initial distribution through western Anatolia, though again evidence from Lydia itself is lacking before the sixth century. The earliest datable Lydian tombs that certainly held *klinai* were made in the first half of the sixth century. While earlier Phrygian and

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

Urartian tombs held burial beds and one Urartian tomb even held something that appears to have been a banquet couch, the earliest datable instances of burial *klinai* also belong to the sixth century. The Phrygian rock-cut tombs presented in Chapter 2 are admittedly difficult to date, but scholarly consensus now places them generally in the Middle Phrygian era. Those that contain Type B *klinai* probably date to the sixth century and to the period of Lydian domination in Phrygia, evidenced at Midas City by finds of Lydian pottery.³⁵⁹ The Middle Phrygian phase of settlement at Midas City, with which the *kline*-tombs there are associated, has recently been connected with Lydian domination in the area under Kroisos, and its demise attributed to the Persian conquest.³⁶⁰ The possible inlaid Type B *klinai* from Gordion can also be understood against the background of eastward Lydian expansion,³⁶¹ while westward Lydian contacts may explain the Lydian affinities of the Belevi tumulus near Ephesos (Cat. 63).³⁶² The East Greek, possibly Milesian, origins of Type B *klinai* are also relevant here, since Miletos allied with Alyattes after several unsuccessful Lydian attempts to conquer the city and was finally subdued by Kroisos, who reportedly also courted the Branchidai at Didyma.³⁶³ Lydia was therefore closely connected with the probable place of origin of the Type B couch and seems to have been instrumental in the distribution of the type farther inland in Anatolia. Although we can only speculate whether Lydia could have been a place of manufacture for luxury *klinai*, it is interesting that Lydian woodworkers are listed in Dareios's Foundation Charter at Susa, along with Sardinian and Ionian stonecutters.³⁶⁴

If we look even further to the west, we can find support for the "Lydian-ness" of *kline*-burial in Athens as well, in the evidence for inlaid *klinai* in the Kerameikos, ca. 560–540 (Figs. 43–44). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the graves that held *klinai* contained few traces of Attic pottery but numerous *lydia* and "Samian"-type *lekythoi*. The strong eastern character of the grave goods has led several scholars to assign the best-known of these graves (the principal burial in the South Mound, in which the ivory and amber *kline* decoration was best preserved) to an East Greek ambassador.³⁶⁵ Houby-Nielsen has further proposed that similar burials in Mound G belonged to another resident East Greek envoy and his sympotic *hetaireia*.³⁶⁶ She argues that their grave assemblages, including burial *klinai*, were meant to express a sense of *truphē* (the luxurious lifestyle that classical authors associated with Lydia), which the tomb occupants strove to emulate in death as in life.³⁶⁷ While beds had long been essential in funerary ritual and iconography in Athens, and *protheseis* on *klinai* are well attested in Attic imagery of the sixth century, burial of the *kline* along with the corpse is unattested archaeologically in Attica aside from these graves, though the fifth-century inscription from Keos banning the custom reveals that it must have been more widely practiced.³⁶⁸ *Kline*-burials are found nowhere else in Archaic Greece and do not again appear there until the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods.³⁶⁹ It could be argued that the Kerameikos *klinai* functioned more as *prothesis-klinai* than as banquet couches, since the associated pottery shapes are largely oil containers, but *lydia* and *lekythoi* are also found in great abundance in Lydian graves, often together with banqueting equipment, and perfumed unguents may have been an integral part of "Lydian-style" banqueting.³⁷⁰ And even in Lydia, funerary *klinai* were probably multivalent, as stressed in the conclusions of Chapter 2. The Type B *klinai* included in sixth-century tombs at Numana in Picenum and Grafenbühl in Germany are not directly explained through Lydian connections (and only the one from Grafenbühl may possibly have been used as a burial receptacle), but they may be seen as

more general indicators of the importance of luxury *klinai* and banqueting in “international” elite identity construction in the Late Archaic period.³⁷¹

EXCURSUS: ETRUSCAN TOMBS AND THE RECLINING BANQUET IN ETRURIA

The Etruscan elite certainly participated in this trend, which fit well with earlier Italic traditions: burials on beds in house-like tombs and representing the dead as banqueters. Given the formal similarities of some Etruscan and Lydian funerary beds and *klinai*, as discussed in Chapter 2, this Etruscan tradition deserves special attention here. Burials on beds are known in Etruria from the early seventh century.³⁷² Most are cut directly from bedrock, but a few of the earliest are composed of metal or wood or built from stone.³⁷³ The most famous of these is the bronze bed from the “vestibule” of the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere (Fig. 24). It is unclear whether this bed served as a burial location, but associated finds lend it a symbolic significance connected with the *prothesis*: according to some accounts, around forty bucchero figurines of mourning figures were found surrounding the bed.³⁷⁴ Its form is comparable to that of the beds depicted in some *prothesis* scenes in Greek Geometric art. Remains of metal beds have also been discovered in early Etruscan fossa tombs, in some cases associated with skeletal remains and so clearly burial places.³⁷⁵ Beds composed of stone slabs on stone supports are found in built chambers of tumuli at Vetulonia and Populonia from the second half of the seventh century.³⁷⁶ Some have legs carved to replicate turned wooden forms.³⁷⁷ More numerous are rock-cut varieties in southern Etruria. According to Steingraber’s comprehensive study of Etruscan furniture, from the seventh century alone there are 67 Etruscan tombs with rock-cut beds, followed by 68 from the first half of the sixth century, and 58 from the second half.³⁷⁸ Since the publication of Steingraber’s work in 1979, more Etruscan tombs with rock-cut beds have been discovered or published, so the numbers must now be even higher.³⁷⁹

The most important and yet most difficult question is whether Etruscan burial beds were conceived as banquet couches, beds, or both. Trends in the spatial arrangement of Etruscan rock-cut burial beds may shed light on their symbolic function. At Caere, most chambers are equipped with pairs of beds, one along each side wall. Though these are often carved in a continuous Π-shaped shelf, the rear portion is not usually set off from the sides as a third bed perpendicular to the two side beds (as in Phrygia and Lydia) but rather is left as an unarticulated shelf between or behind the ends of the two side beds (usually the head end, as is evident from specially carved pillow-like elements or arced depressions; see Fig. 147).³⁸⁰ Another difference, then, is orientation: in multi-couch tombs in Anatolia, the head ends of the side couches are most frequently placed toward the door rather than toward the rear of the chamber. Some funerary beds at Caere have raised head- and footboards resembling the ends of a sarcophagus with gabled lid and so have been called “sarcophagus-beds.” These are often paired with more typical beds, with the sarcophagus-bed usually occupying the right side. Mengarelli suggested long ago that “sarcophagus-beds” may have been reserved for female burials, while the regular beds (or couches) were reserved for men.³⁸¹ He based this theory on limited finds of grave goods associated with each type of burial receptacle and on the assumption that “*klinai*” were more appropriate for men—but this assumes also that the type of furniture represented was meant to be understood as a dual-function bed/couch rather than just a bed. Even if this assumption is wrong, the frequent pairing of these two types, and of Etruscan funerary beds

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

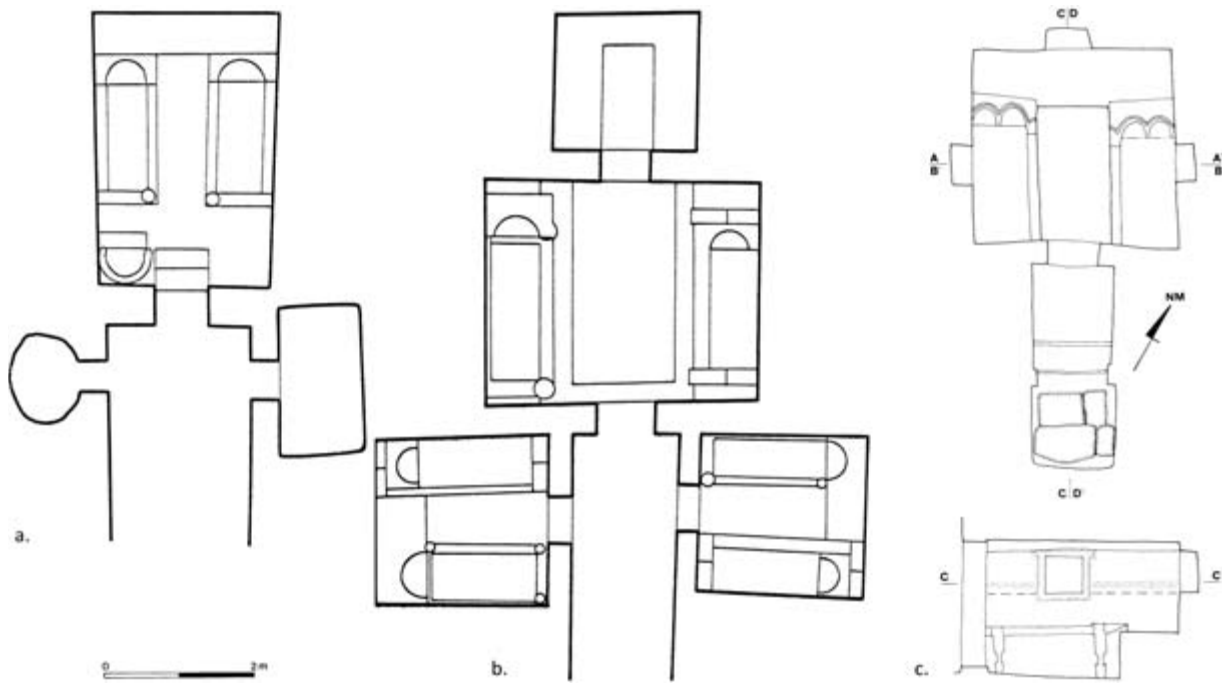


Figure 147. Plans and section of Etruscan rock-cut tomb chambers at Caere: (a) Banditaccia 26, Bugli 1980, 247; (b) Monte Abatone 154, p. 195; (c) Laghetto II 290, p. 155. (© Photoservice Electa)

in general, seems to suggest an emphasis on couples and may possibly be connected to nuptial symbolism: the burial of husband and wife together in their own chamber of a multi-chambered family tomb. These furnishings thus seem to have been conceived primarily as paired beds rather than as banquet couches.

When can Etruscan burial beds be considered *klinai*? By the end of the sixth century, when reclining banqueters had become standard in Etruscan funerary imagery—in tomb paintings and grave reliefs as well as on sarcophagi³⁸²—some tomb arrangements at Caere began to show an interest in the conventions of the reclining banquet, with beds (or sarcophagi) lined up end to end along tomb atria in the manner of *klinai* in an andron.³⁸³ Paired arrangements, however, continued to be the norm for the smaller burial chambers reached from these atria. In sixth-century tomb chambers at Tarquinia, however, continuous Π-shaped benches or chambers without any built-in beds are more common than those with paired arrangements. The Π-shaped arrangements are either completely plain or have three burial positions articulated, as in many Anatolian rock-cut tombs. Similar arrangements with plain Π-shaped benches are found in Archaic tombs of the Ferento-Acquarossa nekropolis, where the burial positions are indicated by intact burials; notably, the heads of the individuals in the rear positions were placed on the right, while those on the side couches were oriented toward the rear.³⁸⁴ Chambers without built-in beds or benches may once have held wooden

furnishings, and some have cuttings in the floor suggesting their presence, but it is impossible to determine whether these held the legs of wooden beds, couches, or coffins, and similar cuttings are found on the surfaces of rock-cut benches in other Tarquinian tombs, of both the paired and the II-shaped kind.³⁸⁵

Etruscan funerary beds do not often have carved legs, but in some cases relief details of the formulaic Type A or B schemes link them formally with Greek or Anatolian *klinai*. For instance, the front face of a burial couch at Cortona was decorated with Type B legs in relief, as well as kneeling mourners shown beneath the rail (Fig. 148).³⁸⁶ This tomb has been dated by Prayon to the late seventh century on the basis of his tomb typology, but the style of the *kline* and the mourning figures suggest a sixth-century date.³⁸⁷ All other examples of Type B funerary *klinai* in Etruria come from the sixth century, and the earliest Type B *klinai* in Etruscan representational art are those on a terracotta frieze from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), ca. 575 BCE (Fig. 149a).³⁸⁸ Type A legs are also rarely articulated on Etruscan funerary beds, though Type A *klinai* are by far the most common couch type depicted in Etruscan reliefs and wall paintings.³⁸⁹ Therefore it is not certain that Etruscan burial beds were conceived as *klinai* until the sixth century, and it seems likely that these represent an adaptation of an earlier Etruscan tradition of bed-burial. This earlier tradition may have been connected with or be explained by a general conception, as in Anatolia, of the tomb as a house—an idea that found expression in Iron Age Italy in the form of hut-shaped funerary urns.³⁹⁰

This question of whether Etruscan burial places were conceived as beds or couches hinges also on their chronology relative to the introduction to Italy of the custom of the reclining banquet. On present evidence it seems that the custom was known in Etruria at least by the last quarter of the seventh century. Possibly the earliest visual evidence for the reclining banquet there is the reclining figure on the lid of a cinerary urn from the Tolle nekropolis of Chianciano Terme near Chiusi, ca. 630–620.³⁹¹ Though the figure is not engaged in eating or drinking, the posture of leaning on the left elbow is charged with banqueting significance, and the presence of the motif in this location on an urn lid may be seen as a development from a preexisting tradition of banqueting imagery in



Figure 148. Stone slabs from the front of an Etruscan funerary *kline* at Cortona, Tomb A of the tumulus of Camucia, second half of sixth century. Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, Cortona. (Photo: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Art Resource, NY)

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

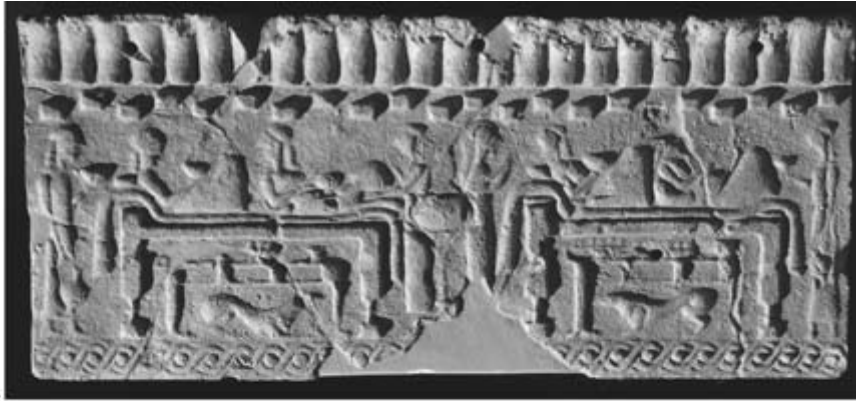


Figure 149. Etruscan banquet scenes: (a) terracotta revetment plaque from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), ca. 575; (b) Tarquinia, Tomb of the Leopards, ca. 480–470, detail of painting on rear wall. ([a] Nimatallah / Art Resource, NY; [b] Scala / Art Resource, NY)



funerary art, best illustrated by the sculptural ornament on the lid of a mid-seventh-century urn from Montescudaio near Volterra, with a seated banqueter and attendant.³⁹² Representation of the dead person as a seated banqueter is also implied in early Etruscan funerary assemblages consisting of ash urns placed upon thrones or chairs with tables and vessels before them, also from the region of Chiusi.³⁹³ Before the discovery of the Chianciano Terme urn, it was commonly assumed that Etruscans adopted the custom of the reclining banquet from Ionians, since the earliest evidence then known was the terracotta banquet frieze from Murlo, ca. 575 (Fig. 149a).³⁹⁴ Its unconventional

direction was understood as a sign of the artist's unfamiliarity with the behavioral convention (or with the technique of impressed decoration).³⁹⁵ And there has been a tendency to connect the emergence of the reclining banquet in Etruria with a supposed influx of Ionian immigrants in the wake of westward Lydian expansion under Alyattes in the early sixth century and following the Persian invasion of Asia Minor and the fall of Sardis in the middle of the sixth century.³⁹⁶ But the visual evidence now pre-dates the sixth century. Traces of the custom have been identified in Italy even before the Chianciano Terme urn, in late eighth- or early seventh-century tombs in Latium with drinking cups found in the left hands of skeletons.³⁹⁷ While the supposition that these tomb arrangements must represent reclining banqueting is by no means certain, they do suggest that wine consumption was an important aspect of elite identity at this time, and associated Phoenician material (such as the Phoenician amphora from Castel di Decima Tomb 15) points to the likeliest origin for the newly fashionable wine culture.³⁹⁸ It is worth recalling that the Late Geometric "cup of Nestor," understood by many to be the earliest physical evidence for the Greek symposium, comes from Pithekoussai, where Phoenicians and eastern Greeks probably interacted with native Italians.³⁹⁹ The custom of the reclining banquet was most likely first introduced to Italy by Phoenicians along with their wine culture,⁴⁰⁰ and aspects of this lifestyle were probably adopted at different times by different elite populations of Italy. But only in the sixth century, possibly in connection with Ionian immigration, did the standard Greek *kline* types come to be used and represented in Italy.

Even when Greek *kline* forms are clear, Etruscan banquet scenes have their own particular character and must be understood as a local expression of a wider funerary and cultural phenomenon. In addition to the presence of women who seem to be wives rather than hetairai,⁴⁰¹ another detail that distinguishes Etruscan banquet scenes from contemporary ones in Greece is the way the *kline* cloths or coverlets are shown with their ends hanging over the short sides of the *kline* (Fig. 149), rather than covering the ornament on the front rail (or being omitted, as is usual on Greek vases of the second half of the sixth century and later).⁴⁰² While the couch types are Greek, the accoutrements, activities, participants, and in some cases the settings (outdoors or under tent-like awnings) are particular to Etruria. Some of these elements may be understood in connection with the funerary context of most Etruscan banquet scenes (on tomb walls) as specific to Etruscan funerary banquets: ritual, participatory feasts that took place at tomb sites. Decomposed food remains and cooking implements as well as banqueting vessels have been found in some of the tombs at Caere,⁴⁰³ and banquet scenes on tomb walls at Tarquinia are sometimes punctuated by painted architectural elements (pillars or poles) that, seen in conjunction with the textile-patterned ceilings common in other Tarquinian tombs, have been interpreted as the supports of tent-like structures for graveside funerary feasts.⁴⁰⁴ But not all Etruscan banquet scenes indicate setting, and they may also be understood as representations (or representative) of feasts in which the deceased took part while alive.⁴⁰⁵ They also serve to carry into the tomb itself a sense of the conviviality enjoyed in life—an "assertion of life" (i.e., the "good" life) in the face of death.⁴⁰⁶

As with Anatolian funerary *klinai*, even once the reclining banquet was adopted in Etruscan elite circles and had become a standard motif in Etruscan funerary art, it is not certain whether banqueting was the primary symbolic function of the beds/couches in Etruscan tombs. Like the earlier Regolini-Galassi bed, they may have called to mind the funerary rituals preceding burial, or they

Origins of the *Kline*-Tomb

may have been perceived as nuptial beds or as furnishings for couples, as the continuation of the paired arrangements suggests. By the time Etruscan funerary beds begin to carry Type B decoration linking them formally with Greek or Anatolian *klinai* (see Figs. 147c, 148),⁴⁰⁷ around the middle of the sixth century, their symbolic function seems to have a duality similar to that seen in Greece and Anatolia: as both beds for sleeping and couches for banqueting. The dead are represented in tomb paintings and on sarcophagi as reclining banqueters but are also sometimes shown sleeping, and *prothesis* scenes with *klinai* are also known.⁴⁰⁸ A limestone cippus from Chiusi in Berlin, in fact, shows on one side a *prothesis* on a Type A *kline* and on the opposite side a banquet involving a *kline* of the same type (Fig. 150).⁴⁰⁹

The similarities between Anatolian and Etruscan tombs of the sixth and fifth centuries are striking. Many scholars have noted these similarities and suggested that some aspects of Etruscan monumental tombs were inspired by Anatolian tumuli.⁴¹⁰ The issue is a controversial one, related to the even thornier topic of Etruscan origins.⁴¹¹ Magness has gone as far as suggesting that even “the idea



Figure 150. Etruscan limestone cippus with banquet scene, ca. 520. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk. 1222. (bpk, Berlin / Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen / Johannes Laurentius / Art Resource, NY)

of permanent funerary couches” came to Etruria from the east.⁴¹² But as seen here, burials on beds in Etruscan tombs are contemporary with or earlier than the earliest *kline*-tombs in Anatolia. In both regions, the tradition of burying the dead on *klinai* may be understood as a local development that emerged against a background of earlier traditions of bed-burial and funerary banqueting.⁴¹³ Formal similarities of leg type and headrest shape and ornament are exceptional and indicate a shared vocabulary of furniture forms across the Mediterranean. Funerary beds in Etruscan tombs have a long, probably independent history, and begin to carry banqueting associations only in the middle of the sixth century, when East Greek (and Lydian) affinities are most evident in Etruscan art and culture.

CONCLUSIONS

This wide-ranging chapter has explored the origins of the *kline*-tomb concept in Anatolia (and in Etruria) from various angles. Many of the conclusions made along the way must remain speculative, as they involve assigning conceptual meanings to tangible objects or are based on very limited evidence. Still, a full understanding and appreciation of *kline*-tombs and their cultural significance requires exploration of these possibilities. Far from being emulations of a Persian royal burial type, Anatolian *kline*-tombs represent an intersection of funerary concepts that each have a much older history, rooted in Hittite and Phrygian cultures, with the new fashion of the reclining banquet that probably began in Syro-Phoenicia in the ninth or eighth century. While “Phoenicians” seem to have transmitted the custom to certain pockets of the Mediterranean in the eighth century, it was with its adoption by the Assyrian court in the seventh century that the fashion assumed a higher profile and came to be emulated by elites in neighboring and vassal states. And it was primarily through Lydia that the fashion seems to have made an impression on Greeks in Ionia, where the two main *kline* types developed by the end of the seventh century. Understanding the Lydian role in the distribution of this banqueting fashion is critical to understanding its role also in the initial distribution of burials with *klinai*, within and without Anatolia, in the sixth century.

The process of searching for the origins of the different conceptual components of the *kline*-tomb concept also enriches the picture of the different symbolic meanings that burial *klinai* could carry. Reopening investigations into the origins of the reclining banquet in particular has led to a fresh assessment of the social significance of this defining feature of Graeco-Roman civilizations. Rather than stemming from a “primitive” nomadic lifestyle, as has been commonly assumed, the very unnatural custom of reclining to dine seems instead to mark a self-conscious assertion of luxury and, perhaps, eroticism. A burial *kline* can bring to a tomb and its inherent representation of the deceased, then, the luxury and eroticism of the symposion right along with its allusions to marriage, sleep, *prothesis*, and, of course, banqueting—whether in life, at a funeral, or in an imagined afterlife.

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

Despite the evidence presented above for the Anatolian roots of the *kline*-tomb concept and the “Lydian-ness” of funerary *klinai*, the fact remains that most securely dated instances of this burial type in Anatolia come from the Persian period or later. A remarkable *kline*-tomb excavated in 2010 at Daskyleion, one of the Achaemenid satrapal capitals of western Anatolia (see Fig. 1), offers vivid testimony, in the form of *klinai* stained with the remnants of rich purple cloths, to the association of this burial type with Persian royalty.¹ What explains the apparent florescence of this tomb type in diverse and distinct regions of Achaemenid Anatolia? This chapter explores the Persian and Persianizing elements of the *kline*-tombs catalogued here and considers them in conjunction with banqueting scenes in contemporary grave reliefs and other funerary art in the same regions, especially in the vicinity of Daskyleion. Far from supporting a “Persianizing” significance for the *kline*-tombs, both classes of evidence suggest a multiethnic, elite clientele that drew upon both local and Persian cultural traditions and artistic models, in varying degrees, to create uniquely Anatolian-Persian funerary statements. Banqueting and luxuries were evidently important aspects of these funerary statements, and both types may be read as constructed representations—the reliefs expressing in two dimensions and for an exterior audience what funerary *klinai* and associated grave goods (tables, vessels, etc.) could convey in three-dimensional tomb interiors. Study of the *kline*-tombs, then, highlights the complexity of cultural identity in Achaemenid Anatolia. Though the emergence of this burial type appears unrelated to the Persian conquest, its popularity across different cultural areas of Late Archaic Asia Minor may reflect the social changes that ensued; and an emphasis on native Anatolian traditions in tomb design and decoration may have appealed to Achaemenid newcomers as well as members of the local elite.

APPROACHES TO CULTURAL IDENTITY IN ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA

First it is necessary to place this discussion of cultural identity generally within the context of scholarship on Achaemenid Anatolia and the theoretical approaches outlined in the Introduction. The cultural impact of Persian rule on the western satrapies has received much attention in recent decades. Following Root’s paradigm-shifting 1991 analysis,² assessments of the “weight” of this impact generally moved from negative to positive. Root’s study provided a new theoretical model for assessing

Persian forms in the west, by balancing them with evidence from the “heartland” center (specifically, sealings on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets). The apparent “meagreness of Persian impact on the art and architecture of the western empire” could easily be explained by shifting our perspective and expectations: “There may have been (in theory) a systematic, centrally-ordained policy of assimilation with indigenous elites practiced by Achaemenid officials abroad. Such a situation could have resulted in the de-emphasis of conspicuous Persianisms of architecture and even of portable goods in favor of the adaptation of cultural mores and accoutrements of the indigenous peoples.”³ Even subtle “Persianisms” in Achaemenid Anatolia can, then, carry much weight. More recent studies have emphasized the range of possible meanings such “Persianisms” may have conveyed.⁴ Gates, in particular, has highlighted the constructed nature of style in so-called Graeco-Persian glyptic art: an artist of Persian descent could well have produced a seal in an apparently “Greek” style, and vice versa. She stresses that style is not a “direct indicator” of ethnic identity but one of many “possible tools” available for “articulating identity.”⁵ So in Achaemenid Anatolia (and especially in cosmopolitan centers of satrapal administration like Sardis), the signaling of ethnic identity may bear no relation to actual ethnic group affiliation. As Dusinberre has noted, there may have been a “conscious appropriation of signifiers of one ethnic group by a member of a different group, or by a person of multi-ethnic heritage.”⁶ In some cases ethnicity may not have been the most important vector of identity to express. Dusinberre has shown how in the “polyethnic” society of Persian-period Sardis, grave assemblages consistently display a “cosmopolitan” blend of cultural elements. She reasons that Sardis’s “polyethnic elite [class] . . . was devising a new symbolic language of personal ornamentation and funerary inclusion to symbolize membership in and adherence to the new standards and ways of the wealthy and those of high status in Achaemenid-period Lydia.”⁷ Different elements of the same funerary structures and assemblages may signal “Persian” or “Lydian” identity, often in combination.

Questions of ethnic and cultural identity in Achaemenid Anatolia are thus complicated by the possibility of hybrid or polyethnic social identities that bear no direct correlation with ethnicity. In Lydia, for instance, as Roosevelt has stressed, the “uniformity in form and concept” of the range of attested tomb types (cists, sarcophagi, and chamber tombs) “obviates most attempts to assign particular burial types” to certain ethnicities.⁸ This is most easily seen in the relation between tumulus chambers and rock-cut tombs at Sardis. While Dusinberre has argued that the tumulus burials expressed a “Lydian” identity while the rock-cut tombs presented a “Persian” one, regardless of the actual ethnicity of the persons buried therein, the two chamber types are in fact conceptually quite similar: both often have dromoi, ceilings can be flat or pitched, and interior arrangements of *klinai* and rock-cut benches are similar. Moreover, some tumuli covered chambers that were fully or partially cut from bedrock, and some built chambers within tumuli have built-in features that invite comparison with rock-cut forms.⁹ And while many of the rock-cut chamber tombs of the Sardis Nekropolis appear to have been used during the era of Persian occupation, ceramic finds suggest that the series had begun by the late seventh or early sixth century, probably before the first tumuli were built in Lydia.¹⁰ Moreover, the basic form of the Sardian rock-cut tombs bears no resemblance to those of the Persian kings at Naqsh-e Rostam.¹¹ So while Dusinberre took the presence of *klinai* in both tomb types as testimony to the impact of Achaemenid burial practices even within the parameters of local Lydian funerary traditions,¹² they may instead reflect the strength of local Lydian traditions in this hybrid cultural environment.

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

What weight do “Persianisms” in funerary monuments and assemblages, then, carry in Achaemenid Asia Minor? Do Achaemenid-style objects necessarily identify the occupants of a tomb as Persian nobility, or indicate Persian settlement in the area?¹³ And how can we isolate the local Anatolian components in “Anatolian-Persian” art and culture? Much of the evidence presented below underlines a critical problem for analyses of different aspects of Anatolian culture in the Achaemenid era: when no parallels exist in the Iranian heartland nor in certainly pre-Persian contexts in Anatolia, how can we distinguish between “indigenous” Anatolian and imported Persian traditions? The same questions can be applied to many aspects of elite material culture in Achaemenid Anatolia: styles and shapes of metalware, items of dress and adornment, and aspects of funerary iconography. Even items with overt references to Achaemenid court-style art are not unequivocal indicators of the ethnic identity of tomb occupants and could even have been produced in Lydia, and some elements often labeled “Achaemenid” may in fact be more properly “Anatolian.” For instance, the soft *tiara* so characteristic of Iranian riding costume is very similar to the so-called Phrygian bonnet—a soft, pointed cap with side lappets. This type of headdress was widely used in the eastern Mediterranean (especially Anatolia) and by the end of the sixth century may have been equally associated with Phrygians or Lydians as with Achaemenid Persians.¹⁴ Still, certain items doubtless carried specific allusions to Achaemenid style or authority. Dusinberre’s study of the emulation of Achaemenid metal vessels in local ceramics at Sardis demonstrates the symbolic weight of such reference as well as the speed with which foreign artistic forms and styles could be adopted by native users and gain new significance.¹⁵ Stylistic variation that signals a specific ethnic association, however, is not restricted to members of that ethnic group. Reception of Achaemenid styles has been observed even outside the realm of Persian rule: Miller has demonstrated the impact of Achaemenid material culture on pottery and costume styles in fifth-century Athens,¹⁶ and Paspalas has documented the reception of Achaemenid furniture design in fourth-century Macedonia.¹⁷ And just as Persian imports could have been owned and taken to the grave by members of the local nobility, the same clientele may have adopted certain Persianizing styles, while Persians resident in the area are equally likely to have adopted native customs and styles. Rather than trying to categorize particular elements in a tomb assemblage as “Persian” or “local” (Lydian, Phrygian, etc.) or to identify the ethnicity of a tomb’s occupant(s) from the results of such categorization, it is more productive to recognize that elite funerary statements in Achaemenid Anatolia actively constructed a *hybridized* “Anatolian-Persian” (or “Perso-Anatolian”) cultural identity, one with varying combinations of not only “Persian” and “Anatolian” ingredients, but also “Greek,” “Lydian,” “Phrygian,” and other, more specific Anatolian components. As mentioned in the Introduction, the signaling of cultural identities often intensifies in times of changing social organization or control. It is possible that the high frequency and wide distribution of these hybridized funerary statements in Achaemenid Anatolia may in some part be explained by the negotiations of social power and authority among members of the local elite and Persian nobility.¹⁸

KLINÉ-TOMBS WITH ACHAEMENID ELEMENTS

The fact that many tombs with *klinai* have striking Achaemenid features, whether in material offerings or in the iconography of their tomb paintings, led Dusinberre and others to suppose that *kline*-burial was introduced into Asia Minor by Persians. These features, to be sure, are crucial

dating criteria, confirming that many *kline*-tombs were built and/or used during the era of Persian rule.¹⁹ But they do not necessarily indicate a Persian ethnicity for the persons buried in these tombs, nor that this mode of burial was itself Persianizing. These elements tell us that the tomb owners identified themselves to some degree through Achaemenid cultural trappings—but not whether their social ties to that culture were actual or aspirational.

Of the tombs catalogued here, nineteen contained objects or elements of decoration that can be loosely classified as “Achaemenid-style” or “Persianizing.”²⁰ It is important to clarify the terminology. While the term “Achaemenid” should refer strictly to the Persian royal family descended from Achaemenes and their imperial art and culture, it has been more broadly applied, as a chronological and stylistic adjective, to many aspects of the empire ruled by the Achaemenid dynasty. For instance, Anatolia during the Persian period is often called “Achaemenid Anatolia,” as in the title of this chapter.²¹ When applied as a stylistic descriptor to a work of art, however, the meaning of the term is more ambiguous. While a relief carved at Persepolis is surely “Achaemenid” in style, what about a bowl made in Lydia and decorated with motifs inspired by Achaemenid imperial art, such as the decorated phialai from the İkištepe tomb assemblage? To call such bowls “Achaemenid” overlooks their many local features.²² The need for less ambiguous terms has recently led Rehm to devise a tripartite classification system for Persian and Persianizing art: “court style,” referring to monuments and objects created in the heartland of the Achaemenid empire (Iran), or fully adhering to the style of the monuments there; “satrapal art,” referring to works made in the satrapies in emulation of court-style monuments but with some element(s) of local style or techniques; and “Perso-Barbarian art,” referring to works that blend Persian styles or motifs with Greek or other non-Persian traditions.²³ In addition to the irony of the last category (Greeks considered “barbarians” from a Persian perspective, when the term itself reflects the Greek view of Others as non-Greek-speaking babblers), an essential problem with this classification system is its insistence on division. Degrees of Persianizing could instead be considered along a continuous spectrum of closeness to heartland models.²⁴ But this, too, is problematic, because it presupposes a Persian model for every Persianizing motif or stylistic feature. Not only is there a dearth of well-provenanced evidence from Persia proper for some classes of material (for instance, metal drinking vessels), but there is no certainty that all of what is generally considered “Achaemenid” style actually sprang from heartland workshops. Several scholars have suggested that an “International Achaemenid Style” in metalwork may have emanated from Achaemenid Lydia, and even the sculptural and architectural styles so well attested at Persepolis and Pasargadae are eclectic, drawing upon prior artistic traditions in Ionia and Lydia as well as in Mesopotamia.²⁵ Here the terms “Achaemenid” and “Persianizing” are used in their broadest senses to refer to works that in some way signal familiarity with Achaemenid Persia.

Luxury Items and Grave Offerings

Clearly Achaemenid motifs comparable to those represented on monuments in the Persian heartland are, in Anatolia, found mainly on luxury items and status symbols such as seals, jewelry, and metalware. Sealstones with lions, lion-griffins, bearded and crowned sphinxes, and “royal hero” figures have been found in seventeen of the rock-cut chamber tombs in the Sardis Nekropolis and are among objects looted from at least two tumuli in northern and eastern Lydia.²⁶ Similar items

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

without provenance may also have come from Lydian tombs, but their context is unfortunately lost. Of the nineteen known Lydian tombs with Persianizing seals, three certainly had *klinai* or rock-cut benches and three held sarcophagi;²⁷ the tomb arrangements for the other chambers are not known or were not recorded.²⁸ Sardis Tomb 326, for instance, contained a pyramidal stamp seal with walking lion as well as a rock-crystal pendant, a silver bracelet, beads, a black-figure skyphos and other pottery.²⁹ Another pyramidal stamp seal, showing a Persian archer shooting a lion, was found in Sardis Tomb 364.³⁰ Both seals depict Achaemenid imperial subjects but are thought to be of local Lydian manufacture.³¹ As Dusinberre has shown, the style of the carvings on these sealstones is not paralleled in Persia proper and seems to reflect a blending of imperial Achaemenid iconography with local taste.³² She has recently coined the phrase “Achaemenid hegemonic” (replacing the old misnomer “Graeco-Persian”) to describe this self-conscious style, also found on seals from the Bosphorus, Syria, and Egypt.³³ In Lydia such seals are often found together with those of other styles, from Neo-Babylonian to Greek, and this variation—sometimes even in the same tomb³⁴—suggests both that seal-owners had a range of stylistic choices available and that the “Achaemenid hegemonic” style was not a marker of ethnic identity but an expression of elite status, iconographically linked to imperial power. It is also notable that such seals occur in tombs of both main Lydian types (tumuli and rock-cut tombs) and with both main modes of burial typically found in Lydia (sarcophagi and *klinai*).

Other items of personal adornment of Achaemenid style or inspiration that have been found in Lydian tombs are bracelets, necklaces, and gold bracteates (appliqué plaques sewn onto textiles). Few of these, however, have good context in tombs with documented *klinai*, and defining some of these types as truly “Achaemenid” is difficult. Among the items in the “Lydian Treasure” are kidney-shaped gold bracelets and a winged sun-disk pectoral that strikingly recall forms, motifs, and techniques paralleled on reliefs at Persepolis and items found at Susa.³⁵ These surely expressed some sort of Persian affiliation but are unfortunately not traceable to any particular tomb or tombs. The winged sun-disk motif also adorned six gold bracteates with paired bearded sphinxes found on the rear couch of Sardis Tomb 836, along with other plaques showing beardless sphinxes and fifty small rosettes (Fig. 151a).³⁶ The composition of winged sun-disk over paired sphinxes and crenellated frame finds close parallels in glazed brick decoration from Susa.³⁷ The imagery of these bracteates is thus clearly Achaemenid, and the fashion itself may also have been culturally charged. Assyrian and Urartian precedents for metal clothing appliqués are known, and it seems to have been an Elamite contribution to Achaemenid court costume.³⁸ As with sealstones, though, a range of styles was available to Lydian consumers, and it is difficult to determine whether the fashion emerged in Lydia solely as a result of Persian cultural contact or from Lydia’s broader Near Eastern connections.³⁹ Ornamental gold plaques of other motifs and styles from other Lydian tombs include three plaques decorated with lotus flowers and rosettes, found along with an “Achaemenid-hegemonic” cylinder seal in a sarcophagus in another rock-cut tomb in the Sardis Nekropolis (Tomb 813, Fig. 151b);⁴⁰ 370 appliqués from a looted sarcophagus in Bin Tepe, including one winged, human-headed bull and many lotus-bud and -flower pieces;⁴¹ and over one hundred square plaques of East Greek or Lydian style that evidently adorned a shroud covering the burial on a rock-cut couch at Toptepe, one of the “Lydian Treasure” tombs (Cat. 53, Fig. 152).⁴²

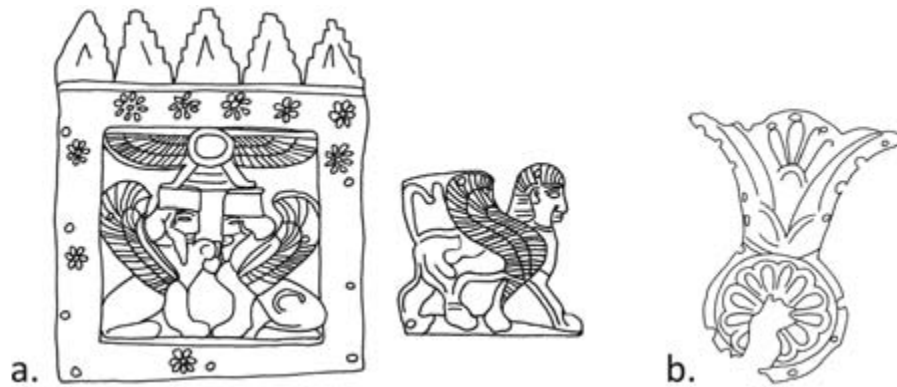


Figure 151. Gold appliqué from Sardis, Tombs 836 (a) and 813 (b), after Curtis 1925, pls. 1–2. (Drawings by author)



Figure 152. Gold appliqué from Toptepe (Cat. 53), Uşak Archaeological Museum 1.91.96, 1.92.96, 1.93.96, and 1.94.96, each ca. 0.08 m wide, Özgen et al. 1996, nos. 116–19. (Courtesy of Uşak Archaeological Museum and İ. Özgen)

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

Close analysis of the Toptepe tomb assemblage demonstrates the difficulty of classifying items as “Achaemenid” in style. Seventy-two of the gold plaques are decorated with a quatrefoil motif that is common for architectural terracottas in western Asia Minor and found in a variety of contexts in East Greek art.⁴³ Thirty-six additional plaques show an eagle or other raptor swooping down toward a running hare, one has four round bosses, and two lozenge-shaped pieces are decorated with palmettes and volutes. None are identifiably “Achaemenid” in style, and the lozenge-shaped pieces are similar to appliqués found in two tombs in the Sardis Nekropolis.⁴⁴ Also found on the rear couch surrounding the burial, according to looters’ reports, were a pair of round, blue-glass bracelets with lion-head terminals, several necklaces, gold boat-shaped earrings, a silver ladle, silver oinochoe, and several bowls, and the now-infamous gold hippocamp brooch (Fig. 153).⁴⁵ While the lion-head bracelet terminals do have Achaemenid parallels, this particular bracelet form (round rather than kidney-shaped) may have been just as much at home in Anatolia as in Achaemenid Persia.⁴⁶ A gold bracelet from Tumulus A at Gordion, dated in the third quarter of the sixth century, just after the Persian conquest, provides the closest parallel, but similar bracelets are known from Assyrian and Urartian contexts,⁴⁷ and this type “may have developed independently as an East Greek type without any oriental connotations.”⁴⁸ Boat-shaped earrings, similarly, have a broad Near Eastern heritage and, though common in western Anatolia during the Persian period, may have been a Lydian specialty.⁴⁹ The ladle is the dipper type, easily paralleled in Achaemenid-era metalwork, and has some Achaemenid-style features (the winged animal protomes on the loop handle), as well as others that appear more Lydian; it is unique among known examples of the type.⁵⁰ The oinochoe is more Greek in style (with kouros handle) as well as in concept, since pouring vessels were not normally part of Near Eastern banqueting sets.⁵¹ Overall, the Toptepe assemblage seems more “Lydian” than “Achaemenid” and exemplifies the rich and complex interweaving of styles that characterizes the “Lydian Treasure.” These grave offerings suggest a thriving elite culture that drew



Figure 153. Selected items allegedly looted from Toptepe (Cat. 53): silver oinochoe, Uşak Archaeological Museum (UAM) 1.80.96, Özgen et al. 1996, no. 106; silver ladle, UAM 1.81.96, no. 107; glass and gold bracelets, UAM 1.85.96 and 1.86.96, no. 111; gold and glass necklace, UAM 1.82.96, no. 108. (Courtesy of the Uşak Archaeological Museum and İ. Özgen)

equally upon Lydian, Phrygian, East Greek, and Achaemenid artistic traditions.⁵² The location of the “Lydian Treasure” tombs is right on the border between what we consider Lydia and Phrygia, and epigraphic evidence attests to the use of both Lydian and Phrygian in the region.⁵³ Though no pre-Hellenistic settlement remains are evident in the immediate vicinity of the tumuli, the nearby site of Çamyazı shows traces of occupation from the Bronze Age through the fourth century, and a nearby plain may be the Kastolos, which Xenophon mentions as a mustering place for troops of the Persian army.⁵⁴

Of the forty-nine metal vessels reportedly from the tumulus known as İköztepe (see Fig. 154 for a sample), three are decorated with motifs that have strong links to monumental art in the Persian heartland—addorsed bull or ram protomes over winged sun disks (Fig. 154g),⁵⁵ a Persian royal figure supported by animal protomes (Fig. 154e),⁵⁶ and a Persian royal figure confronting a lion (Fig. 154f)⁵⁷—while five others are bowls with characteristically “Achaemenid” everted profiles (Fig. 154h).⁵⁸ The lack of well-provenanced comparative material from Iran makes it difficult to say whether the undecorated bowls are imports from the heartland or provincial productions of Persian shapes,⁵⁹ but local ceramic imitations of the Achaemenid bowl shape found at Sardis and sporadically throughout Asia Minor attest to the impact of the form on local elite drinking culture.⁶⁰ And, as Miller has recently shown, even the bowls with overt Achaemenid iconography were probably produced in Lydia. Miller stresses how the makers of these bowls adapted traditional Persian motifs for new uses (for instance, applying an architectural protome capital as surface ornament) and combined them in ways contrary to Persian iconographic syntax (here, placing the winged sun-disk *below* the feature it protects rather than showing it hovering above).⁶¹ She points to stylistic details such as animal musculature or the hem of the royal figure’s garment that betray manufacture outside the Persian heartland.⁶² Horizontal fluting on some of the Achaemenid bowls as well as some of the more characteristically Greek and Lydian shapes from İköztepe (such as oinochoai and a lydion: see Fig. 154a, j) has also been adduced as an Achaemenid stylistic trait, and a gold oinochoe from the Oxus Treasure provides a very close parallel.⁶³ But this surface treatment is well-attested in Lydian ceramics of the sixth century, in secure contexts predating the Persian conquest, so it is difficult to say whether horizontally fluted objects in the Lydian Treasure should necessarily be considered “Achaemenid.”⁶⁴

One item from İköztepe that has been considered an import from Iran is an incense burner with tiered lid and horizontally fluted, conical foot (Fig. 154k).⁶⁵ It is comparable to those featured on the Treasury reliefs at Persepolis, and an inscription on the base identifies it as the property of one Artimas, a name associated in later sources with satrapal rule. But the name is not necessarily Iranian,⁶⁶ the inscription itself is Lydian, and the cock figure on the top of the lid is not particularly Achaemenid in style.⁶⁷ Duck’s-head lugs on the sides of the stem are closely paralleled on four silver alabastra from the same tomb and probably locally made (Fig. 154m).⁶⁸ Duck’s-head terminals are found on several other objects from İköztepe, including a silver strainer and a silver spoon, very similar to one found at Pasargadae (Fig. 154i, l).⁶⁹ So while the use of ducks’ heads as a decorative motif may have roots in Achaemenid art, their application here as lugs on the incense burner seems to be a local feature. The incense burner, like the decorated bowls, displays a complex interweaving of Lydian and Achaemenid elements, and was probably produced in Lydia.⁷⁰

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia



Figure 154. Selected vessels and objects allegedly from İkištepe (Cat. 54): (a) silver oinochoe, Uşak Archaeological Museum (UAM) 1.14.96, Özgen et al. 1996, no. 12; (b) bronze jug, UAM 1.16.96, no. 14; (c) silver ladle, UAM 1.22.96, no. 24; (d) silver ladle, UAM 1.28.96, no. 30; (e) silver and gold phiale, UAM 1.29.96, no. 33; (f) silver bowl, UAM 1.30.96, no. 34; (g) silver phiale, Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilization 75–8–66, no. 35; (h) silver bowl, UAM 1.42.96, no. 48; (i) silver spoon, UAM 1.53.96, no. 67; (j) silver lydion, UAM 1.40.70, no. 63; (k) silver incense burner, UAM 1.55.96, no. 71; (l) silver strainer, UAM 1.50.96, no. 64; (m) silver alabastron, UAM 1.61.96, no. 78. (Courtesy of Uşak Archaeological Museum and İ. Özgen)

A Lydian inscription on one of the plain silver bowls from İkittepe seems to be a Lydian place name, perhaps identifying the place of manufacture.⁷¹ That the production of fine metalware was going on in the vicinity of the Güre tombs seems clear from the large group of formers and punchers for making jewelry and figurines, without clear provenance but probably found in the same general area, perhaps from the tomb of a goldsmith or jeweler.⁷² Even before the provenance of the “Lydian Treasure” items had been established, a Lydian atelier had been proposed for metal objects of an “International Achaemenid Style.”⁷³ The possibility of Lydian production of “Achaemenid”-style metal vessels complicates our reading of these Achaemenid traits, and it is indeed unclear how many of these features are really “Persian” and how many could actually be “Lydian” or, more generally, “Anatolian.” It may be that much of what we think of as “Achaemenid” art in general actually stems from the creative amalgamation of styles and traditions that took place in Lydia during the era of Persian domination. While Miller notes the “syntactical irregularities,” “ungrammatical” approaches, and “disjunctions” in Lydian artists’ adaptations of Achaemenid imperial motifs,⁷⁴ it is also important to recognize the creative aspects of this amalgamated style, and its legacy in Achaemenid art in other parts of the empire.⁷⁵ Lydian metalworkers were not simply producing goods according to imperial mandates but were blending Lydian styles and techniques—or dialect, to continue Miller’s linguistic metaphor—with Persian iconographic and formal vocabulary to create a new language of Achaemenid imagery.

Silver bowls with “Achaemenid-style” profiles have also been discovered in some of the rock-cut tombs of the Sardis Nekropolis, though the burial arrangements are uncertain or not recorded.⁷⁶ Fragments of local ceramic imitations of the shape are, however, more numerous and have been found in or in association with several Lydian *kline*-tombs.⁷⁷ Dusinberre has studied this ceramic type at Sardis as important testimony to the effect of Persian presence on the material culture of the Lydian capital and argues that these reflect the tastes of the native Sardian elite rather than the Persian nobility, who would presumably have had access to more valuable metal versions of the shape.⁷⁸ These finds not only confirm that some *kline*-tombs date to the Persian era but also indicate that these tombs were associated with the same social group for which ceramic imitations of Achaemenid metal vessels were fashionable.

Coins could be the most unequivocally Achaemenid elements found in Anatolian tombs, but even these are not straightforward cultural indicators. A Type II silver siglos with kneeling archer was recovered in salvage excavations at İkittepe, and two sigloi were found in one of the rock-cut chamber tombs in the Sardis Nekropolis.⁷⁹ As with most coins, these are more useful for dating than for assessing the cultural affinities of their owners, but this is especially true for Achaemenid coins because they were actually minted in Lydia, for circulation primarily in western Anatolia.⁸⁰ The old theory that these coins were issued to pay Greek and local mercenaries in the service of satrapal administration has recently been challenged by Nimchuk, who stresses their ideological message and their divergence, in value, from the rational monetary system of the Croeseids they replaced.⁸¹ She argues that the archer imagery was a “core element of the Achaemenid imperial program,” as evidenced by other seal impressions and monumental reliefs at Persepolis, and that archer coins circulated among elite Persians and Lydians as symbolic tokens of inclusion.⁸² In the Sardis tomb, the two sigloi were reportedly found on the rear couch along with other items of “Achaemenid”

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

character (the bracteates with sphinxes mentioned earlier, Fig. 151a). This concentration may indicate that the person buried in this location had ties to Persian administration or wanted to signal an identity defined by Persian affiliation, whether or not he was ethnically Persian. In fact, such an identity statement is more likely to have been desired by members of the local elite than by Persians, for whom such ties would have been self-evident.

Another kind of material offering with Persian affinities is represented by the chariot wheels and linchpins discovered in the dromos of BT89.1, a tumulus in Bin Tepe (Fig. 155).⁸³ Not only do the bronze linchpins have the shape of male figures wearing pointed caps with side lappets like the soft cap (*tiara*) associated with Iranian rider dress,⁸⁴ but the fragmentary chariot wheels are a type seen in Assyrian, Achaemenid, and Perso-Anatolian art, with trapezoidal metal reinforcements and round-headed, knob-like studs along the circumference of the “tire.”⁸⁵ Linchpins in the form of human figures are known in Egypt and the Near East and occur in conjunction with the studded wheel type attested here on reliefs depicting the chariot of the Achaemenid king at the Apadana at Persepolis.⁸⁶ Figural linchpins may have been particularly associated with royal chariots,⁸⁷ and Mallowan has suggested that in Assyria they may have served symbolically as talismanic protection for the king.⁸⁸ The strong Achaemenid associations of the wheels and their linchpins led Kökten to conclude that the occupant of the BT89.1 tomb must have been a “noble Achaemenian,”⁸⁹ but it is also possible that this vehicle belonged to a member of the local Lydian elite with close ties to



Figure 155. Linchpins from BT89.1 (Cat. 14). (Photographs courtesy of C.H. Greenewalt Jr.)

the satrapal court. Chariot wheels of Phrygian type found in a similar context, outside the dromos of a tumulus at Üçpınar in Mysia, near the region of Daskyleion,⁹⁰ and remains of wheels found next to the “Polyxena Sarcophagus” in the Kızöldün tumulus in the Troad suggest that the practice of discarding wheeled vehicles at burial locations was here an Anatolian rather than Persianizing tradition.⁹¹ And although the symbolic meaning of these carts remains uncertain—personal possessions deposited as status symbols and/or remnants of an actual funerary ceremony, a wheeled *ekphora*?—it is worth remembering that there is visual evidence for funerary procession involving a wheeled vehicle in western Asia Minor prior to the Achaemenid era, on a late seventh-century terracotta sarcophagus lid from Klazomenai (see Fig. 33).⁹²

Furniture

Achaemenid-style goods have been found in one of the tumuli near Gümüşçay in the Troad, where a rich variety of Late Archaic and “Anatolian-Persian” funerary assemblages has recently been brought to light in salvage excavations.⁹³ In the chamber of the Dedetepe tumulus, which held two painted marble *klinai* of canonical Type B form (see Fig. 74), all that was left by looters were fragments of ivory, wooden furniture, alabastra, pottery, and bones, but even these remnants attest to an elaborate banquet service.⁹⁴ The pottery shapes (mostly skyphoi and bowls) are associated with drinking, and the ivory pieces may have belonged to musical instruments. One ivory piece of uncertain function ends in a carved deer protome and is readily compared to Achaemenid ivory animal protomes (Fig. 156).⁹⁵ Even more strikingly Achaemenid are the wooden table legs, which have stacked torus moldings, alternating with concave curves and, in one case, a lion’s paw with rosette above, just as seen on throne legs in reliefs at Persepolis.⁹⁶ Another, more slender leg has a slight torus molding at about mid-height and a downturned leaf molding just above the foot, an interesting combination of the Greek Type A leg design with the eastern hanging-leaf wreath, seen in Achaemenid art but derived ultimately from Assyrian and Urartian models (see Fig. 51).⁹⁷ This tomb, with its combination of Greek *klinai* and Persian-inspired table legs, exemplifies the hybridity of material culture in western Asia Minor in the Persian period, and it is tempting to wonder what style(s) characterized the metal banqueting sets that were presumably looted from this context.

Achaemenid-style furniture legs occur in a few other Anatolian *kline*-tombs. As noted in Chapter 2, the Bahçetepe tumulus in western Lydia (Cat. 27, Fig. 84) contains stone *klinai* with characteristic Achaemenid “stacked” moldings in relief on the supports. One could argue that the Achaemenid style of these couch legs bolsters the Persian associations of *kline*-burial, but the rarity of this couch

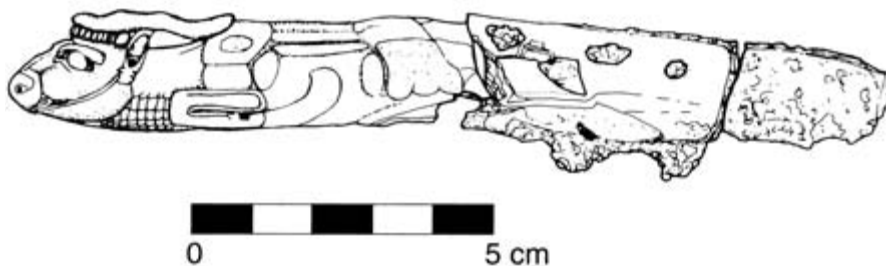


Figure 156. Ivory protome from Dedetepe (Cat. 61), Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 1998, fig. 9. (Reproduced with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

type among funerary *klinai* is telling. Only a later rock-cut *kline* in Paphlagonia offers a parallel among actual burial couches in Anatolia,⁹⁸ and the closest iconographic parallel is the couch depicted in the banquet scene at Karaburun (see Fig. 118).⁹⁹ In fact, there are few depictions or actual examples of couches with such turnings from Persia itself, where the form is usually shown on thrones and throne platforms.¹⁰⁰ Like the occurrence of Achaemenid-inspired vessel types in Lydian tombs, the turned moldings of the tables from Dedetepe and the *klinai* at Bahçetepe place these tombs firmly in the Persian era and signal the Persianizing taste of their occupants, but need not indicate their ethnic identity.

Tomb Decoration

Finally, there are some *kline*-tombs that contain Persian elements in exterior façades, interior wall decoration, or on the *kline* itself. These elements include stylistic approaches, themes depicted, and iconographic details, each suggesting different levels or degrees of “Persianism.” In the case of Yılan Taş (Cat. 126, Figs. 92–93), it is the style of the massive lions decorating the façade that betrays knowledge of Persian artistic style and a Persian-period date. But the theme of heraldic lions protecting the tomb appears to have been inspired by an earlier neighboring tomb with impressive lion reliefs: Arslan Taş (Fig. 94).¹⁰¹ Draycott has in fact argued that the builders/occupants of Yılan Taş sought to legitimize their status by reviving a “local tradition.”¹⁰² Exterior reliefs on the “Pyramid Tomb” at Midas City (Cat. 143, Fig. 157) may include a lion, but the subject matter of other motifs (riders, hunting) is comparable to that of the Anatolian-Persian stelai discussed below. The style of the tomb carving, however, is “raw” and “rudimentary,” varying widely in scale and level of relief, and Draycott has suggested that the tomb owners belonged to an “intermediate elite” class, “partaking in elite tropes, but adopting a style that associated them with certain kinds of social qualities, which may have distinguished them within their social milieu.”¹⁰³

Clearer Persianizing elements are found in tomb interiors in Lydia and western Phrygia, in wall paintings and, in one case, on a painted *kline* frieze. Sandstone wall fragments associated with the tumulus at Harta, in northwest Lydia close to Mysia (Cat. 36), include a figure wearing trousers, sleeved tunic, and soft *tiara*,¹⁰⁴ following a horse in what may have been a procession scene of some kind, as suggested by traces of a wheeled vehicle noted *in situ* prior to vandalism.¹⁰⁵ Two other fragments that may have come from the same scene or another, decorating the porch, show two cloaked figures carrying what appear to be stacked cloths, similar to some of the tribute-bearers in procession on the Apadana reliefs but rendered in a more Greek or Lydian style.¹⁰⁶ Draycott has recently suggested that the Harta tomb owner assimilated himself with a Persian ruler by adopting the imagery of tribute-bearing subjects.¹⁰⁷ Although the Harta tomb was apparently constructed and used during the Achaemenid era, as the “Achaemenid bowl” found there also confirms, its paintings accord well with West Anatolian styles and Anatolian-Persian funerary themes (see below); the form of the *kline*, as seen in Chapter 2, has several Lydian parallels.¹⁰⁸ In the Aktepe tumulus (Cat. 52, Fig. 73), on the other hand, it is the frieze painted on the *kline* itself that presents Persianizing imagery. Horsemen wearing Iranian-style riding dress on the *kline* frieze, hunting or battling in poses found on Achaemenid seals and in Greek sculpture from the Achaemenid world, such as the Nereid Monument, were balanced by lifesized attendant figures painted on the walls.¹⁰⁹ Fragments of

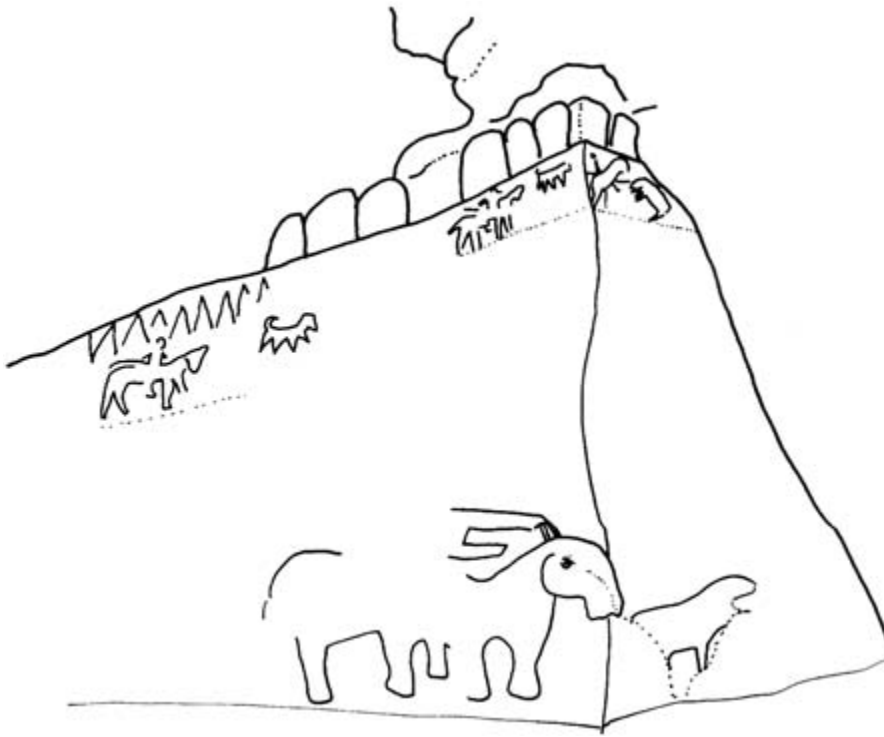


Figure 157. Drawing of exterior reliefs on the “Pyramid Tomb” at Midas City (Cat. 143), Draycott 2007, pl. 13B. (Reproduced courtesy of C.M. Draycott)

the latter have been retouched in modern times but appear to wear Lydian or West Anatolian dress, and one may originally have had a Persian-style pointed beard and held an unguent vessel on the tips of his fingers before his face.¹¹⁰ It is regrettable that looting has prevented reconstruction of the original grave assemblage, for the grave offerings would complete the complex picture of cultural associations. The “Persian riders” on the *kline* help to date the tomb to the Persian period, but it is important to note that their costume may have been more generally Asiatic than specifically Persian, and it may have been donned by members of the local elite within the Persian empire for hunting activities, much as special costumes are worn for some leisure sports today.¹¹¹

Karaburun Tomb II, with its concurrence of a painted couch with Achaemenid-style legs and an actual limestone *kline* decorated in the typical Greek/Anatolian fashion, provides a counterpart to the mixture of furniture styles found at Dedetepe (Figs. 75, 118). Although the banquet depicted in the wall painting above the burial *kline* is marked in several ways as a Persian-style feast, the burial *kline* itself is fully grounded in the East Greek tradition, not only by its Type B decoration, but also by the animals painted on its front face, as if under the couch. The Persianizing or more generally eastern features of the banquet scene include, in addition to the turnings of the couch legs: the animal-handled “amphora” that one of the attendants holds,¹¹² the way the same attendant and the reclining dignitary hold phialai on the tips of their fingers,¹¹³ the phiale-ladle combination,¹¹⁴ the towel-bearer with feather-fan or flywhisk,¹¹⁵ another fan-bearer with flag-shaped fan on

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

the adjoining wall to the right of the scene,¹¹⁶ the bracelet with animal-head terminals and the hoop earrings worn by the reclining figure,¹¹⁷ the open-sleeved, V-neck garment and its rosette border,¹¹⁸ and the pointed shoes worn by the attendants.¹¹⁹ Of the actual tomb assemblage, only the stone furnishings have survived looting: the monolithic limestone *kline* and a fragmentary stone table that probably once held vessels for eating or drinking.¹²⁰ The couch, as described in Chapter 2, carries canonical Type B painted decoration on its relief posts and rail. Beneath the carved rail on its front face, a dog, cock, hen, and partridge are painted on a blue background matching the stuccoed floor. These animals must have been meant to be perceived as underneath the couch, as in some Greek (especially East Greek) and Etruscan banqueting scenes.¹²¹ Further Persianizing features occur in the scenes decorating the other walls of the tomb. In the battle scene, details of clothing (sleeved tunics and trousers) clearly distinguish the dignitary honored in the tomb and his companions from the foe, who wear recognizably Greek costume.¹²² And when the same dignitary is transported in a throne-chariot (whether in a live military display or a funeral procession), he wears a fur-lined *kandys*, and he and other figures wear soft caps with side lappets (*tiaras*).¹²³ Both the *kandys* and *tiara* were integral components of Persian riding costume.¹²⁴

But there is still much debate over the identity of the Karaburun dignitary—local dynast or noble Persian resident in Lycia?¹²⁵ How truly “Persian” are these “Persianizing” elements? Flag-shaped fans do occur in depictions of seated banqueting on some Persian seals and sealings,¹²⁶ but the form also appears in an *ekphora* scene on a seventh-century sarcophagus lid from Klazomenai (Fig. 33).¹²⁷ And balancing a drinking vessel on the fingertips has a broad Near Eastern heritage that pre-dates the Achaemenid empire.¹²⁸ It was certainly a Persian affectation, but one that was widely emulated among Anatolian elite groups, as Miller has recently shown.¹²⁹ The dignitary’s jewelry, too, is not unequivocally “Persian”: animal-headed penannular bracelets are indeed a well-attested Achaemenid type, but it is impossible to determine whether the bracelets depicted here are intended to recall the kidney-shaped Achaemenid variety or the round type with broader Near Eastern origins;¹³⁰ and disc-shaped earrings have a long history in the Near East and are well attested in Lydia.¹³¹ And while his tunic may well be a Persian-style robe or *kypassis*,¹³² it is paired here with mantle draped in typical Greek fashion. Miller adds that the dignitary’s gesture—arm outstretched with hand raised—is paralleled in symposium scenes in Attic vase painting.¹³³ The Karaburun tomb thus exemplifies the problems that arise from cross-fertilization of styles and iconography in Anatolian-Persian art,¹³⁴ while offering the most concise expression of the connection between the image of the reclining banqueter in funerary art and the custom of burial on a *kline*.¹³⁵

Is the banqueting theme itself a Persianizing feature of the Karaburun tomb decoration? Gunter and Root have argued that the Karaburun banquet represents not an idealized funerary feast or even a generalized picture of the leisure-loving elite, “but rather the worldly aristocrat in life as he acted out homage to the Persian king in a drinking ritual.”¹³⁶ They find the matching pair of phialai—one held by the reclining figure, one by an attendant—conspicuous, since only a single banqueter is depicted; against a background of evidence for pairs of phialai gifted by Achaemenid rulers, they suggest that the scene reflects a ritual in which one of the vessels of such a pair was “set aside symbolically for the absent king.”¹³⁷ While the matching phialai may well allude to a certain paired set that belonged to the tomb occupant or to a general tradition of paired sets, it is unlikely

that the Karaburun banquet refers *only* to a drinking ritual in honor of the Persian king, given the prevalence of banqueting imagery in contemporary funerary contexts without such a conspicuous excess of drinking vessels.

A local precedent for the banquet theme in the same location appeared in the nearby Kızılbel Tumulus about a generation earlier, ca. 525. Lively multi-registered painted friezes include the remains of a banquet scene just above the “real” stone *kline* (Cat. 68, Fig. 117).¹³⁸ Though the scene is not well preserved, one can discern details of a Type A *kline* with a striped mattress, parts of a bearded reclining figure and a female figure to one side, a tripod table (with lion’s-paw foot) with some sort of lidded dish on it and a spotted dog underneath.¹³⁹ The burial “*kline*”—a horizontal slab supported in the middle by a rectangular block—is not of canonical form, but the accompanying table and impressions of metal vessels that once stood atop the table and hung from nails in the wall above it confirm its banqueting symbolism.¹⁴⁰ Although the Kızılbel tomb dates to the era of Achaemenid presence in the region, its style and iconography are hardly Persianizing. Its multiple painted friezes are truly “Archaic,” with parallels in both Greek and Etruscan art, and exemplify a unique and not well-documented East Greek/West Anatolian style of monumental painting.¹⁴¹ Several aspects of the technique and iconography of the paintings have Assyrian, Egyptian, or Hittite parallels,¹⁴² but the only possibly “Persianizing” feature is a parasol shading one of the figures traveling in a boat.¹⁴³ Fragments of parasols, however, have been found in eighth- and seventh-century contexts at Gordion and on Samos,¹⁴⁴ and parasols occur as royal accoutrements in earlier Near Eastern art and even in Mycenaean Greece.¹⁴⁵ The fragmentary banquet scene seems to fit the basic Greek or East Greek type, with canonical forms for both table and couch.¹⁴⁶ It is possible that missing details of the scene could have situated it in the realm of myth, like many of the other subjects decorating the tomb; but its proximity to the funerary couch makes it likely that some connection between the painted image of the banqueter and the placement of the deceased on the couch below was intended: “a scene from a nobleman’s life transposed into the setting of his final abode.”¹⁴⁷ So the Kızılbel tomb contains no apparent Persianisms, and its banquet—a local precedent for the Karaburun banquet—is fully at home in the repertoire of East Greek/West Anatolian art.

Both the Kızılbel and Karaburun tombs have Phrygian traits that are not surprising to find in the Elmalı plain, where the Bayındır tumuli attest to strong Phrygian contacts or even presence in this part of northern Lycia in the eighth and seventh centuries.¹⁴⁸ Beyond the tumulus form itself (widespread in Anatolia), the design and construction of the tomb chambers have specific parallels in the wooden chambers of Phrygian tumuli: the use of a separate gable block in the center of the chamber as well as at each end,¹⁴⁹ and the lack of a doorway.¹⁵⁰ So while the Karaburun banquet scene is often illustrated as the quintessential Anatolian-Persian banquet, its iconographic history is complex, and the banquet theme itself is not “Persian.” The design and decorative program of both Karaburun and Kızılbel are rooted in local Anatolian traditions, whether Lycian, Phrygian, or more generally West Anatolian, and the funerary statement made at Karaburun is so effectively hybridized that it is futile to try to pinpoint the dignitary’s ethnicity; this would miss the point that in an actively constructed hybridized cultural identity, “ethnicity” ceases to matter.

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

BANQUETING IN ANATOLIAN-PERSIAN FUNERARY ART

A more comprehensive look at banqueting scenes in contemporary Anatolian funerary art is necessary for understanding both the role of reclining-banquet imagery in elite funerary ideologies of Achaemenid Anatolia and the complexities of hybridized Anatolian-Persian identities. In addition to the banquet scenes at Kızılbel and Karaburun, discussed above, there are eleven other known occurrences of the reclining banquet theme in funerary monuments of Persian-period Anatolia. Nine are relief stelai or slabs, one is a relief block that may have topped a funerary pillar, and one is a relief pediment. Seven of the stelai come from the vicinity of Daskyleion, a satrapal capital, or elsewhere in Mysia/Hellespontine Phrygia; the other reliefs come from Lydia, western Phrygia, and Paphlagonia.¹⁵¹ The painted wooden tomb chamber of the Tatarlı tumulus in western Phrygia (in the vicinity of ancient Kelainai; see Fig. 91) may also have included a banquet scene, though this part of the decoration is unfortunately not well enough preserved to determine for certain.¹⁵² Thus, the theme is widely dispersed in Achaemenid Anatolia, and it has been assumed that these monuments reflect the tastes of Persian nobility.¹⁵³ Brosius has recently stated that “the Persian elements within the motif suggest a direct Persian influence on the creation of these scenes.”¹⁵⁴ But, as with *kline*-burial itself, the lack of parallels elsewhere in the Persian empire raises the question of how essentially “Persian” it is. It will be argued here that these scenes, like the funerary *klinai*, should instead be seen as characteristic Anatolian expressions of elite identity, whether local or Persian, and that they should be understood as part of an ideological and iconographical *koine*, shared by elites of both local and Persian descent in different cultural areas of Achaemenid Anatolia.

The stelai with banqueting scenes are of the class long termed “Graeco-Persian” but now more aptly described as “Anatolian-Persian” or “Perso-Anatolian.”¹⁵⁵ In form and concept they recall Archaic Greek (especially East Greek) and Lydian gravestones with volute anthemion,¹⁵⁶ but their varied styles (from “cut-out” silhouettes probably once enriched with paint to more doughy, contoured forms) are only loosely inspired by Greek models and bear little relation to sculpture in the Persian heartland.¹⁵⁷ This makes them notoriously difficult to date, and few have been found in stratigraphic contexts, but most probably belong to the late sixth or fifth century.¹⁵⁸ Their funerary function is suggested not only by the anthemion-stele form, but also by provenances near cemeteries or tumuli, at least when findspot is known.¹⁵⁹ In addition, their general repertoire of themes (including hunting and military displays as well as banqueting) is especially suitable for funerary monuments as expressions of aristocratic lifestyles.¹⁶⁰

Language and Dress

Scholars have usually assigned these reliefs to a Persian clientele on the basis of their general distribution around satrapal centers and the Aramaic inscriptions that occur on some of them.¹⁶¹ Best-known is the stele from Aksakal near Daskyleion, with an inscription in Aramaic, naming the deceased as Elnaf (Fig. 158).¹⁶² There has been much debate over Elnaf’s ethnicity (Persian, Arab, or Aramaizing-Arab?), but some level of Persian affiliation is suggested by the language of the inscription. The two bands of relief show a departure on horseback and a wheeled, covered cart pulled by horses and followed by attendant figures. Debate also surrounds the purpose of the wheeled procession. The sarcophagus-like form of the carriage has led many to read this and comparable scenes



Figure 158. Stele of Elnaf from Aksakal, near Daskyleion. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5764. (Photo by author, used with permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum)

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia



Figure 159. Detail of stele found with Elnaf's (Fig. 158) at Aksakal, near Daskyleion. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5763. (Photo by author, used with permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum)

in contemporary funerary art (on other stelai from the Daskyleion area as well as in the Karaburun and Tatarlı tumuli) as funerary processions, but commercial caravans, traveling Persian nobility, and military convoys have also been proposed.¹⁶³ An Aramaic inscription on another stele from near Daskyleion (Sultaniye Köy; see Fig. 160a) records its dedication by a man with a Persian name in honor of a man with a Semitic name.¹⁶⁴ This stele has three registers of decoration in a flat, silhouette style of relief, showing a similar wheeled procession as well as a reclining banquet and a hunt. But in 1997 a stele of comparable style (Fig. 160b) was discovered near Daskyleion, with an inscription in Phrygian, identifying the dedicant as one Manes.¹⁶⁵ “Manes” is well-attested in Phrygia and Lydia as a native Anatolian name.¹⁶⁶ This stele therefore calls into question the presumed association of this class of monuments with Persian clients. Assessing ethnicity from names is, in any case, problematic, as it does not allow for the possibility of aspirational naming and intermarriage. In other words, Lydians or Phrygians living at Daskyleion may well have chosen fashionable, Persian names for their children, and by the same token Persians could have adopted local names (such as Manes) for their own children.¹⁶⁷ This would be even more likely in cases of intermarriage between local elite families and resident Persian nobility. The language chosen for the inscriptions, likewise, tells us more about the perceived audience for such monuments than the ethnicity of their dedicators. Still, the very variety of names and languages associated with these monuments suggests that they served a polyethnic elite class.¹⁶⁸

Another reason for associating this class of stelai with the Achaemenid nobility of Asia Minor has been the occurrence of Persian-style iconographic details in the reliefs. But identifying which elements are distinctively “Persian” is no simple matter, as some details (such as elements of dress) are found widely among neighbors and subjects of the Persian empire, and even overt Achaemenid referents do not necessitate that the deceased commemorated in the monuments were of Persian descent. The style and iconography of the reliefs, like the inscriptions, signal a hybridized Perso-Anatolian culture. As already noted above in discussion of the Karaburun paintings, the attire (*tiaras*, trousers, and sleeved cloaks) worn by figures in the hunting as well as procession scenes on many of these stelai seems to have been shared by many of the nomadic peoples on the northern borders of the Achaemenid empire, and it is possible that it was the customary riding costume also in Anatolia, regardless of Persian connections.¹⁶⁹ It is also possible that members of Anatolian elite groups self-consciously adopted this style of dress as a sign of affiliation with (or in an attempt to ingratiate themselves with) the satrapal court, particularly in certain settings. As Tuplin has recently surmised, it was likely that “when copying a characteristically Persian elite practice, one dressed appropriately.”¹⁷⁰ Similarly, though the bound tails of the horses and the knobbed wheels of the vehicles in the procession scenes find close parallels in depictions of chariots in Persian art,¹⁷¹ these fashions need not have been exclusively “Persian” and in any case do not necessarily signal a Persian ethnicity for the deceased commemorated by these monuments.

The reclining banqueters, when it is possible to tell, usually wear only a loosely draped cloak or *himation*, with chest exposed in the Greek manner.¹⁷² The reclining man on a relief from Ödemiş in Lydia (Fig. 160c) wears a garment with three-quarter-length sleeves under his *himation*, perhaps in line with Lydian or East Greek fashion.¹⁷³ The only known example of figures wearing Iranian-style rider dress in a reclining banquet scene occurs on a relief block from Afirözü in

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

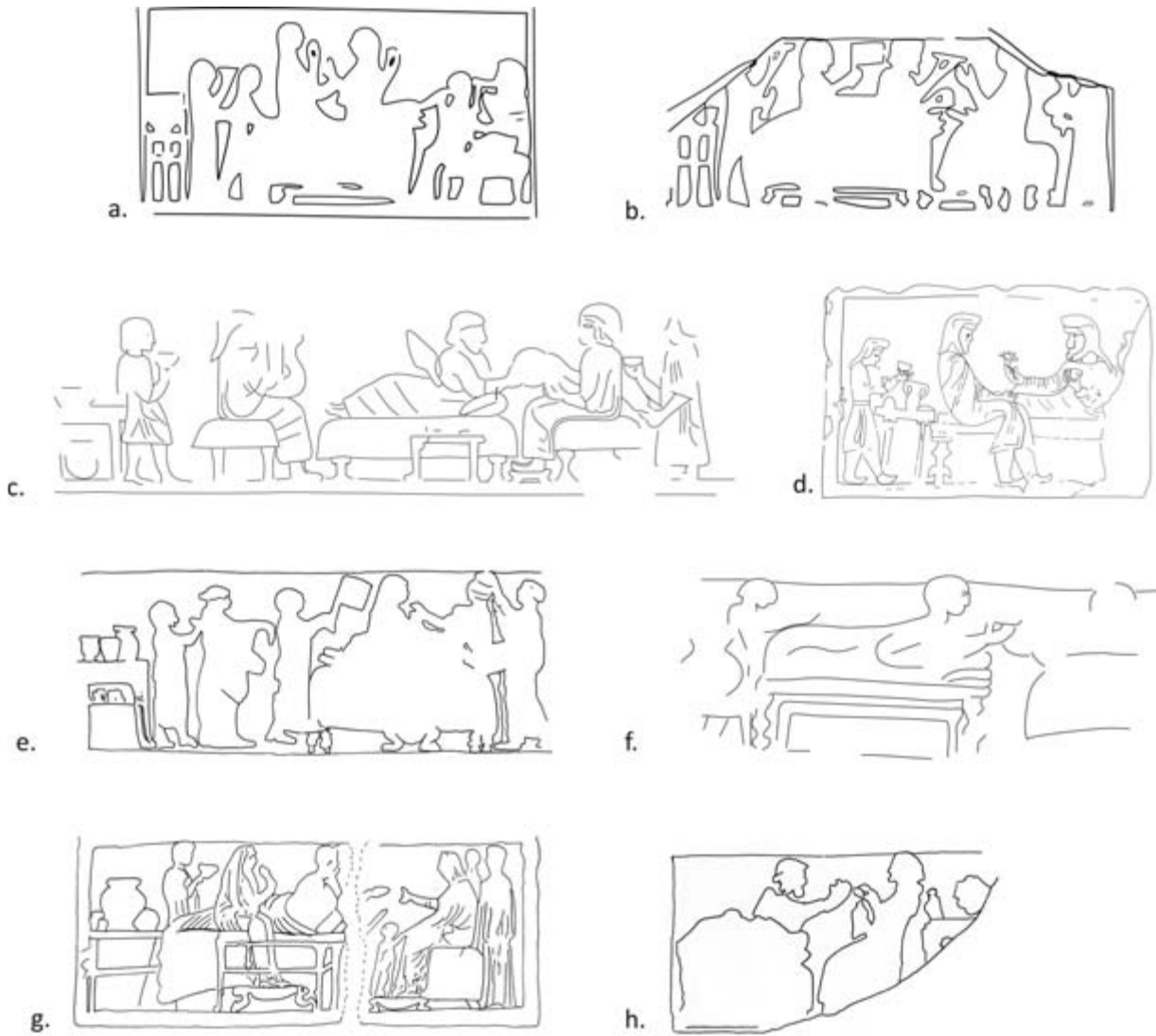


Figure 160. Detail drawings of banquet scenes on Perso-Anatolian stelai, sixth–fifth centuries: (a) stele from Sultaniye, Bursa Archaeological Museum 8500, after von Gall 1989b, fig. 4; (b) stele of Manes from Daskyleion, Bandırma Archaeological Museum, after Gusmani and Polat 1999, fig. 1; (c) relief from Ödemiş, İzmir Archaeological Museum 4344, after Dentzer 1982, fig. 318; (d) relief from Afirözü, Kastamonu Archaeological Museum 438, from Donceel-Voûte 1983, pl. 5.4; (e) relief from Altıntaş, Afyon Archaeological Museum E1858, from Asgari, Madra, and Soysal 1983, no. B145; (f) relief in Bursa Archaeological Museum, from Nollé 1992, pl. 11; (g) relief from Çavuşköy, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1502, from Nollé 1992, pl. 9; (h) relief from Dereköy, Bursa Archaeological Museum, from Nollé 1992, pl. 7a. (Drawings a–b, d–e, g–h by D. Weiss; c and f by author)

Paphlagonia (Fig. 160d), which is otherwise exceptional, in form as well as in its level of “Persianisms” (the design of the couch legs, the ovoid amphora on the table, and the way the attendant holds a cup on the tips of the fingers).¹⁷⁴ But its exceptionality underscores the fact that the other Anatolian-Persian reliefs with banquet scenes are not so overtly Persianizing.¹⁷⁵ On another stele from Aksakal (Fig. 159) that probably formed a pair with Elnaf’s stele and may have belonged to his sister, a man reclining bare-chested (in Greek fashion) shares his couch with a woman wearing a dentate crown.¹⁷⁶ The crown is comparable to those depicted in Achaemenid art and on Iranian-related finds in central Asia and western Siberia.¹⁷⁷ The type is thought to have been associated with Achaemenid royalty, but it was not restricted to the Persian king and occurs more widely in “satrapal” than “court-style” art, perhaps as a general indicator of Persian-affiliated status.¹⁷⁸ The crown need not identify the female figure as a goddess, as some have suggested;¹⁷⁹ it signifies her noble status and makes her a focal point of the scene. A full appreciation of “Elnaf’s sister’s stele,” however, requires discussion of the other material trappings of these banquet scenes and the composition of male-female pairs.

Furniture and Accessories

Usually the couches on which the banqueters recline in these banquet scenes are covered by long cloths so that only the lower legs are visible. In some cases the feet protruding beneath the long coverlet are articulated with a series of stacked disc-like or torus moldings reminiscent of the turnings on Achaemenid throne legs (Figs. 159, 160b, e),¹⁸⁰ and some carry an additional hanging-leaf crown, also typical of Achaemenid furniture (Fig. 160d, f).¹⁸¹ These details have been used to support the idea that these monuments served a Persian clientele.¹⁸² But as Paspalas has pointed out, they “do not reproduce the imperial Achaemenid leg type in all its detail.”¹⁸³ For one thing, the turnings on Achaemenid furniture legs occur at the top, not the bottom of the leg. And even a faithful rendering of an Achaemenid-style leg, such as one of the wooden table legs from Dedetepe (Fig. 51, left), would not make the banquet a “Persian” one: at Dedetepe, this form coexists with Greek and hybridized furniture forms (the painted *klinai* and the other wooden table legs).¹⁸⁴ And since hanging-leaf crowns began to be incorporated into Greek Type A furniture legs in the fifth century, this element alone is not conclusive.

The long coverlets themselves have also been seen as Persian elements, since Greek accounts of Persian banquets often remark on the lavishness of the textiles involved.¹⁸⁵ For instance, when Herodotos has the Spartan general Pausanias marvel at the banquet service in Mardonios’s tent, the couches are described as “well-strewn” (εὖ ἐστρωμέναις).¹⁸⁶ According to Herakleides of Kyme, Persians were said to have had special “bedmakers” (τοὺς λεγομένους στρώτας) expert in arranging such coverings.¹⁸⁷ The descriptions of the Tomb of Cyrus discussed above also emphasize the number and variety of luxury textile items deposited there, particularly on the couch.¹⁸⁸ But there is no reason to think that such luxuries were foreign to western Anatolia: a fragment of Plato, the fifth-century comic poet, mentions Sardis-red textiles in connection with ivory-footed couches,¹⁸⁹ and Polykrates, tyrant of Samos during the early years of Persian rule in Asia Minor, was also known for lavish banquets and rich textiles.¹⁹⁰ The matter is complicated by the possibility that there may have been some truth to Herodotos’s assertion that Persian luxuries were learned from Lydia.¹⁹¹

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

What we can glean from the Greek accounts is that long coverlets were thought of as un-Greek, and indeed the visual evidence for symposia on Greek vases confirms that after the middle of the sixth century it was not customary for Greek artists to show *klinai* covered by long cloths.¹⁹² The long, overhanging cloths on the couches in most Perso-Anatolian banqueting scenes certainly distinguish these scenes from contemporary Greek representations and may indeed have recalled Achaemenid royal banquets, but they were also probably customary at banquets among Anatolian dynastic cultures.¹⁹³

It should be emphasized that this furniture form, the banquet couch or *kline*, is not itself attested in monumental art from the Persian heartland, and it is even questionable whether Persians in Iran reclined while dining in this period.¹⁹⁴ Representations of banqueters on Achaemenid seals and sealings, though rare, usually show them seated.¹⁹⁵ One exception is a cylinder seal from Susa showing a male figure reclining on a bed or couch and perhaps holding a drinking vessel.¹⁹⁶ But the scene is unclear, and the furniture does not have distinctive “Achaemenid” legs. Greek accounts of Persian dining, on the other hand, regularly include details of reclining. In Herodotos’s account of Cyrus the Great’s strategy for motivating his troops, the ruler makes his men lie down (κατακλίνας) in the meadow they have freshly cleared to enjoy the fruits of their labor with an all-day meal.¹⁹⁷ And in Herodotos’s description of the aftermath of Plataia, the tent of Mardonios is equipped with metal-clad couches.¹⁹⁸ In later sources the Persian king is said to have sometimes reclined on a golden-footed *kline* and to have included luxury *klinai* among lavish gifts to foreign ambassadors,¹⁹⁹ and the *kline* of Dareios I was allegedly among the loot carried in Pompey’s Mithridatic triumph.²⁰⁰ In Diodorus Siculus’s description of the feast at Persepolis in the aftermath of Alexander’s conquest, the diners are said to have reclined in concentric circles, but it is not clear that any of the participants in this banquet were Persians, as Dussinberre has pointed out.²⁰¹ In general, it is difficult to tell how much these Greek sources reflect Greek stereotypes about Persian behavior or actual Persian practices. Although there is no reason to doubt that Persian kings and satraps shared in the pan-Mediterranean elite fashion of reclining on luxury *klinai*, it must be stressed that *klinai* and the imagery of the reclining banquet had a history in western Anatolia that certainly pre-dated contacts with Persia.²⁰² And none of the evidence for the reclining banquet in Persian contexts has anything to do with funerary imagery or ideology, except the *kline* that reportedly stood in the Tomb of Cyrus, which owed much of its inspiration to western Anatolia.²⁰³

In Perso-Anatolian funerary art, therefore, it is not the reclining banquet theme itself that is Persianizing, but occasional iconographic or behavioral details, such as details of furniture, the manner of holding the bowl on the tips of the fingers, and the shapes of the bowls and other vessels shown—in other words, the affectations and trappings of the banquet. These may be considered along a spectrum of Persianization. One extreme is represented by the relief from Afirözü, mentioned above (Fig. 160d).²⁰⁴ Somewhat less overt is the relief pediment from a temple-style tomb at Sardis (Fig. 161), where the primary reclining figure may hold a Persian-style rhyton, the primary attendant holds a drinking vessel with the distinctive carinated profile of an “Achaemenid bowl,” and some of the items on the long serving table to the right recall Achaemenid shapes.²⁰⁵ On the relief from Ödemiş (near ancient Hypaipa in Lydia, Fig. 160c), on the other hand, the only recognizably “Achaemenid” elements are the stemless, round-bottomed bowls being held on the tips of the



Figure 161. Pediment from a temple-style tomb at Sardis, fifth century. Archaeological Museum of Manisa. (Photo by author)

fingers by attendants.²⁰⁶ The couch and stools are shown covered at the top, and the lower legs do not conform to standard types, while the table before the couch is a standard Greek type.

Women

Both the Sardis pediment and the Ödemiş relief contain female figures that may be understood as wives and daughters of the reclining man. On the Sardis pediment a woman sits on the end of the couch and two other female figures occupy a lower couch to the left; on the Ödemiş relief the reclining man extends a wreath to a woman seated at the right, while another woman seated to the left of the couch holds a kithara.²⁰⁷ On “Elnaf’s sister’s stele” (Fig. 159) and three other Anatolian-Persian reliefs (Fig. 160a, e, g), a woman sits on the middle or the foot end of the *kline*, as on the Sardis pediment.²⁰⁸ On the stele of Manes as well as on a relief in Bursa (Fig. 160b, f), a woman sits on a separate throne or chair to one side of the couch, as on the Ödemiş relief (Fig. 160c).²⁰⁹ The Çavuşköy relief combines both arrangements (Fig. 160g).²¹⁰

The frequent inclusion of women also sets Perso-Anatolian banquet scenes apart from contemporary Greek banquets. As discussed in Chapter 1, both visual and textual sources suggest that it was not customary for wives or female family members to attend symposia in Greece. A contrast between Greek (Macedonian) dining customs and Persian banqueting practice is implied in Herodotos’s account of the banquet in the court of Amyntas, which Persian ambassadors fatefully insist that the women of the court attend.²¹¹ There is also some Persian textual evidence, in the Persepolis Fortification archives, for the inclusion of royal women in court banquets.²¹² But for the iconography of reclining man and seated woman, there are no corollaries in Persian art. It may derive from the long tradition of banqueting couples in Near Eastern art, epitomized in reclining mode in Assurbanipal’s “Garden Party” relief (Fig. 133).²¹³ But it is also found on Archaic reliefs from Greece, such as a banquet relief from Thasos (Fig. 162) and the many later “Totenmahl” reliefs of the larger Greek world,²¹⁴ and, in three dimensional form, in monumental votive sculpture in Archaic Ionia and Cypro-Archaic limestone figurine groups.²¹⁵ Seated women also appear to the right of the couch in some of the terracotta frieze plaques from Larisa on the Hermos (Fig. 146), dated just before or contemporary with the Persian conquest of Lydia and probably reflective of Lydian-style

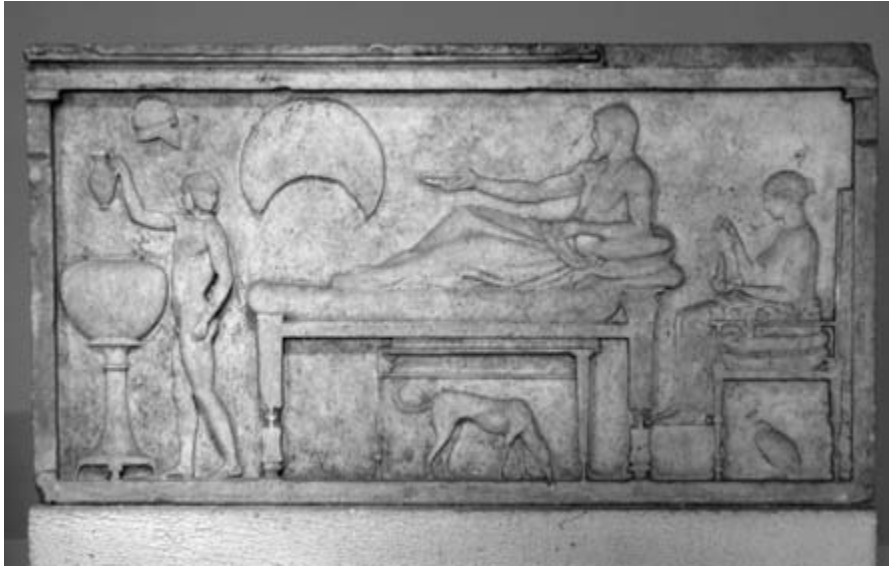


Figure 162. Banquet relief from Thasos, fifth century. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1947. (Photo by author, used with permission of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum)

banqueting, and on similar fragments from Çal Dağ (Kebren) in the Troad.²¹⁶ This arrangement possibly occurs, also, on one of the Cypro-Phoenician bowls discussed in Chapter 3 (Fig. 136). Thus, the compositional combination of a reclining man and a woman seated on the couch or on a separate chair or stool is not itself “Persianizing” but more generally eastern, and it was probably already common in Anatolia before the Persian period. The inclusion of wives and daughters in elite banquets may have been a Lydian or more general Anatolian custom.²¹⁷

Where the Anatolian-Persian banquet reliefs differ from both eastern and Greek analogues, such as Assurbanipal’s banquet and the Thasos relief, is in the close interaction of reclining man and seated woman. Unlike the woman in the Thasos relief, who appears removed from the action of the banquet,²¹⁸ the women in the banqueting scenes on the Perso-Anatolian reliefs interact with the men (often exchanging objects with them), and the space of their interaction is made a focal point of the scene through their gestures. This suggests that the relationship of man and woman—presumably, their conjugal bond—is one of the themes that was meant to be conveyed. The close interaction between the reclining man and woman seated to the right is comparable to depictions of Dionysos and Ariadne (or mortal symposiast and enthroned woman) on Attic black-figure oinochoai and olpai of the late sixth and early fifth centuries (e.g., Fig. 163).²¹⁹ In particular, the exchange of a wreath or other object, as on the Ödemiş relief as well as on other Anatolian-Persian stelai (Fig. 160c, f–h),²²⁰ is paralleled on a vase in Basel, where “Ariadne” holds up a crown in the space between the two figures.²²¹ The other arrangement, with the woman seated on the man’s couch, also has parallels in the Greek world: Ariadne, on some Attic vases (e.g., Fig. 13),²²² the goddesses on the “divine banquet” cup attributed to the Kodros Painter (Fig. 164); and (perhaps) a woman on a fragmentary relief from Miletos.²²³ Rather than supposing that the Perso-Anatolian monuments were modeled on imported Attic vases, it seems more likely that any “influence” went in the other direction: that Athenian



Figure 163. Attic black-figure oinochoe with Dionysos and Ariadne banqueting, late sixth–early fifth century [B177]. Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 196. (Courtesy of Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg)

artists adopted an “Anatolian schema”²²⁴ for certain depictions of banqueting couples, especially divine pairings. Understanding the significance of these correspondences lies outside the scope of this book and deserves closer study, but a preliminary explanation could be that the sculptors of these monuments were more concerned with depicting a conjugal or nuptial banquet than a typical symposion.²²⁵ Draycott has recently suggested that the couple-banquet scenes in Perso-Anatolian funerary art be understood as conjugal rather than sympotic banquets, meant to represent nuptial bonds and propertied status.²²⁶ One could object that this reading does not explain the meaning of



Figure 164. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Kodros Painter, ca. 430 [B323]. London, British Museum E82 (1847,0909.6). (© Trustees of the British Museum)

other banquet scenes that do not clearly involve female participants (such as the Karaburun scene, Fig. 118, where a standing woman has been variously identified as wife or attendant), but Draycott offers a broader explanation of the banquet theme in general as “a particular concern of the landed nobility under the Empire, for whom the ability to set up and maintain a leisured house appears to have been an important measure of social success.”²²⁷ The couple-banquets, then, would have fulfilled one aspect of that concern and may have been particularly apt for monuments commemorating women, such as the stele from Aksakal thought to commemorate Elnaf’s sister (Fig. 159).

A scene of women occupying a *kline*, attended by figures holding banqueting implements, on one side of the famous “Polyxena Sarcophagus” from the Troad (ca. 500) is also relevant to the question of elite women’s participation in banquets in Archaic Anatolia as well as that of the funerary significance of banqueting scenes (Fig. 165).²²⁸ Here two women sit upright in the middle of a Type A *kline*, facing each other and gesturing as if in conversation. One of the attendants at the right holds a shallow bowl and an egg while the other holds a pitcher and a ladle or strainer.²²⁹ Although the women

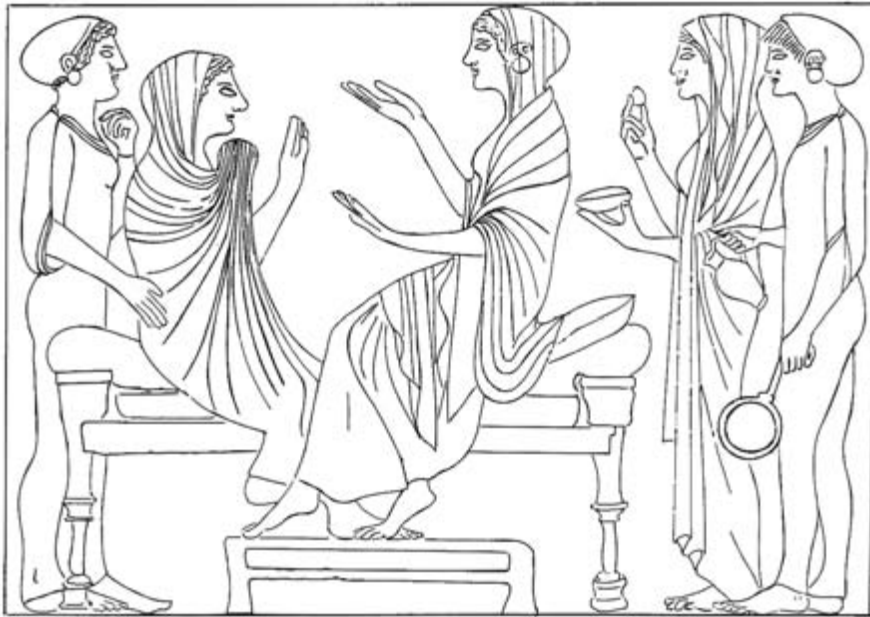


Figure 165. Drawing of relief on one short end of the Polyxena Sarcophagus, ca. 520–500, after Sevinç 1996, fig. 15. Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. (Reproduced with permission of the Çanakkale Archaeological Museum and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey)

do not recline and the *kline* could represent merely a typical piece of household furniture used to set the scene in a domestic space or could even be meant as a nuptial bed²³⁰—to allude to marriage and perhaps to connect the scene with the mythical scene of Polyxena’s symbolic “marriage” (sacrifice) to Achilles on one of the long sides—the banqueting implements are clear. Rather than a symposion of women²³¹ or a funerary banquet,²³² the scene could be a preparation for a nuptial banquet. The egg can be read as a symbol of fertility and therefore appropriate for either a marriage celebration or a symbolic funerary banquet—and perhaps both.²³³ The combination of banqueting, funerary, and nuptial symbolism expressed in the *kline* scene exemplifies the multivalence of *klinai* in general and is especially appropriate in the context of this sarcophagus, serving to link the celebration on one long side with the scene of sacrifice and “marriage” on the other. It reminds us that a *kline* does not always imply a symposion and helps to raise the question of whether a banquet scene on a funerary monument necessarily depicts a funerary banquet or implies a “Totenmahl” concept. On the other hand, whether the *kline* scene shows a female symposion or the preparations for a nuptial, or even funerary, banquet, it seems to confirm the impression given by many other banquet scenes in Achaemenid Anatolia that women were involved in banqueting to some degree.²³⁴

Funerary Significance?

It is often assumed that a funerary context supports a funerary reading of these scenes—that the banquet theme expresses some belief in an eternal banquet in the afterlife or refers to rituals of banqueting that attended burial. As with funerary *klinai* themselves, however, such interpretations are uncertain, and multivalent meanings are possible. As Mellink summarized the issue in her final

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

publication of the Kızılbel paintings, “The question of religious symbolism, with reference to a blessed hereafter, cannot be explicated in detail in this and most other contexts.”²³⁵ Despite formal resemblance to later so-called Totenmahl reliefs, these banqueting scenes lack any overt heroizing or chthonic elements, and even the meanings of later “Totenmahl” scenes were probably quite variable.²³⁶ The fact that the banqueting scenes in Perso-Anatolian funerary art often occur in conjunction with scenes of hunting, military activity, travel, or other elite pastimes makes it more likely that they served to illustrate the social status of the deceased, or a characteristic activity enjoyed by the deceased during lifetime.²³⁷ Possible other-worldly symbols such as the egg and lotus flower held by the crowned woman on the stele that probably commemorated Elnaf’s sister (Fig. 159) may well have connoted themes of fertility and death but do not place the scene in a ritual or afterlife setting; they are attributes appropriate on a funerary monument. Moreover, these banquet scenes should not be read as “snapshots” of actual events but rather as visual constructions designed to convey particular ideas or represent the deceased in particular ways.

What these monuments make clear is that presenting the dead person as a reclining banqueter was a concern for members of both local and Persian elites in Achaemenid Anatolia, concurrent with the popularity of *kline*-burial in monumental tombs in the same regions. The banqueting reliefs and *kline*-tombs may be understood as visual and spatial representations of the same ideas. The Persianizing elements of these reliefs, like the “Achaemenid” elements of many *kline*-tombs, are variable and do not necessitate associating them with a Persian clientele. Moreover, the idea of presenting the dead person as a reclining banqueter does not seem to have derived from “heartland” Persian court iconography. As Draycott writes: “The images reveal a kind of social identity which is strongly associated with the Persian Empire, but which is not itself ‘Persian.’”²³⁸ The idea may instead be essentially Anatolian, derived from a long tradition of conceptualizing the dead person as a banqueter.

An Anatolian-Persian “Iconographical Complex”

These banquet scenes are part of a broader complex of images that together make up the funerary repertoire of Achaemenid Anatolia: banqueting, hunting, and wheeled processions. Although Persian elements are to be found in all of these recurring motifs, these individual themes are not found in the monumental arts of Persia, and their combination is characteristic of Anatolia: an Anatolian-Persian “iconographical complex.”²³⁹ All are themes that reflect upon the life of the deceased and signal membership in a social class that enjoys the privilege of leisure. Hunting was particularly associated with kingship in the Near East, and the hunting scenes on the stelai are iconographically to Achaemenid glyptic art. The banqueting theme may carry added allusions to nuptial or funerary banquets but also express elite wealth and privilege. The wheeled processions are more difficult to understand, and there is still no consensus as to their meaning. As noted above in relation to the Karaburun paintings and Elnaf’s stele, they have been read either as scenes of funerary *ekphora* or as depictions of convoys traveling for commercial, leisure, military, or even religious purposes.²⁴⁰ Remnants of wheeled vehicles found in contemporary burial tumuli, as at BT89.1, do not help to resolve the problem, because they too could be read either as funerary carts or as symbols of status or lifetime activities.²⁴¹ The fact that they were disassembled before deposition

suggests some ritual significance, but what that was remains unclear.²⁴² What is so striking is the concurrence of these particular themes and motifs in the funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia, whether on sculpted stelai or in wall paintings, as at Karaburun.

Such iconographic consistency in the funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia raises the question of whether some or all of these paintings and reliefs reflect a more monumental source (or sources). Similar subjects (and similar combinations) also occur in Lycian funerary sculpture (mostly of the fourth century and later),²⁴³ and on some of the later fifth- and fourth-century sarcophagi of Sidon, the Phoenician satrapal capital.²⁴⁴ Miller and others have suggested that these recurring themes could reflect programs of decoration at local satrapal palaces, “in turn derived from that used at the main imperial centers.”²⁴⁵ Stylistic variation would, then, reflect the experiences of the local artists commissioned to execute the reliefs (or paintings), and other “Greek” or non-Achaemenid elements could be explained the same way,²⁴⁶ while thematic unity would reflect shared, external models.²⁴⁷ Scenes of banqueting, hunting, and *ekphora* (or other processions of covered carts) are, however, lacking in the monumental arts of the Persian heartland.²⁴⁸ Banqueting and hunting both occur in Assyrian palace decoration but are conspicuously absent among preserved remains at Persian royal cities.²⁴⁹ It is possible that satrapal palaces differed significantly from those in the Persian heartland in their decorative programs, but unfortunately none has yet been securely identified.²⁵⁰ Other possible models are portable items such as seals, and sealings from Daskyleion do offer hunting scenes comparable to those found on the stelai.²⁵¹ But given the regular concurrence of themes (hunting, banquet, and wheeled procession or departure), one could argue that any shared model should have similarly combined these themes. In that case a monumental (dynastic) tomb would be a more likely common source, especially in light of the funerary context of all known examples. But it is also possible that the uniformity of iconographic themes chosen for these monuments could reflect not a shared artistic model but a shared social identity, of which these activities were key components. Some of the activities themselves (hunting in a *paradeisos*, for instance), and the affectations adopted while performing them (wearing Iranian-style costume or holding a drinking bowl on the tips of the fingers), may well have derived from Persian traditions, and the sculptors may have drawn inspiration from “Achaemenid-style” artworks (such as sealstones), but the iconographical complex itself seems to embody a particularly Anatolian-Persian funerary ideology. The conceptual correspondence between the banquet scenes in funerary art and the tomb assemblages studied here (and the combination of funerary *klinai* with wheeled vehicles in some tombs), moreover, underscores the fact that what these monuments and tombs share is essentially ideological rather than artistic.

A LATE ARCHAIC WEST ANATOLIAN KOINE?

The proposed existence of an “Anatolian-Persian iconographical complex,” in turn, raises the issue of exchange between different cultural areas of Anatolia during the Persian period. The term “Anatolian-Persian” implies the existence of a unified Anatolian cultural entity, when in fact the different cultural areas of Asia Minor—Lydia, Phrygia, Lycia, Caria, etc.—remained linguistically and culturally distinct throughout the Persian period and well into the Roman era.²⁵² How, then, can we speak of “Anatolian” culture? As demonstrated in Chapter 3, some funerary concepts were

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

shared by distinct cultures of Anatolia. Bed-burial and funerary banqueting have a long history there and find expression in diverse regions of Asia Minor, ultimately culminating in the more homogeneous, cross-cultural *kline*-tomb concept after the introduction of the reclining banquet. And a recent study of an ivory figurine from one of the Phrygian-style tumuli at Bayındır near Elmalı has posited the existence of a hybridized West Anatolian culture already in the late seventh century.²⁵³ Recognition of cultural exchange between the diverse cultures of Archaic Anatolia both before and after the Persian conquest is critical to the study of Anatolian-Persian art and cultural identity in Achaemenid Anatolia. For more particular points of interaction, we can look to Phrygian elements in Lydia, Lydian elements in Phrygia, and hybrid Lydian-Phrygian traits in border areas like Soma and the Güre valley that provide glimpses of intra-Anatolian cultural exchange.

Perhaps the most obvious indicator of Phrygian cultural influence in Lydia is the tumulus form itself, which seems to have been initially inspired from Phrygia after Alyattes' eastward campaign, but only in outward form and in combination with architectural inspiration from the west (Ionia).²⁵⁴ More truly "Phrygianizing" elements are found in pottery styles and, in at least one case, tomb arrangement. Phrygian-style metal bowls with spool-shaped lugs and swiveling ring handles have been found in Lydia, and two Lydian ceramic imitations of this shape are known from Sardis.²⁵⁵ Knudsen has suggested that Lydia was instrumental in the dissemination of this type of vessel (and other metal ring-handled bowls) to East Greece and beyond.²⁵⁶ One of the two dishes was found in a rock-cut chamber tomb in the Sardis Nekropolis, packed along with forty other vessels, including some other Phrygian-inspired shapes, in a cauldron-like tub. Not only is this arrangement reminiscent of the way large cauldrons in some of the Gordion tumuli were filled with smaller vessels, but the design of the tomb itself also recalls Phrygian tumulus chambers—according to surviving excavation records, the chamber was a squared pit with no doorway of any kind and so must have been accessed from above, like the timber chambers in Phrygian tumuli.²⁵⁷ Ceramic finds indicate a date within the first half of the sixth century for this tomb assemblage. The doorless chamber of the BT63.2 tumulus (Cat. 10) has also been seen as a translation of a Phrygian-style tumulus chamber to Lydian masonry form.²⁵⁸

Considering Kroisos's eastward expansion of his empire in the first half of the sixth century, these reflections of Lydian-Phrygian cultural interaction are not surprising. Finds of Lydian coins and pottery at Gordion and Midas City confirm historical accounts of Lydian expansion in Phrygia.²⁵⁹ Berndt-Ersöz, in her studies of Phrygian rock-cut monuments, has been keen to note possible Lydian elements and even proposes that the so-called Midas Monument may have been a dedication "of the Lydian royal house, aimed at the Phrygian society."²⁶⁰ Munn, similarly, has stressed that "the elaborate rock-carved shrines and cult places of the Phrygian Mother were monuments of the heartland of the Lydian empire, created during the seventh- and sixth-century era of Mermnad rule"; he highlights the role of the Phrygian mother goddess in Lydian definitions of sovereignty.²⁶¹ Another aspect of this Lydian-Phrygian cultural exchange is the use of architectural terracottas. The tradition likely spread to Phrygia under Lydian influence but there took on its own peculiarities, with specialized motifs and forms adapted for different architectural needs.²⁶² And as suggested in Chapter 2, Lydian presence or control in Phrygia and neighboring regions may have been instrumental in the distribution of the *kline*-tomb and the Type B *kline* in Anatolia in the mid-sixth

century.²⁶³ “Phrygian” elements in Lydia balance “Lydian” elements in Phrygia both before and after the Persian conquest.

The reciprocity of this cultural exchange is most vividly demonstrated by the painted decoration of the tomb chamber in the Lale Tepe tumulus (Cat. 25, Plate 1), which replicates entirely in paint the wooden construction elements that are often rendered in rock-cut form in Phrygian tombs and façade monuments: a ceiling of reed or thatch supported on wooden rafters and purlins, and gables with central vertical supports (king posts) flanked by square shuttered windows.²⁶⁴ Even the painted lyre-scrolls that top the central posts in the Lale Tepe gables have a parallel in Phrygia, in the worn volutes carved in relief at the top of the king post on the Arslan Kaya monument.²⁶⁵ That these volute forms recall stele anthemia and architectural terracottas from Sardis and East Greece complicates the picture of the cultural associations of Lale Tepe’s painted architecture, already a mixture of “Phrygian” and “Greek,” with painted egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel bands encircling the tops of the walls, like a cornice. Phrygian-style architectural details are also found in two rock-cut tombs at Beyce (Soma) on the Lydian-Mysian border (Cat. 37–38), where chamber ceilings were carved to indicate the rafters and ridgepole of a wooden structure (and the rafters were painted red as at Lale Tepe).²⁶⁶

It is interesting to consider the early history of Daskyleion, the satrapal capital of Hellespontine Phrygia, in light of Phrygian-Lydian cultural interaction. As the archaeological record for the city grows, more and more evidence emerges for a “Phrygian” phase in the seventh century.²⁶⁷ But Daskyleion also has an inherent connection with Lydia, via its namesake Daskylos, the father of Gyges, and Lydian pottery has surfaced in recent excavations there.²⁶⁸ Written sources suggest that the city was under Lydian control from the time of Sadyattes in the late seventh century through the reign of Kroisos before becoming part of the Achaemenid empire.²⁶⁹ Finds of imported Lydian pottery and “Lydianizing” wares at Daskyleion from the late seventh through the early fifth century attest to the continued strength of Lydian influence there even in the early part of the Persian era, prior to the establishment of a hereditary satrapy under Artabazos II.²⁷⁰ Von Gall has suggested that Lydians may have been employed in the early satrapal court at Daskyleion.²⁷¹ The similarities among stele anthemia from Sardis and those topping some of the reliefs from Daskyleion offer further Lydian connections,²⁷² as do some features of the masonry and *klinai* of the two tumuli excavated at Daskyleion in 2010 (Cat. 58–59). Lydian presence or influence prior to the Persian era and early in the Persian administration of Asia Minor, together with the Phrygian background of the city, help to explain the “Anatolian” features of the so-called Graeco-Persian reliefs from Daskyleion.

The case of Daskyleion raises another important question: how much of this intra-Anatolian cultural exchange was facilitated by the Persian conquest? Did the Achaemenid imperial administration provide new links between these distinct cultural areas? It is tempting to see the Persian royal road system as an unprecedented intra-Anatolian communications network, but in fact much of the road system appears to have been based on preexisting travel routes dating back to the Hittite and Urartian eras.²⁷³ It is also possible that Kroisos’s expansion of the Lydian empire initiated some of this cultural exchange, especially between Lydia and Phrygia. As we have already seen, Lydian-Phrygian connections in material culture and grave assemblages evidently preceded the

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

Persian conquest of Lydia. Roosevelt stresses that while the “cultural intermixing” evident in Lydia in the Persian period “may have been new in the sense that the mix itself was new,” it nevertheless “reflects the same cultural mixing of eastern and western traditions evident already in the Middle Lydian period, and perhaps earlier.”²⁷⁴

Nevertheless, it is worth considering how social changes in Achaemenid Anatolia may have encouraged or provided additional fuel for a sort of West Anatolian cultural *koine* in the late sixth and fifth centuries. As mentioned above, the signaling of ethnic and cultural group boundaries tends to intensify during times of change and competition, especially when this change involves new modes or degrees of cultural interaction. In Achaemenid Anatolia, it is possible that increased signaling of “Anatolian” identities could have emerged in such a climate. Distinct local elements in funerary monuments and grave assemblages could have expressed, for indigenous populations, a sense of “Anatolian-ness” in opposition to the new Persian power-holders. Hybridized “Anatolian” elements (e.g., Phrygianizing-Lydian) may have achieved the same effect, perhaps even with some conscious blurring of local distinctions in favor of broader “Anatolianism” in the face of foreign power. At the same time, adoption of Achaemenid styles by local elites could have reflected new modes of status signification within the new satrapal context. On the other hand, Persians resident in Anatolia could also have consciously adopted some “Anatolianisms,” as a means of “tapping into” local methods of constructing elite identity. The emergence of a hybrid Anatolian-Persian material culture may, then, reflect as much upon Persian as upon local elite tastes. Rather than indicating ethnic affiliation, Persian and local Anatolian elements in the burial record of Achaemenid Asia Minor participated in the construction of new categories of socio-cultural identity.

CONCLUSIONS

Many *kline*-tombs with Achaemenid features seem to re-create in three-dimensional form the banquets depicted in contemporary grave monuments associated with satrapal centers. Nevertheless, this chapter has shown that neither the burial type nor the banquet theme is particularly “Persian.” Rather, the cultural statements that these representations construct seem to have been self-consciously hybridized.²⁷⁵ Achaemenid elements in *kline*-tombs or in scenes of banqueting on grave stelai are not uncomplicated indicators of the ethnic identity of tomb occupants or honorees. Scholarly emphasis on the “Persian” components of Anatolian-Persian art and cultural identities has obscured both the particular local Anatolian contributions (such as the Lydian role in the “International Achaemenid Style”) and the complexities of intra-Anatolian cultural interaction both before and after the Persian conquest.

In light of the Anatolian origins of the basic conceptual components of the *kline*-tomb concept and the practice of *kline*-burial itself, as outlined in Chapter 3, it seems that both *kline*-tombs and their two-dimensional counterparts (the banquet reliefs) may have gained popularity in the late sixth century as a means of expressing a particularly “Anatolian” part of this hybridized cultural identity, and a particularly apt way of synthesizing the themes of luxury and banqueting (and perhaps also conjugal bonds) that were important parts of it. It is important to stress, however, that an “Anatolianizing” message may have appealed to the resident Persian nobility as well as local elite groups. It is also possible that the elevation inherent in a funeral couch was particularly applicable to

Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia

Zoroastrian beliefs, as Dusinberre has suggested.²⁷⁶ Persian elements in *kline*-tombs and the prominence of *kline* imagery in Anatolian-Persian funerary art thus exemplify the complex cultural environment of Achaemenid Anatolia. While the local elite may have adopted certain Persian habits and used or emulated Persian luxury goods, Persians resident in Anatolia may also have absorbed certain native customs. And while the roots of the *kline*-tomb tradition are Anatolian, its canonization and wide distribution (and its eventual legacy in Macedonian and later tombs elsewhere in the Mediterranean) are truly products of the Anatolian-Persian experience.

Conclusions

Legacies and Meanings

The earliest roots of the custom of *kline*-burial, the preceding chapters show, seem to lie in Anatolia in the late seventh or early sixth century BCE, when existing traditions of bed-burial and funerary banqueting coalesced in the use of multifunctional sympotic furniture as a burial receptacle. The majority of known *kline*-burials from the sixth and fifth centuries come from Lydia, Phrygia, and other areas of Anatolia. The few early examples from outside Anatolia may reflect the popularity of this burial type (and sympotic culture) among Ionians and the foreign peoples with whom they had contacts. Because the furniture type was multifunctional, it is possible that it was used in some cases primarily as a bed rather than as a banquet couch—as perhaps the small Type A *kline* in the child's burial from Duvanli in Thrace was (Fig. 31). Etruscan burial beds, which had a longer history of their own, began to carry elements of *kline* decoration or design in the sixth century. By the fifth century, *kline*-tombs had become emblematic of elite burials in Achaemenid Asia Minor. Anatolia thus played a seminal role in the evolution of this type of tomb assemblage as well as its establishment as an elite mode of expression in the Achaemenid period.

The legacy of the funeral couch, however, derives in greater part from Macedonia, where *klinai* were a common feature of tombs by the end of the fourth century.¹ It was with the spread of the “Macedonian tomb” type across the Mediterranean that funerary *klinai* became more widely known and used as an elite burial type outside Anatolia and Etruria, and *klinai* (of stone, bedrock, or luxury materials) have been found in tombs in diverse parts of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, from Mesopotamia to Gaul.² This final chapter examines relationships between Anatolian and Macedonian funerary *klinai* for the light they may shed both on the formal connections of the two traditions and on the possible and varied meanings of *klinai* in funerary contexts. It also explores the significance of funerary *klinai* in Plato's *Laws* and considers the afterlife of the “funeral couch” concept in the modern era, before offering some overall conclusions.

MACEDONIAN FUNERARY KLINAI

Scholars who have noted similarities between Anatolian and Macedonian funerary *klinai* have suggested that the Macedonian tradition was inspired by Anatolian tombs.³ Testing this claim requires us to investigate their formal relationship more closely and to explore the origins of the tradition in Macedonia. The earliest evidence for burial *klinai* there comes from fifth-century cist graves at

Vergina. Some graves have four holes in the floor, for the legs of a wooden bed or couch that no longer survives.⁴ In these cases we cannot be sure whether the furniture was simply a bed or bier or a multifunctional *kline* and, therefore, whether these burials owe anything to mortuary fashions among neighboring cultures. In one Vergina tomb of ca. 430 BCE, however, pieces of decorative ivory cladding were found, and their ornament (ivory petals and kymation fragments) can be associated with the formulaic Type B *kline* style.⁵

Similar floor cuttings have been found in fourth- and third-century cist tombs at Pella, in some cases along with *kline* leg casings or fragments of glass and bone decorative inlay as well as iron nails and traces of wood.⁶ Of the decorated *klinai* attested from cist inhumations, at least two were of the Type B variety,⁷ while another had legs embellished with frit casings of Achaemenid type, with stacked moldings over a hanging leaf wreath.⁸ More commonly, traces of wood, ivory, or glass are reported but the form of the furniture cannot be determined.⁹ Some cist tombs with cremations held fragments of inlaid wooden *klinai* that must have been consumed in the pyre along with the body and therefore probably served as cremation biers. The evidence for this practice is strongest at Aineia, in four burials dated to the third quarter of the fourth century. Tombs I, II, and III in Mound A each included glass fragments that could belong to Type B *klinai* (volute eyes and rectangles, as are common at the tops of Type B legs in Macedonia); and the pyre deposit of Mound B contained many fragments of an ornate Type B capital of Macedonian type (see below).¹⁰ Of course, even when the furnishings conform to known *kline* styles, it is impossible to say whether they were meant to function as “beds” or as “couches”: not only was the furniture type multifunctional, but they may have been included (like the Archaic *klinai* from the Athenian Kerameikos) as luxury objects as much as for any symbolic significance. Without any other elements suggesting parallels or contacts with Anatolia (such as the preponderance of East Greek and Lydian pottery in the Kerameikos tombs with *klinai*), it is impossible to say for certain whether the earliest uses of *klinai* as burial receptacles (or cremation biers) in Macedonian cist graves reflect knowledge of funerary practices in Anatolia; Macedonian elites could have independently discovered this means of illustrating or embodying an idea of the deceased person’s luxurious or leisure-filled way of life.

In the more monumental chamber tombs of Macedonia, from the mid-fourth century and later, *klinai* of wood, ivory, and glass are commonly attested, but they did not usually serve as the burial location. The famous ivory-inlaid Type B couch from Tomb II at Vergina, for instance, stood next to the marble sarcophagus that contained the gold larnax for the cremated remains. A gold diadem and warrior’s panoply (including swords, greaves, a cuirass, and a helmet) were evidently placed on top of the *kline*.¹¹ Banqueting vessels found in front of the couch remains probably once stood on a table. Andronikos surmised that the lavish couch was “certainly . . . not constructed within the very narrow limits imposed by the need for a funerary couch” but “had stood in the royal palace and had been in daily use” and was placed in the tomb as a personal possession and statement of wealth.¹² Other scholars have assumed that such luxury couches were so lavish and fragile that they must have been made specifically for funerary use, and Sismanidis views the Vergina *kline*, with its Dionysiac imagery, as a funerary offering of particular eschatological significance.¹³ As Andrianou has noted, however, Dionysiac imagery is also attested among couch decorations preserved in nonfunerary contexts in Macedonia,¹⁴ and Dionysos would, of course, be “at home” on any *kline*. Another couch

Conclusions

evidently stood in the antechamber of the tomb, next to an additional cremation.¹⁵ The “Prince’s Tomb” (Tomb III) at Vergina also seems to have held a wooden bed or couch before which a stone table was placed; a hydria on top of the table held the cremation and was accompanied by an assortment of banqueting vessels.¹⁶ In the Tomb of the Palmettes at Lefkadia (late fourth century), a wooden Type B *kline* decorated with glass and ivory probably stood against the rear wall of the chamber, next to a stone container for the cremation burial, while a low stone bench was built against the left wall.¹⁷ The use of a couch for display (or as a display piece itself) rather than for burial may have been a royal fashion, inspired by or akin to the arrangement in the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, where Alexander reportedly saw a golden *kline* strewn with ceremonial vestments (see Chapter 3).¹⁸ In most cases where glass and ivory fragments of *kline* decoration have been recovered from Macedonian tombs, however, the original burial arrangement has been disturbed and is therefore difficult to determine.¹⁹ A glass- and ivory-decorated wooden *kline* may have served as the burial location in a Macedonian chamber tomb at Agios Athanasios (Tomb 3), where its original position in the chamber is indicated by traces of its “amphikephalic” profile on the wall.²⁰ A stone block placed beneath it may have been intended as a secondary support for the burial in case of eventual decay.²¹ More commonly, inlaid *klinai* are associated with cremation burials, whether deposited on the pyre and cremated along with the body or placed in the tomb intact as a sign of wealth or an attribute of a symbolic banquet (or both). Inhumations were generally laid upon stone replicas of these luxury forms, perhaps in an effort to ensure a more permanent resting-place for the dead.²²

Stone *klinai* are found in Macedonian chamber tombs of the late fourth and third centuries and also occur in Macedonian-style tombs outside Macedonia proper, from Thrace to Apulia.²³ Like Anatolian funerary *klinai*, these vary in level of elaboration from simple benches with raised ends to carved and painted marble furnishings of stunning appearance, with vivid and intricate details. The decorated Macedonian examples, however, constitute a more uniform stylistic group than the Anatolian couches (see Fig. 45): like the inlaid wooden types they replicate, Macedonian stone *klinai* often display distinctive approaches to the Type B scheme, such as a grid of rectangles at the tops of the legs and tall volute capitals with an extra volute tier.²⁴ This greater stylistic consistency may result from the fact that Macedonian stone *klinai* were modeled more directly upon luxury couches, or it may simply be that the group is more geographically and chronologically confined than the Anatolian corpus presented here. Some of the differences also likely result from stylistic development over time in the canonical Type B scheme, since the Macedonian examples are later than the Anatolian material collected here.²⁵

Points of similarity between Anatolian and Macedonian funerary *klinai*, then, lie not so much in decoration as in form. Macedonian stone *klinai* sometimes have raised rectangular “headrests” with curved, sunken depressions on their inner edges.²⁶ These depressions are similar in conception to Lydian examples though not anthropoid or pillow-like, as is often the case on Lydian *klinai*. In at least one case, however—the *kline* from the Naip Tumulus in Turkish Thrace—the outer edge of the raised element, between the ends above the volute capitals, is carved in relief, with a convex curve flanked by small flanges or projections at each end (Fig. 166). The convex curve and projecting flanges are comparable to *kline* headrests from Aktepe and other Lydian tumuli (see Fig. 115).²⁷ It is also notable that many Macedonian funerary *klinai*, like many Lydian ones, have two raised ends



Figure 166. View and detail of the *kline* from the Naip Tumulus, late fourth century, as reconstructed in the Tekirdağ Museum, Delemen 2004, figs. 24, 26. (Reproduced courtesy of İ. Delemen)

or capitals of equal height and so may be considered “amphikephalic.”²⁸ This is also true for later, Macedonian-style tombs in southern Italy and Alexandria.²⁹ Couches of double or extra width are also found in Macedonia.³⁰ Unlike some Lydian double *klinai*, however, there is no evidence that these were intended for two individuals: the carved “headrests” of the *kline* in Dion Tomb I each contain one long curved depression rather than two hollows side by side, and atop the extra wide-*kline* from Dion Tomb II were the skeletal remains of a single individual, placed near the middle, with head toward the right.³¹ So while the form and style of Macedonian *klinai* are for the most part distinctive, certain features of their design that are tied to their burial function have striking correspondences with Lydian *klinai*.

The varied arrangements of *klinai* in Macedonian tombs are also comparable to those in Anatolian *kline*-tombs. Few follow the interlocking “triclinium” style expected for couches in Greek dining rooms.³² Three-couch arrangements are usually in a Π-shape, with the rear couch filling the whole width of the rear wall; pairs of couches are placed in a Γ-form or parallel to each other against the side walls. Single couches (usually set against the rear wall) are also common. In Macedonia proper, only a few tombs are known to have had funeral couches placed like *klinai* in an andron, with the short end of one couch and the long side of another filling the space of a wall.³³ The Macedonian-style Tomb of Amarynthos at Eretria and the later Heroon of Kalydon in Greece also have this arrangement.³⁴

Attributing banqueting significance to a funerary *kline*, however, does not depend upon sympotic arrangement, as is made clear by the furniture assemblage of the Naip Tumulus near Tekirdağ in Turkish Thrace (Fig. 166). There, a marble table with representations of plates and dishes carved in relief stood before a single marble *kline*, located in the rear left corner of the chamber.³⁵ A matching set of five actual silver phialai as well as a silver jug, ladle, and strainer, bronze water jars, and a Thasian wine amphora “complemented” the carved vessels with a full sympotic service.³⁶ Not only do the banqueting implements confirm that this *kline* was conceived, at least in part, as a dining

Conclusions

couch; the set of five matched phialai also implies that even a lone *kline* need not identify its occupant as a “monoposias” —a single *kline* can work as a kind of shorthand for sympotic space.³⁷ Though the deceased may lie alone in his tomb, his couch and accoutrements evoke the convivial banquets in which he partook while alive, and which he may perhaps be imagined as continuing to enjoy in the afterlife.

Even when more than one *kline* is provided in a tomb, the lack of sympotic arrangement does not rule out a banqueting significance for the couches. Huguenot has concluded that the more common axial arrangements may have been determined by a concern for symmetry (or axiality) or by chamber dimensions, themselves dictated by the vaulted ceilings, rather than for any symbolic reasons.³⁸ As with Anatolian tombs, it is also possible that a more hierarchical than egalitarian arrangement of couches reflected differences in dining custom, though tombs with sympotic arrangements reveal that the Greek mode was at least known. Still, Huguenot stresses the variable meanings that Macedonian *klinai* could have carried —repat or repose— and maintains that they may sometimes have been meant to re-create domestic space or to evoke an idea of eternal *prothesis*.³⁹ Indeed, it is still not certain when the custom of the reclining banquet became the elite norm in Macedonia and Thrace; once it did, *klinai* may have continued to be used as regular beds and *prothesis* furnishings. Literary sources suggest that even in fourth-century Macedonia, reclining at banquet was a privilege to be earned by hunting prowess,⁴⁰ and the earliest visual representation of a reclining banquet in Macedonia (the spectacular painted frieze of Agios Athanasios Tomb 3) comes from the third century.⁴¹ Seated banqueting was featured in the Thracian tomb at Kazanlak in the late fourth or early third century.⁴² Therefore, the question of meaning is even more complicated for Macedonia than it is for Anatolia, where a strong visual record of the reclining banquet confirms its existence there from at least the sixth century.

Does the use of funerary *klinai* in Macedonia, beginning in the late fifth century, owe anything to connections with Anatolia? The occurrence of decorated Type B *klinai* in Macedonia could be seen as part of the general “internationalization” of the luxury type and as an indication of the Macedonian elite’s connectedness with other parts of the Greek world. Connections with East Greece/ West Anatolia were particularly strong, to judge from the presence of imported pottery from these regions in late sixth- and fifth-century Macedonia.⁴³ As Paspalas has noted, these connections began when western Asia Minor was already part of the Achaemenid empire.⁴⁴ The Achaemenid-style leg-casings from Pella and other reflections of “Persian-type furniture” in fourth- and third-century Macedonia highlight the importance of Persian-derived forms in Macedonian constructions of elite identities, as Paspalas has shown.⁴⁵ The *kline* leg-casings may also point more directly to Achaemenid Anatolia, where we also find the Achaemenid-style throne leg applied to *klinai* (in the Karaburun banquet scene as well as the stone *klinai* from Bahçetepe in Lydia); couches of this design have thus far not been attested in the Persian heartland.⁴⁶

For Macedonian stone *klinai* of the fourth century and later, the question of origins is more complicated, tied up as it is with the thorny problem of the “Macedonian tomb” tradition in general and that of the barrel vault in particular.⁴⁷ Other aspects of the “Macedonian tomb” type (such as the vaulted ceilings, tumulus form, and illusionistic architectural façades) also have Anatolian analogues, and some scholars have posited at least a partial Anatolian inspiration.⁴⁸ As Paspalas has

noted, “social demand was a prerequisite for the development of the type,”⁴⁹ and that demand may have stemmed from elite recognition of monumental tomb types current in Achaemenid Anatolia. While there are no precedents for *true* barrel vaults in the Anatolian *kline*-tombs studied here, the Aktepe tumulus provides a striking parallel with later Macedonian tombs in the interior *appearance* of the chamber, with vaulted ceiling, wall paintings, and monumental stone *kline* at the back (see Fig. 119), as well as in the decorative elaboration of the door façade.⁵⁰ It is as if the general idea of a Lydian tomb chamber was transferred as a blurry memory and then approximately re-created in Macedonia—with an essentially more advanced internal structure, the true vault.⁵¹ The distinctive formal characteristics of Macedonian *klinai* further reveal that this was not a case of direct emulation: the stone *klinai* of Macedonia were not modeled directly on Anatolian stone *klinai* but on luxury *klinai* that may have actually been used in elite banqueting or funerals in Macedonia. In decoration, Macedonian stone *klinai* match their luxury counterparts much more closely than other stone *klinai* do—they are close representations, in stone, of contemporary wooden couches ornamented with gold, glass, and ivory. It seems, therefore, that Achaemenid Anatolia inspired only the general idea of the *kline*-tomb in Macedonia, while its particular details were developed locally.

But the presence of *klinai* in Macedonian cist graves pre-dating the development of the “Macedonian tomb” type by nearly a century complicates this picture. If the Vergina elite of the fifth century sometimes buried their dead on luxury *klinai*, could the idea of burials on stone *klinai* in monumental tombs have evolved independently in Macedonia? This is certainly possible: the similarities among Anatolian and Macedonian tombs could result from similar approaches to elite funerary expression through luxury furniture of a type already dispersed throughout the greater Greek world, and a similar desire to monumentalize and perpetuate these funerary statements by replicating wooden burial furniture in stone. Similarities in form (amphikephalic headrests, etc.) and arrangement would then be explained by a shared function—the fact that the stone *klinai* in both regions were made for human burials. But it seems likely that the Macedonian elite *did* know of how their correlates in neighboring cultures were buried. There is ample evidence of contact with Asia Minor, and it is not only the concept and form of the *klinai* that are comparable but also their arrangement and their setting, the tumulus chambers. Acknowledging such inspiration does not deny Macedonian tomb-builders credit for true innovation. As Huguenot stresses, “Even if a formal leaning can be established between Lydian *klinai* in stone and those of Macedonia, their symbolism is not necessarily analogous and their disposition is often different.”⁵² It is also important to recognize the possibility of reciprocal inspiration: some “Macedonian style” tombs from the late fourth and third centuries have been identified in western Asia Minor, though it is difficult to determine whether *klinai* in such tombs owe more to local or Macedonian traditions.⁵³

What this comparison of Anatolian and Macedonian funerary *klinai* serves to illustrate, in addition to the possible connections between the two traditions, is that the same interpretive challenges apply to all funerary *klinai*, even when the formal types are somewhat different and even when clear references to banqueting exist. The multifunctionality of this furniture type and the symbolic connections of both its main functions (sleeping and banqueting) with ideas about death and afterlife make it impossible fully to divorce one meaning from the other. Moreover, there is always also a possibility that a representation of a luxury *kline* was meant to evoke just that—luxury and wealth.

Conclusions

A full study of later manifestations of this burial type in the Roman period would likely highlight the same problem. Within the much wider distribution of the burial type in the Roman period there is also much regional variation, and a comprehensive study would probably find that *klinai* carried somewhat different significance in different local traditions.⁵⁴ Perhaps this versatility helps to explain the longevity of the *kline*-tomb concept.

A RETURN TO PLATO'S *KLINAI*

Was it this essential ambiguity that made *klinai* seem to be appropriate final resting-places for the Examiners in Plato's *Laws*? We have seen how their formal variability in the world of the living made *klinai* particularly useful in Plato's discussion of ideal forms and representation in the *Republic*. The resemblance of the Examiners' tomb described in the *Laws* with Macedonian tombs has often been noted. It is underground (beneath a tumulus?), roofed by a vault (ψαλίς), and constructed of porous stone (λίθος πότιμος).⁵⁵ This passage has even been used to push the dating of the "true" barrel vault in Macedonia, and the Macedonian tomb type in general, to the years before Plato's death in 347.⁵⁶ The word ψαλίς, however, does not necessarily refer to a "true" vault, and the description could apply equally well to some Anatolian *kline*-tombs.⁵⁷ Rather than proposing that Plato was familiar with certain early Macedonian tombs that have not been found or using this passage (circularly) as a dating criterion for known Macedonian tombs, it is more logical to suppose that Plato was at least aware of the general appearance of monumental tombs in Anatolia.

When Plato prescribed burial on stone *klinai* for the Examiners of the ideal state, he drew upon a tradition that had by his time become emblematic of elite status in Achaemenid Anatolia, one that would have carried a particularly foreign connotation in fourth-century Greece.⁵⁸ This important point has been overlooked in discussions of this interesting passage and is obscured in Reverdin's 1945 reconstruction of the tomb Plato imagined, which shows *klinai* placed side by side in an oblong chamber, like beds in a dormitory or hospital.⁵⁹ It is more likely that Plato had in mind an arrangement similar to those found in Anatolian (and Macedonian) tombs, with couches placed end to end to line the walls of a squarish chamber.⁶⁰ Reverdin's reconstruction may have been driven by the number of Examiners who would eventually have to be accommodated: twelve at first, with three added each year, as each would serve until the age of seventy-five (essentially for life).⁶¹ Plato does not, however, specify that *all* the Examiners are to be buried in the same chamber, just that "a tomb for them should be made under ground" (θήκην δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένην εἶναι), with the possibility of expansion in the future.⁶² The possible symbolic implications of such an arrangement are, of course, very different. Considering the emphasis on the symposion in the preceding discussions in the dialogue, could Plato have been suggesting that his Examiners be laid out as a sympotic *hetaireia*, alluding to some belief in an eternal afterlife symposion? Is this one of the "rewards" (γέρα) he outlines for the Examiners? Just as it is impossible to say without help from context whether Anatolian and Macedonian *kline*-tombs were meant to evoke sympotic space, any eschatological reading of the *klinai* in the Examiners' tomb must remain speculative. Still, there is an inherent tension between the Examiners' stone burial *klinai* in the *Laws* and the "primitive" style of dining (on *stibades* placed directly on the ground) recommended for the ideal city in the *Republic*, and this tension seems to highlight their significance.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE FUNERARY *KLINE*

Like the custom of reclining to dine, the dining couch itself went out of use during Late Antiquity, and with it disappeared the funerary *kline*. The term “funeral couch” persists, though most modern uses have nothing to do with the funerary *klinai* of antiquity and their dual repast-repose significance. For instance, the Latin term *lectus funebris* was recently adopted as the title of a blog forum to aid grieving families. As the founders of the blog explain, “We chose ‘lectus funebris’ as it reminded us of a Sunday afternoon nap, a place of rest. We recognize the need for a comfortable place for those working through issues ubiquitous with death and dying.”⁶³ Here the term refers to a modern sitting-couch occupied by mourners, with no connotation of banqueting or even luxury. Yet more direct legacies of the ancient funeral couch and the corollary tradition of representing the deceased as a reclining figure occur in some interesting and perhaps unexpected places. Consideration of the similarities and differences between these more recent occurrences and the ancient material can enrich our understanding of the latter.

Couches and Funeral Couches in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

The term “funeral couch” may be applied in a broad sense to mean “funeral bed” or to refer to any bed, bier, or platform on which the dead were laid for viewing or burial, regardless of any connection with banqueting. Thomas Gray’s exclamation, “Low on his funeral couch he lies!” attests the existence of the concept in the mid-eighteenth century, though there is no indication that the furniture meant is anything other than an ordinary bed or bier, and the use of the phrase was likely informed by the poet’s classical scholarship.⁶⁴ The same is true, perhaps, of the iron bed that is mechanically transformed into a “funeral couch” in William Mudford’s Gothic horror tale “The Iron Shroud” (1830).⁶⁵ The “funeral couch” had become a concept associated more generally with the classical past than with banqueting.

Victorian-era *post mortem* display sometimes involved placing the dead person on a chaise sofa or “fainting couch.”⁶⁶ This use of a parlor couch as a funeral bed had nothing to do with the funeral couches of antiquity, but the form of the furniture did: Victorian sofas were modeled at least partly on ancient Greek and Roman *klinai*, and it is notable that even though the banqueting connotation was gone, the association of the form with soft luxury remained.⁶⁷ An image of a person reclining on a couch thus carried, in the Victorian era, a particularly charged meaning. As Winterer has shown, for men it was a sign of effeminacy or decadence; for women, it was indicative of wealth and status (i.e., having time for leisure) and also suggestive of sexuality.⁶⁸ The Victorian sofa was thus “both appealing and unsettling, both desirable and sinister. These contradictory qualities made it more, not less, dazzling as the center of the parlor.”⁶⁹ Interestingly, the gendered associations of the couch in the Victorian era reversed ancient Greek convention: the image of the reclining man had been transformed from a sign of privileged elite status in antiquity to a source of ridicule, while the posture that was associated only with hetairai in Classical Greece had become a mark of gentility for Victorian women. The endurance of the couch’s luxurious significance, even when it was removed from a banqueting context, helps to underline the essential common meaning of ancient *klinai*, in all their various contexts, as luxury furnishings.

Conclusions

Renaissance Reclining

Given the banqueting connotations of ancient reclining figures and the effeminate associations of the couch and reclining posture in the Victorian era, it may be somewhat surprising to find popes and cardinals represented in this pose in Renaissance Rome (Fig. 167). Why did Michelangelo's designs for the tomb of Julius II include an image of the pope reclining on his side, leaning on one elbow?⁷⁰ In the early sixteenth century, the tradition of depicting dead popes lying fully recumbent as if asleep atop their sarcophagi was amended by portraying them propped on one elbow in a manner resembling ancient banqueting figures.⁷¹ It seems that the sculptor Jacopo Sansovino introduced this novelty, perhaps inspired by recent discoveries of Etruscan tomb sculptures at Volterra and other sites.⁷² It has even been suggested that the pose may have been initially intended to make a claim of Etruscan ancestry (as for the Della Rovere family) or, more generally, of an Etruscan heritage for Renaissance humanism.⁷³ These Renaissance reclining effigies were more directly connected with ancient traditions than any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century "funeral couches" or reclining Victorian ladies and gentlemen, but they seem to have been far removed both from the banqueting connotations suggested by the pose in antiquity and from the luxury of the *kline*. What, then, was the significance of the pose in the Renaissance?

Most of the Renaissance reclining effigies differ essentially from ancient funerary depictions of reclining figures in their insistence on death, through the metaphorical equation of sleep with death. Even those who are propped upright on an elbow often have their eyes closed and appear to be asleep or dead.⁷⁴ Rather than representing the dead person as reclining in life (or in an imagined afterlife), these effigies seem either to concretize the moment of death or to combine, awkwardly, a pose drawn from earthly life with the idea of eternal sleep in death.⁷⁵ This earthly connotation is underlined by the positioning of these effigies within their monumental contexts, for they usually occupy the center tier (death) while the lower zone refers to "earthly life" and the upper zone to "ultra-terrestrial life" or celestial salvation.⁷⁶ As Panofsky has suggested, the popularity of the new, upright type may have had something to do with its ambiguity: the "reclining but activated effigy could be interpreted, depending on whether the occupant of the tomb was thought of as dead or still alive, either as the portrayal of a person rising from the grave . . . or as the portrayal of a person giving up his ghost to God."⁷⁷ Ascher adds that this ambiguous pose may have fit well into current discussions about the nature of the soul and its relation to the body, for it could imply "both the equation of death and sleep and the heavenly possibility 'to enjoy the divine blessed pleasures of the body.'"⁷⁸ We have seen that a similar kind of ambiguity may lie behind the popularity of *kline*-burial in antiquity, and it is interesting that in the Renaissance the semi-recumbent position could be equated with sleep just as easily as a fully recumbent one. While it seems clear that reclining on one elbow in ancient Mediterranean contexts usually carried a connotation of banqueting, the use of the pose for *sleeping* figures in the Renaissance serves as a reminder that the sleeping function of *klinai* may always be relevant, even when their occupants are shown actively reclining on one elbow.

Contrasting Renaissance reclining effigies with ancient funerary reclining figures brings to light two important aspects of the ancient monuments. The first is their emphasis on life or active enjoyment, whether it is meant to be perceived as taking place in the deceased's actual lifetime or in

Conclusions



Figure 167. Tomb of Pope Julius II, designed by Michelangelo, 1505–45 CE, marble. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. (Vanni / Art Resource, NY)

Conclusions

an imagined afterlife. The second is the important difference between artistic representations of reclining figures in funerary contexts and the actual, three-dimensional representations of the dead as *kline*-occupants in their tombs. The occupants of actual funerary *klinai* were, of course, dead. The artist creating a funerary monument could choose to depict the deceased fully recumbent, as if asleep or dead; or reclining on one elbow, awake and engaged; or reclining while asleep; or (unnaturally) propped on one elbow but with eyes closed as a sign of death. There were no such variable options in the “representational tableau” of a *kline*-tomb. The representation involved in a *kline*-tomb required a mental imaging of the dead person, actively reclining as he or she had during life or was imagined to be doing in the afterlife. And yet, because the furniture type was also used for the funerary display and, during life, for actual sleep, multiple layers of representation could operate at one time: the imagined active representation of the banqueting dead concurrent with a representation of the dead person as if asleep in his or her home (or, again, in an imagined “house of the dead” in an afterlife) and a re-creation of the funerary ceremony in which the dead person was laid on a *kline*.

Analogues in South and East Asia

Another surprising legacy of the ancient Mediterranean tradition of imagining the deceased in a reclining posture may be found in the imagery of the dying Buddha. In scenes narrating the Buddha’s life, the *parinirvana* (the “final nirvana”—that is, death) takes place in a grove with the Buddha reclining on his right side on a couch, surrounded by his followers (Fig. 168). Some of the earliest visual depictions of this scene occur in Gandharan art of the first centuries BCE–CE and often feature a couch resembling Hellenistic and Roman *klinai*, with lathe-turned legs embellished with a series of closely turned moldings, derived ultimately from Achaemenid styles.⁷⁹ There is no indication that this furniture was at any point conceived as a dining couch, but its style in the earliest representations betrays the artists’ familiarity with contemporary Graeco-Roman images of dining, or of *kline*-sarcophagi.⁸⁰ In contrast to reclining figures in Greek and Roman art, however, the Buddha normally lies on his right rather than his left side. Perhaps there was a conscious desire to distinguish this type of reclining from the very different convivial reclining of the contemporary Mediterranean world, or perhaps there is a textual/religious basis for this orientation. In textual accounts, he reclines on his right side with his head toward the north, having specified that a couch be placed in the grove with its head end at the north.⁸¹ Another difference involves posture and mental state: the Buddha is usually shown in full repose, with his eyes closed, rather than supporting himself on one elbow with eyes open. Depictions that show him leaning upright and awake choose to focus on the moment of enlightenment before death rather than death itself; these are more common in later Buddhist art and seem to have developed from the earlier pictorial tradition, which has yet remained strong.⁸² In comparison with both the Renaissance effigies and the ancient reclining figures, therefore, the imagery of the dying Buddha has greater narrative specificity. But it is still capable of alluding to what came before or after death, in the sublime facial expression worn whether the Buddha is pictured just before death, sleeping/dying, or dead. So while the furniture and overall composition seem to be inspired by contemporary scenes of reclining banqueters in



Figure 168. The Death of the Buddha, Gandharan *parinirvana* scene, schist relief from Takht-i-Bahi, second–third century CE. London, British Museum 1899,0715.9. (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Greek and Roman funerary art, the couch does not seem to carry any inherent connotation of banqueting or luxury, and the pose instead conveys peaceful rest. The Buddhist images, like the Renaissance reclining figures, are removed from the meanings of the couch and reclining posture in Graeco-Roman (and Etruscan) contexts. Both also demonstrate the distinct connotations of reclining with torso upright as opposed to lying fully recumbent and thus underscore the active nature of the former pose.

A final analogue to consider brings us back from visual representations of the reclining dead to the physical representation of the deceased in the tomb itself: the “funeral couches” of sixth- and seventh-century CE tombs in northern China. These bear no formal relationship to the funerary *klinai* of the Mediterranean world (or to “couches” in the modern sense), but they served a similar representational and conceptual function in that they were burial platforms that resembled low beds used for (seated) dining as well as relaxation and sleeping.⁸³ Often placed in the rear chamber of a tomb, corresponding to the location of bedrooms in contemporary houses, these couch-platforms were sometimes decorated with reliefs showing banqueters seated atop similar furnishings.⁸⁴ Like the funerary *klinai* of the Mediterranean world, these furnishings served to indicate the status of the deceased and perhaps also to evoke the social banquets enjoyed during life. It is particularly interesting that some of these tombs seem to have belonged to foreigners of Central Asian descent (Sogdians) who practiced the Zoroastrian religion but adapted to the local Chinese “burial format”: the funeral couches fulfilled the religious need to elevate the corpse above the ground while conforming to the native tradition of burying the dead on a platform or in a sarcophagus in a rear chamber of the tomb.⁸⁵ The situation parallels the adoption of native Anatolian funerary traditions by Achaemenid elites in Asia Minor some thousand years earlier, and it is possible that the idea of a funerary *kline* appealed to Persian tastes for the same reason.

Conclusions

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding chapters have ranged over broad and varied ground, dealing with literary as well as archaeological sources and physical as well as representational evidence, and offering tentative speculations as well as firm conclusions. The common thread in all these discussions has been, of course, the *kline*—the defining furniture of elite life- (and death-) styles in the ancient Mediterranean world. But while we can speak of the *kline* as a distinct furniture type—a multifunctional bed/couch—it was never limited to one style or one meaning. Rather, a multitude of *klinai*, in a few main styles, presented endless decorative variations and numerous symbolic connotations, often concurrent: sleep, banqueting, marriage, eroticism, and, perhaps above all, luxury. Recurring throughout the preceding pages are reminders of the multifunctionality and multivalence—and therefore the versatility and inherent ambiguity—of ancient *klinai*. It has been suggested here that it was precisely the variability, versatility, and ambiguity of *klinai* that made them so apt for use both as burial receptacles and in philosophical discourse. Another recurring theme has been representation: the challenges and possibilities of gleaned information about perishable wooden furniture forms through representations, and of interpreting such representations as symbolic constructs, whether they were achieved in two or three dimensions, as in the funerary statements made through tomb arrangements. Equally important is the role of furniture style, burial type, and dining posture in the active construction of identity in these representations. What began, then, as a study of Anatolian funeral couches has become an exploration of *klinai*, representation, and identity in general, with particular emphasis on their nexus in Achaemenid Anatolia.

As the 2010 discovery of two remarkable tumuli with *klinai* at Daskyleion has vividly demonstrated, new excavations have great potential to enrich future exploration of these topics—but only if the rate of tumulus looting and vandalism that has long plagued western Turkey abates and as-yet-unrecorded evidence for tomb furnishings and offerings can be recovered. More careful attention to the small finds (amber, ivory, and glass pieces) that could attest to the presence of inlaid *klinai* may also help to increase our knowledge of the uses and distribution of actual luxury *klinai*, as already seems to be the case in investigations of ancient Macedonia. New discoveries, of course, may well challenge some of the arguments laid out in these pages. The theories advanced at various points in this book are just that—theories based on the current corpus of evidence for *kline* forms, style, and uses: for the East Greek origins of the main *kline* types; the Anatolian roots of the *kline*-tomb concept; the luxurious, rather than nomadic, origins of the custom of reclining to dine; and the reasons for the popularity of *kline*-tombs in Achaemenid Anatolia and, later, in Macedonia. Even for the most tentative explanations, however, the process of exploring and assessing the evidence is illuminating and carries the hope that others may be inspired to continue or even to challenge this research with new discoveries and new questions.

Afterword

The discovery of a remarkably well-preserved *kline*-tomb near Daskyleion in 2012 was reported by Kaan İren, director of the Daskyleion excavations, at the 35th International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys, and Archaeometry in Muğla, Turkey, on 30 May 2013, after the completion of this manuscript. The chamber of the Kocaresul Tumulus contains three intact stone couches in a Π-shaped arrangement, each decorated with carved and painted ornament. The side *klinai* have Type B legs with rosettes above volute side cut-outs and double-volute capitals in sunken relief, similar to examples from Lydia discussed here (Cat. 32, 46). The supports of the rear couch are obscured by the side *klinai*, but its front rail carries a vibrant black and red maeander. Elegant volute scrolls are carved in relief on the sides of raised headrests above the capitals of the side *klinai*. The tomb has been dated to the second half of the fifth century by in situ pottery including an Attic white-ground/red-figure kylix. This newly discovered and beautifully equipped tomb thus offers the best-preserved example of the type of tomb that is the subject of this book and will be critical to future studies of funerary *klinai* in Anatolia. Its location and date confirm the idea that the *kline*-tomb type reached its zenith during the Persian period, supported by the polyethnic aristocracy of Achaemenid Anatolia. Particular details of *kline* design paralleled in Lydia, in turn, support the suggestion that Lydia was crucial to the distribution of this tomb type across Anatolia. This tomb will be important also for the study of tomb traditions in Anatolia and tomb architecture in general because of its ceiling type (pointed vault) and its solid dating evidence. Full publication of this tomb and its contents is eagerly anticipated and is sure to make a wide range of important contributions to the field of classical archaeology.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches, ca. 600–400 BCE

Catalogue entries are organized first by tomb type (tumulus, rock-cut chamber), then by region (Lydia, Phrygia, etc.), then by modern Turkish province (Manisa, Uşak, etc.). Tombs in Lydia, Phrygia, Mysia, the Troad, Ionia, the Milyas, the Kibyratis, and Pisidia are included here. Additional remains of wooden couches and tombs in Caria, Lycia, and Paphlagonia are discussed in Chapter 2. The format is as follows:

Catalogue number—Tomb name (with map reference if tomb location is noted on a map)

Nearest ancient site, modern town, district, or more specific location (with map reference if applicable)

Basic description of tomb

Number and placement of couches

Material of couch(es), if known

Dimensions of couch(es), if recorded or determinable from scaled drawings (L = length, W = width, H = height; pres. = preserved; max. = maximum)

Description of bedslab(s), if preserved

Description of supports, if preserved

Other tomb information: description of tomb chamber, masonry details, etc., if known

Associated finds: description of associated finds, if any (IAM = Istanbul Archaeology Museum)

History of exploration or excavation (dates included when known)

Present location and inventory number, if known and if other than *in situ*

Bibliography

Probable date or period

Figure reference(s)

TUMULUS BURIALS

Lydia

Manisa

1—Tomb 77.1

Sardis (Fig. 63), Şeytan Deresi, near the Pyramid Tomb
Tumulus with built chamber and dromos (tumulus not preserved).

Single couch along each side wall, each composed of a horizontal bedslab on plain upright supports.

Limestone

2.23 m L, 0.70 m W, 0.60–0.70 m H

Simple bedslabs (0.32 m thick), with rectangular, concave hollows (0.05–0.07 m deep). On the front faces of the bedslabs, a shallow recessed band at the bottom (ca. 0.08 m high).

Plain slab supports (0.20 m wide, 0.40 m high, 0.72 m deep).

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.23 × 2.22 m, 1.60 m pres. H, composed of limestone blocks, with plug-type door. Ceiling not preserved. Combination butterfly-staple clamps; anathyrosis. Lydian occupation level encountered in soundings below the floor level.

Associated finds: Finds from the chamber all reflect later (Hellenistic and Early Roman) reuse: various unguentaria, lamps, and flasks. Secondary burials were located below both couches, and a limestone cinerary chest rested on a debris stratum above the left couch. According to Hanfmann (Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 60), “a laminar organic substance consisting of a layer of resin between two other layers of indeterminate nature was discovered pressed into the depressions of the ‘bed’ slabs . . . [and] may have funereal significance.” Pottery from limestone chip strata (construction debris) in the dromos and below the floor of the chamber

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

include skyphoi and other shapes with typical Lydian decoration (streaky glaze, wavy line), suggesting a Lydian construction date, with Hellenistic and Roman reuse.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1977; author visit, 2002

Greenewalt 1979, 9–19; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59–60; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T17, 193–99; Ratté 1989, 195–99; Dinç 1993, no. 15; Dusingberre 2003, 242; Roosevelt 2003, 386, no. 1; Ratté 2011, 89–90, figs. 125–29

Ca. 550–500 (?) with later reuse

2—Tomb 82.1

Sardis (Fig. 63), Şeytan Deresi, near the Pyramid Tomb

Tumulus with built chamber and porch, built into a mound-like ridge.

Single *kline* along each side wall, each composed of a bedslab (not preserved) supported on upright slab supports.

Limestone

Each at least 0.765 m W; length and height unknown.

Plain slab supports. Only one from each couch survives, along the south (rear) wall of the chamber. Both are 0.22 m wide and 0.765 m deep. The east support is 0.38 m high; the west support is 0.43 m high.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.87 × 1.95 m, 1.82 m high, composed of limestone blocks. Ceiling not preserved. Plug-type door. Projecting bands (protective lips) at top of walls; anathyrosis; slight traces of claw chiseling noted on lower courses of rear wall.

Associated finds: Pottery from the chamber ranged “from Hellenistic to modern,” but finds from the topsoil of the mound were “almost exclusively Lydian,” including a streaky-glaze fruit stand foot and two lamp fragments (Greenewalt, Ratté, Sullivan, and Howe 1983, 83–84).

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1982

Greenewalt, Ratté, Sullivan, and Howe 1983, 81–84; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T18, 195–97; Ratté 1989, 200–204; 2011, 90–92, figs. 129–41; Dinç 1993, no. 14; Dusingberre 2003, 242; Roosevelt 2003, 387–88, no. 3

Mid- to late sixth century (550–500?) with later reuse

3—BK71.1 (Başlıoğlu B)

Keskinler, near Sardis (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

Single *kline* along the right wall.

Limestone

2.10 m L, 0.88 m W, 0.52 m H

Plain bedslab with raised rectangular border (0.10 m wide) along long sides and raised rectangular posts at corners (0.18 × 0.10 m).

Upright slab supports (0.22–0.245 m wide, 0.88 m deep), with Type B double-volute side cutouts in relief.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.77 × 1.72 m, composed of smoothly worked limestone blocks, with flat ceiling 1.86 m high. Side walls tilt in toward ceiling. Plug-type door. Protective lips on lower courses of walls behind *kline* and elsewhere, where there may have originally been a table.

Associated finds: Finds include alabaster alabastra and fragments of Achaemenid bowls.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1971

Ramage 1972, 11–15; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59, figs. 115–16; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T19, 143, 197–200; Ratté 1989, 189–95; 2011, 86–88, figs. 118–22; Dinç 1993, no. 16; Dusingberre 2003, 241–42; Roosevelt 2003, 389–90, no. 7

Ca. 550–500?

Fig. 80

4—Tomb 89.11

Sardis (Fig. 63), Hacı Oğlan, north of Nekropolis

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Three interlocking built-in shelves, in II-shaped arrangement.

Limestone

Left: 1.84 m L, 0.64 m W, ca. 1.00 m H; rear: 2.14 m L, 0.62 m W, ca. 1.00 m H; right: 1.88 m L, 0.66 m W, ca. 1.00 m H

Bedslabs have rectangular trough-like depressions (0.15–0.26 m deep, 0.53 m wide) within high rectangular borders (ca. 0.10 m wide, 0.15–0.17 high), socketed into walls and partially incorporated with masonry. The two side bedslabs have projections (ca. 0.08 m wide and 0.035 m thick) on one short end that are socketed into notches on the front edge of the rear bedslab. On the plaster floor beneath the built-in shelf-couches is a II-shaped channel (0.15 m deep) for further floor burials.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.48 × 2.18 m, 2.06 m high, made of conglomerate, sandstone, and limestone, with pitched ceiling. Lime plaster on walls and floor. Plug-type door. Some chinking stones in wall joints.

Associated finds: Finds include a few Archaic Lydian items, but most are later (third or second century): 30–40 pottery

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

vessels, including alabaster, amphorae or amphora-like shapes, narrow-necked shapes, cups or bowls, a lagynoid vessel, unguentaria, a small skyphos rim fragment, the body of a "Lydian/Samian"-type lekythos, and a conical lekythos; lamp fragments include a Broneer Type IX lamp. A slab with an Archaic-style palmette antefix was found reused on the floor of the antechamber. Skeletal remains of several individuals were also recovered.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1989

Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman, 1993, 31–35, figs. 27–28; Dinç 1993, no. 36; Roosevelt 2003, 621–22, no. 539; Ratté 2011, 92–93, figs. 143, 146

Fifth–third century (?) with later reuse

5—BT Choisy A

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Kline bedslab found at doorway; original location within chamber unknown.

Limestone?

Ca. 0.70 m W, based on the scaled drawing published in Choisy 1876, pl. 13A

Bedslab ca. 0.20 m thick, with raised rectangular border (ca. 0.10 m wide) on long sides and shallow depression between. Raised headrest on each short end, with curved inner profile and concave semi-oval depression in center; its side/edge (ca. 0.08 m high) was decorated with a (painted?) meander. The central portion of the lower edge of the front face of the bedslab was beveled back at an angle, thus setting off a flat "rail" above (ca. 0.10 m high) and the tops of "legs" at each end; the slab presumably rested on upright slab supports. The "rail" was decorated with a row of stars, with rays painted alternately red and green, each enclosed in a circular outline. Choisy notes that these are "incorrect and poorly sketched/outlined," as if hastily executed. At the top of each "leg" was another medallion, possibly a rosette.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.94 × 2.01 m, constructed of limestone masonry, with flat ceiling 2.02 m high. Plug-type door. Projecting bands (protective lips) at tops of walls. Recorded by A. Choisy, 1875; previously explored by G. Dennis Choisy 1876, 74–75, 80, figs. 1–4, pl. 13A; Vollmoeller 1901a, 14; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T2, 143, 174–75, 366n8; Dusingber 2003, 242–43; Roosevelt 2003, 395–96, no. 22

Sixth–fourth century?

Fig. 72b

6—BT Choisy B–C

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Kline fragments found in the Bin Tepe region, "too far from the tombs where they emerged to determine their exact provenance" (Choisy 1876, 80). Pieces belonging to two separate *klinai* consisting of horizontal bedslabs on upright slab supports, from one or possibly two tumuli.

Limestone?

Ca. 1.90–2.00 m L, 0.75 m W, 0.70 m H, based on the scaled drawing published in Choisy 1876, pl. 13B–C. Choisy (p. 80) makes it clear that only the left half of the bed is drawn, since the two ends are identical. For the sake of estimating total length, it has been assumed that the drawing shows exactly half of the bed.

The bedslab drawn in Choisy pl. 13B was about 0.20 m thick and had a shallow concave depression bordered by rectangular bands (ca. 0.06 m wide) on the long sides. Each short end has a raised headrest (ca. 0.08 m high), with concave inner edge and concave semi-oval depression on the inner side of the upper surface (only the left end was drawn, but the right end was said to be identical). On the front face of the bedslab, the raised posts at each end were decorated with Aeolic double volutes replicating the volute capitals of Type B *kline* legs. On the left end this motif was merely painted (green), but on the right it was carved in sunken relief. The volute eyes were painted red. The front face of the bedslab, between the raised ends, consisted of a flat face (ca. 0.09 m high) over an angled recess. The flat face ("rail") was decorated with a row of (carved?) circular elements, called "paterae" by Choisy (p. 79), with traces of red paint (p. 80).

Slab supports ca. 0.16 m wide, 0.40–0.44 m tall. Their front faces were carved to replicate Type B legs, with side cutouts and a palmette below. Pl. 13B and C are slightly different and not from the same *kline* (13B did have a matching leg, Choisy fig. 13), but perhaps from the same tomb. Support 13B had a nine-petaled palmette, with rounded, club-shaped petals, while 13C was drawn with an eleven-petaled palmette, with petals slightly more angular. On the petals of 13C Choisy noted traces of red paint. F.H. Bacon, who sketched support 13C or one identical to it in the Sart train station in 1882, noted that "the creamy, chalk-like stone seemed to be

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

saying, 'Come paint me—red, gold, blue, etc.' I have seldom seen a stone that so invited color decoration." Therefore, either the support Bacon drew is not Choisy 13C (but perhaps its companion?), or by 1882 the traces of paint had vanished. Bacon also noted the sharp contours of the palmette leaves and drew a section of one of them to make his point that the edges were "beautifully sharp." This sketch shows a gentle concavity on either side of a slight ridge in the center of the leaf. His sketch of the support is upside down.

Recorded by A. Choisy, 1875; support sketched by F.H. Bacon, 1882

Choisy 1876, 78–80, fig. 13, pl. 13B, C; F.H. Bacon, letters to Charles Eliot Norton and William R. Ware, 1882 (copies of which were provided to the Sardis expedition by Lenore O. Keene Congdon); Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 268–73; Vollmoeller 1901a, 14–15; McLauchlin 1985, 143, 366n8, fig. 37

Sixth century?

Figs. 72a–b, 115a

7—BT Choisy D

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Fragments of a *kline* bedslab found in the Bin Tepe region, probably from a tumulus.

Stone

Ca. 1.90–2.00 m L, 0.75 m W, based on the scaled drawing published in Choisy 1876, pl. 13 B–C. Choisy (p. 80) makes it clear that only the left half of the bed is drawn, since the two ends are identical. For the sake of estimating total length, it has been assumed that the drawing shows exactly half of the bed.

Bedslab 0.10–0.18 m thick, with shallow concave depression bordered by raised rectangular bands (ca. 0.10 m wide) on the long sides and raised rectangular headrests (ca. 0.08 m high) on the short ends; only the left end is drawn in pl. 13D, but the right end is said to be identical. The raised headrests had a depression on the inner side, bordered by volutes in relief on the surrounding raised surface. On the far edges of the bed surface, contiguous with the raised headrests, are semi-oval pillow-like swells.

Recorded by A. Choisy, 1875

Choisy 1876, 80, pl. 13D; Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 268–73; Vollmoeller 1901a, 14–15; McLauchlin 1985, 143, 366n8, fig. 37

Sixth century?

Figs. 72b, 115e

8—BT Dennis A

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Single couch located before the rear wall of the chamber, composed of a horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports.

Stone (marble or limestone?)

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed of limestone masonry, with flat ceiling.

Associated finds: Skeletal remains were found atop the couch.

Pottery and glass vessels found on the floor probably belong to Roman reuse.

G. Dennis excavation, 1882

Butler 1922, 7, 10; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T5, 177; Dusingberre 2003, 243; Roosevelt 2003, no. 25

Sixth–fourth century (?) with Roman reuse

9—BT62.4 (Para Bulunduğu Tepe)

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Single couch before rear wall.

Limestone

2.15 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.50 m H

Twenty-one fragments of a bedslab (0.11–0.12 m thick), with shallow concave depression (0.06–0.07 m deep) between flat raised borders (0.11–0.13 m wide). The depression is curved on at least one end. Restored dimensions and original location against the rear wall are indicated by an area of specially prepared masonry (anathyrosis, claw chiseling) and discoloration on the lower part of the rear wall and at the rear ends of the side walls.

Two fragments, trapezoidal in section, could belong to upright slab supports.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.47 × 2.10 m, composed of nicely worked limestone blocks, with flat ceiling 2.16 m high. Plug-type door; combination butterfly-staple clamps; anathyrosis; claw chiseling; protective lips.

Associated finds: Finds include fragments of Lydian pottery, a bone pipe (?), an iron spear butt, a fragment of worked ivory, a flint blade, and the skeleton of a small animal (in the dromos).

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1962; author visit, 2002

Sardis excavation fieldbook; Hanfmann 1963, 57–59, figs. 42–44; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T9, 179–82; Ratté 1989, 174;

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

2011, 77–80, figs. 77, p. 82; Dinç 1993, no. 3; Dusiñberre 2003, 239; Roosevelt 2003, 418–29, no. 56; 2009, 209, no. 1.15
Late sixth–early fifth century (530–470?)

10—BT63.2

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Four rectangular hollows in middle of limestone paving (each 0.09×0.11 m, 0.055 m deep), probably cut to receive legs of a wooden couch, remains of which were found near one of the cuttings.

Wood (Mediterranean cypress)

Ca. 1.90 m L, ca. 0.85 m W, at least 0.32 – 0.48 m H. The boards are 0.24 – 0.30 m high, and the “leg” extends at least 0.18 m beyond that; the hollows are roughly 1.90 and 0.85 m apart. Part of an upright “leg” and parts of two adjoining planks forming the corner of a wooden item (couch or sarcophagus?) were found just above and to one side of one of four rectangular cuttings in the paved floor. The two boards were connected to the upright piece by means of slot mortise joinery. Preserved dimensions of the boards are 0.92 m long, 0.24 m high, 0.018 m thick; and 0.76 m long, 0.30 m high, 0.018 m thick. The corner piece/leg measures 0.42 m long, 0.09 m wide, 0.08 m thick. The three pieces were found still joined together, fallen as if the upright leg had once stood in the floor cutting. Another preserved piece of wood appears to have been an “upper side fragment,” with a rounded molding at the top (Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138). In addition to the wood remains, numerous fragments of iron plates and nails were found in the general fill of the chamber as well as on the floor: two large and around twenty small fragments of iron plates and about fifteen nail fragments. The two best-preserved plates measure ca. 0.085×0.080 m and ca. 0.083×0.092 m. On the surfaces of the iron plates/plaques are pseudomorphs of wood and textile, indicating that the pieces once adorned a wooden object and were on one side covered by cloth. The recorded findspot of one of the plates 0.65 m from the west wall and 0.30 m from the south wall (Sardis Fieldbook BT63 II, p. 165), just beyond the southwest floor cutting, suggests that the plates were in some way associated with the corners of the wooden item that stood in the cuttings.

Other tomb information: Chamber built of limestone ashlar masonry, 2.87×1.35 m, with flat ceiling composed of

limestone slabs, 1.36 m high. No doorway of any kind. Drafted margins; beveled joints; long walls tilting in slightly toward ceiling.

Associated finds: Four squat lekythoi were found in the disturbed chamber. At the edge of the chamber roof, probably left by tomb robbers, were a streaky-glaze skyphos, a ridged lydion, and a waveline hydria, along with the bones of several small animals (dogs, mice, hedgehog?).

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1963; author examination of fragments, 2002

Fragments housed in Sardis expedition depot, JCW Box 11, inv. M63.44

Sardis excavation fieldbook; Hanfmann 1964, 55, fig. 35; Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138–40, figs. 6–10; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59; Waldbaum 1983, 78–79, pl. 26, no. 422; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T10, 147–48, 182–84; Ratté 1989, 88, 176–79, no. 4, figs. 52–56; 2011, 80–81, fig. 88; Dinç 1993, no. 4; Dusiñberre 2003, 239–40; Roosevelt 2003, 403–4, no. 35; 2009, 209, no. 1.13

Ca. 600–550?

Figs. 61–62

11—BT66.1

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63): Duman Tepe ridge

Tumulus with built chamber (dromos, antechamber, chamber). Built-in bench filling rear part of chamber, fragmentary at time of excavation (broken up by looters).

Limestone

2.03 m L, 1.01 m W, 0.69 m H

Bedslab ca. 0.10 m thick, socketed into a recessed slot between the first and second courses of rear and side walls. Raised rectangular border (ca. 0.05 m high, 0.10 m wide) on front edge of bedslab. Some of the preserved fragments indicate that the upper surface of the bedslab had an oval hollow/depression.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.04×2.03 m, composed of limestone masonry, with flat ceiling ca. 1.90 m high. Walls tilt in slightly toward ceiling. Antechamber has plug-type door. A layer of lime plaster/stucco, 0.15 m thick, preserved on all surfaces of antechamber and main chamber (including the couch), may not be original. A semicircular hole is cut in one of the ceiling slabs of the main chamber.

Associated finds: The only find from an undisturbed stratum is a fragment of an Ionian cup (?), found in the tumulus

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

- fill above the dromos. A late Lydian sherd with graffito was found in the dromos. Finds from the chamber, including a fragment of an unguentarium and a gold-plated bronze hoop earring, all probably reflect later reuse: the tomb contained a second-century CE mass burial, with the remains of at least 150 individuals in the dromos and antechamber as well as the main chamber, apparently stacked in as many as three rows. Over fifty intact lamps, dating from the fourth to the seventh century CE, attest to even later use. Looters are said to have taken over three hundred additional lamps.
- Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1966
Sardis excavation fieldbook; Hanfmann 1967, 47–50, fig. 28; Waldbaum 1983, 123, nos. 723–24, pl. 45; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T11, 184–87; Ratté 1989, 181, figs. 62a–b; 2011, 82–83, figs. 94, 96; Dinç 1993, no. 6; Dusinberre 2003, 240; Roosevelt 2003, 411–12, no. 45; 2009, 207, no. 1.1
- Late sixth–fourth century
- 12—BT66.2
Bin Tepe (Fig. 63): Duman Tepe ridge
Tumulus with dromos and chamber partly built, partly carved out of bedrock.
Rock-cut bench against rear wall.
Bedrock
2.00 m L, 1.12 m W, 0.62 m H
Front edge of bench has raised rectangular border 0.13 m high; at the floor level the ends “have rounded cuttings going up to the first course of wall blocks” (Sardis excavation report). According to the excavation fieldbook, rounded cuttings ca. 0.40 m high also exist in the bedrock on each side wall, directly across from each other. The function of these cuttings is uncertain, but it is tempting to wonder whether these, along with the rounded cuttings on the ends of the rear bench, may have been involved in the insertion of additional side couches or other furnishings in another material.
- Other tomb information:* Chamber 2.00 × 2.00 m, composed of limestone masonry above rock-cut lower portion, with flat ceiling and plug-type door.
- Associated finds:* Finds from the chamber include a Lydian amphora, a fragment of an Egyptian glass alabastron, and a rim fragment of a stone alabastron. On the floor of the dromos were a squat jug with graffito, an Ionian cup, and a neck fragment of an Attic black-glazed lekythos; in the dromos fill were an Achaemenid bowl and a lekythos (possibly Attic). A streaked bowl rim was found in the limestone chip layer above the chamber ceiling, and a streaky-glaze dish rim was found in the tumulus fill above the chamber. The bones of a male about twenty-five years old were also found in the tumulus fill outside the chamber. Illicit diggers were said to have removed “a pair of golden earrings, four stone alabastra, and a bronze vessel” (Hanfmann 1967).
- Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1966
Sardis excavation fieldbook; Hanfmann 1967, 50–51; McLauchlin 1985, BRC/T3, 201–3; Ratté 1989, 89, 181–83, figs. 63–67; 2011, 83–84, fig. 101; Dinç 1993, no. 7; Dusinberre 2003, 240; Roosevelt 2003, 412–13, no. 46; 2009, 207, no. 1.1
- Late sixth century?
- 13—BT66.4
Bin Tepe (Fig. 63): Duman Tepe ridge
Tumulus with dromos and chamber partly built, partly rock-cut.
Horizontal slot in right part of rear wall may have been intended to receive bedslab of a built-in couch located along the right wall.
Material unknown
Ca. 1.86 m L, 0.58 m W, 0.18 m H (estimate based on slot)
Other tomb information: Chamber ca. 1.86 × 1.78 m, composed of limestone masonry above rock-cut lower portion, with plug-type door. Ceiling not preserved; recovery of a triangular block suggests that it may have been pitched. Combination butterfly-staple clamps; anathyrosis.
- Associated finds:* Finds from the chamber include an Ionian amphoriskos, a skyphos, a bowl, a lekythos, an unguentarium, a large pot, a lamp fragment (Broneer Type VII), and a fragment of an Egyptian blue glass bowl. A lekythos fragment was found in the dromos fill. A lydion and an amphoriskos were found in the tumulus fill.
- Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1966
Sardis excavation fieldbook; Hanfmann 1967, 52; McLauchlin 1985, BRC/T4, 203–5; Ratté 1989, 90, 185–87; 2011, 84–85, figs. 109–11; Dinç 1993, no. 9; Dusinberre 2003, 241; Roosevelt 2003, 413–14, no. 48; 2009, 207, no. 1.1
- Late sixth century?
- 14—BT89.1
Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)
Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Single *kline* against rear wall, composed of horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports.

Limestone

2.06 m L, 0.815 m W, 0.66/0.72 m H (top of rail/raised ends)

The bedslab was intact at the time of excavation but is now fragmentary. It has raised rectangular borders (0.10 m wide) on the long sides and higher raised rectangular areas (0.23 m wide, 0.06 m high) on the short ends, in which semi-oval depressions are carved. Painted decoration visible on the front face of the bedslab at the time of excavation no longer survives: at each raised end, a linear volute in red, from the top of which springs a schematic lotus flower (or palmette?) in black; below the volute, a maeander band in red and black (or blue?), 0.11 m high. The lower edge of the front face of the bedslab, between the maeander bands, is beveled back at an angle, thus setting off a flat "rail" above (0.14 m high). Maximum thickness of bedslab (at raised ends) is 0.27 m.

Slab supports 0.45 m high, 0.23 m wide, 0.81 m deep, with simple Type B side cutouts in relief on their front faces.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.20 × 1.87 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone masonry, with flat ceiling 1.92 m high. Red painted band (0.03–0.04 m high) encircling tops of walls in burial chamber. Plug-type door block. The chamber was covered first with a layer of clay, then with layers of plant matter, ash, and small stones before the rest of the tumulus was heaped above it.

Associated finds: Skeletal remains were found on the *kline*, and a fragmentary alabaster alabastron beneath it. Remains of two cart or chariot wheels and four linchpins were found in the dromos and porch. Two of the linchpins have ram's-head finials; the other two are in the form of male figures wearing "Persian"-style caps. Other finds include textile fragments, bronze bells, an iron knife, a fragmentary cooking pot, and an amphora with white banded decoration on black glaze/slip.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1989; author examination of fragments, 2002

Manisa Museum (uninventoried)

Dedeoğlu 1991, 119–49, esp. 124; Dinç 1993, no. 13; Kökten Ersoy 1998; Aydın 2001, table 9; Roosevelt 2003, 406–7, no. 39; 2009, 182; Baughan 2010a, 278–79, figs. 5–7; Cahill 2010, 561–62, nos. 206–9

Late sixth century

Figs. 76, 115b, 155

15—BT05.58

Bin Tepe: near Kendirlik (Fig. 63, no. 16)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, porch, and dromos.

Fragments of a single *kline* composed of horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports, probably originally set before rear wall.

Marble or limestone

Ca. 2.10 m L (estimated from preserved bedslab fragments), ca. 1.00 m W, height unknown

Bedslab has concave depression between flat bands on the long sides and higher, raised rectangular headrests on the short ends, with semi-oval depressions surrounded by carved double volutes and corresponding semi-oval pillow-like swellings on the adjacent parts of the bed surface. The front faces of the raised headrests have carved Aeolic-style volute capitals.

A preserved piece of one slab support has a Type B leg design carved in low relief on its face: the top halves of back-to-back crescent-shaped cutouts with disc terminals at the top and at the midpoint.

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.65 × 3.60 m (transverse plan), with flat ceiling ca. 1.92 m high. Smoothly worked limestone masonry. Doorway from antechamber to chamber blocked with four courses of rusticated ashlar masonry. Doorway from porch to antechamber once filled with plug-type door, found in porch. Notable construction features: banded joints; protective lips; staple clamp with lead sealing; contact bands; milots.

Central Lydia Archaeology Survey, 2005

Roosevelt 2007, 137–39, fig. 3; 2009, fig. 6.46; Roosevelt and Luke 2008, 307, fig. 3

Sixth century?

Figs. 68, 115g

16—Kendirlik Tomb 1

Bin Tepe: near Kendirlik (Fig. 63, no. 16)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Fragmentary *kline* composed of horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports, probably located before the rear wall of the transversely oriented chamber, given the *kline* and chamber dimensions. There are some discrepancies between the published account and the actual remains stored at Sardis, but it is likely that the latter all come from Kendirlik Tomb 1 and belong to a single *kline*.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Marble (bedslab: white marble with fine crystals; supports: blue-veined marble)

At least 2.04 m L, 0.85 m W, 0.59 m H

Bedslab 0.15 m thick, with shallow (0.025 m deep) concave bed depression bordered by flat bands (0.090–0.095 m wide) on the long sides and by raised rectangular headrests on both short ends (0.02–0.05 m high). Each raised end has a concave semi-oval concavity on the inner side, balanced by a semi-oval, raised pillow-like swell on the end of the bed surface. At the time of discovery in 1994, fleeting traces of red and black painted decoration were noted on the front edge of the bedslab. All that remains today is a tiny patch of red pigment on the front left raised end; faint lines defining a small bow-tie shape (incised? or resulting from differential weathering where paint was once located?) can also be discerned in this area. Similar faint lines and weathering patterns on the raised headrests suggest volute forms. The underside of the bedslab is roughly worked except for smooth, flat-chiseled bands at each end (0.16 and 0.21 m wide), where it would have rested on the slab supports.

The excavators reported finding in Tomb 1 numerous fragments of a marble bedslab with a raised “pillow”-headrest and a marble slab support with painted decoration on its upright face, 0.44 m high, 0.18 m wide, and 0.83 m deep (Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 210–11, figs. 5–6). The excavators make no mention of a second support in their report and explicitly state that they searched for one but were unsuccessful (p. 211). Two matching supports were, however, brought to the Sardis excavation compound in 1994, along with the fragments of the bedslab. The second support measures 0.44 m high, 0.15–0.19 m wide (bottom to top), 0.83 m deep. The published drawing of one of the supports (fig. 6) shows more than was visible to the author on either support in 2002. It is not certain which of the two supports was drawn, though the published dimensions best match those of the slightly smaller one, with the least amount of paint now preserved, so it is possible that the designs recorded upon excavation have simply vanished.

Both supports carry Type B painted decoration on the front face, though it is better preserved on the larger one: back-to-back double volutes in black outline with red eyes, connected by a horizontal red band bordered by reserve and black bands; at either side of this connecting band are red circles bordered by black bands, similar to the eyes of the

volutes; a palmette above, with leaves outlined in black and filled with red, except for a reserve band just inside the black outline; on the better-preserved support, a smaller palmette, composed of only four (?) petals, hangs below, between the separating double volutes. On the other support, no trace of this part of the decoration remains, but the published drawing shows a single leaf or tongue suspended from the separation of the volutes. In the published drawing, there are four circles in a row at the bottom, divided into pairs by a vertical bar in the center and bordered by a horizontal band at the top, from which suspend short vertical lines, between the dots of each pair. Amorphous red traces now visible at the bottom of the slab could belong to this motif.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.81 × 1.900–1.965 m (transverse plan), constructed of smoothly worked limestone masonry, with flat ceiling 1.925 m high. Plug-type door. Long walls tilt in toward ceiling. Protective lips; some beveled joints; traces of flat chiseling.

Associated finds: Three lekythoi of red fabric, dated ca. 575–540.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1994

Sardis excavation compound, NoEx 94.4; author examination of fragments, 2002

Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 207–12, 219–22, figs. 5–6; Roo-sevelt 2003, 408–9, no. 42; 2009, 209–10, no. 1.19

Late seventh–mid-sixth century (ca. 610–540?)

Figs. 67, 115c, Plate 8

17—Kendirlik Tomb 2

Bin Tepe: near Kendirlik (Fig. 63, no. 16)

Tumulus with built chamber and porch.

Fragments of a bedslab and an upright support found in chamber fill. Location in chamber uncertain.

Marble (bedslab), limestone (supports)

L unknown (0.995 m pres.), 0.83 m W, 0.59 m H

The bedslab is composed of blue-veined marble 0.17 m thick, with concave depression bordered by flat raised edges (0.10 m wide) on the long sides. Preserved left end has raised rectangular headrest with semi-oval concave depression on interior side. A corresponding raised “pillow” (0.015 m high) on the bed surface itself completes the oval. The flat surface of the headrest is decorated with volutes carved in relief.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Limestone slab supports, 0.83 m deep, 0.42 m high, 0.185 m wide. Roughly worked except for a smoothly polished panel (0.13 m wide) on front faces.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.80 × 1.965 m (transverse plan), constructed of smoothly worked limestone masonry, with flat ceiling 1.95–1.98 m high. Plug-type door. Long walls tilt in toward ceiling. Protective lips; flat chiseling; beveled joints; handling bosses.

Associated finds: Finds include six lydia, parts of a lekythos (?), fragments of a dish (fruit stand) rim, and a neck fragment from a Phrygianizing Wild Goat style krater. A column krater decorated with white bands and another fruit stand were found in the tumulus fill.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1994

Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 213–22, fig. 12; Roosevelt 2003, 409–10, no. 43; 2009, 209–10, no. 1.19

Late seventh–mid-sixth century (610–540?)

Fig. 115f

18—Belenovası B (Tomb 1976–1), also known as BT80.2 and Çağlayan Tepe

Bin Tepe (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with three built chambers in cruciform arrangement, with antechamber and dromos.

Two bedslabs found side by side on the floor against the rear wall of the rear (main) chamber. Another fragment with an anthropoid depression, possibly from a *kline*, found in the right chamber.

Marble

Floorbeds in rear chamber: 2.08 m L, 1.19 m W (combined); fragment in right chamber: 0.69 m W

The bedslabs in the rear chamber have raised rectangular borders on three sides, enclosing flat depressions 0.095 m deep. They were found resting directly on the floor, but rougher tooling on the rear wall of the chamber and the rear end of the right wall may indicate the earlier presence of a regular *kline* here. The possible bedslab fragment found in the right chamber has a deep curved cutout (0.13 m deep) in one end, with vertical half-round projections on each inner edge. This is perhaps the end of an anthropoid depression, with the half-rounds serving to set off the “head” from the “shoulders.” The front face of the slab has a beveled lower edge bordered by a tongue-like projection at the far right end.

Other tomb information: Main chamber 2.42 × 2.14 m, composed of limestone and marble blocks, with pitched ceiling. The antechamber is also pitched, while both side chambers have flat ceilings. Right chamber 2.15 × 1.79 m, 1.70–1.75 m high, composed of roughly worked limestone blocks. Lime plaster on walls. Plug-type door. Combination butterfly-staple clamps; traces of claw chiseling; protective lips. The side chambers are secondary, added perhaps in Hellenistic or Roman times.

Associated finds: Finds from the main chamber include marble alabaster and late pottery and lamps. A terracotta sarcophagus was also reported.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition visits 1976 and 1981, Manisa Museum excavation 1980

Greenewalt 1978, 70; Greenewalt, Ratté, Sullivan, and Howe 1983, 88–89n5; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T15, 191–92; Dinç 1993, no. 12, figs. 80–81; Dusingberre 2003, 243; Roosevelt 2003, 398–400, no. 28, fig. 4.19; 2009, 211, no. 1.23

Fifth century (?) with later reuse

19—Büyükbelen D

Mandalı, near Büyükbelen (Fig. 63, no. 7), Ahmetli

Tumulus with built chamber.

Fragmentary *kline* composed of a horizontal bedslab on slab supports.

Limestone

“The preserved fragment of the *kline* bed slab is similar to that from Kendirlik M1, with raised borders on all sides, a semi-circular carved head-rest on the headboard and a corresponding raised area in the depression of the resting place; its preserved head end has a curving profile as well and the headboard of the bed slab may bear carved decoration. The supports have carved decoration on their faces” (Roosevelt 2003, 422, based on Manisa Museum archives report). In an unpublished photograph of the right end of the *kline*, the raised headrest appears to have a curved outer contour, with central convex bulge flanked by slight concavities that flare out slightly toward the ends.

The same unpublished photo includes one of the slab supports. Relief carvings discernible on its front face suggest side cutouts of Type B style, with discs at the terminals of the crescents and another pair on either side of the central stem.

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed of limestone masonry, with flat ceiling and plug-type door.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Manisa Museum salvage excavation and recording, 1999

Roosevelt 2003, 421–22, no. 61; 2009, 211, no. 1.24

550–470?

20—Kılcanlar B (Sivritepe)

Kılcanlar (Fig. 63, no. 17), Gölarmara

Tumulus with built chamber.

At least one couch, possibly against rear wall.

Marble

Fragment of bedslab with raised borders broken off, visible in rubble debris filling chamber (more may exist within). Judging from an area of discoloration on the rear wall and the rear portion of the left side wall, it was located opposite the entrance. This would accord with R. Meriç's description of a tumulus near Kılcanlar with an undecorated *kline* against the rear wall.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.23 × 1.97 m, 2.43 m high, constructed of marble. Pitched ceiling with V-shaped block forming ridge beam/apex. Traces of fine claw and flat chiseling; anathyrosis; protective lips; combination butterfly-staple clamps.

R. Meriç survey, 1984; C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

R. Meriç, unpublished report on Regional/Urban Survey at Sardis, 1984; Meriç 1985, 200; Roosevelt 2003, 426–27, no. 74; 2009, 213, no. 1.33

Late sixth or fifth century?

21—Kemeramları B

Kemeramları (Fig. 63, no. 15), Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Possible *kline* bedslab fragments observed in trench at base of tumulus south slope, along with limestone wall blocks.

Limestone?

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 432–33, no. 86; 2009, 214, no. 1.36

Date uncertain

22—Gâvur Fırını A

Gâvur Fırını, near Kemeramları (Fig. 63, no. 15), Salihli

Tumulus with chamber cut from bedrock.

Rock-cut bench along rear wall.

Bedrock

1.90 m L, 0.86 m W, 0.70 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.50 × 1.90 m, cut from

schist bedrock, with (probably) flat ceiling at least 1.45 m high. Walls roughly dressed.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 431, no. 83; 2009, 214, no. 1.36

Sixth–fourth century

23—Gâvur Fırını B

Gâvur Fırını, near Kemeramları (Fig. 63, no. 15), Salihli

Tumulus with chamber and antechamber cut from bedrock, with built dromos.

Rock-cut bench against rear wall; probably one along right wall as well.

Bedrock

Rear bench: 2.45 m L, 0.76 m W, 0.35 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.46 × 2.45 m, cut from schist bedrock, with flat ceiling at least 1.30 m high. Walls roughly dressed. Plug-type door. Possible pit along left wall; “triangular rock-cut ledge” in right rear corner (Roosevelt 2003, 431).

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 431–32, no. 84; 2009, 214, no. 1.36

Sixth–fourth century

24—Alahıdır Tumulus 1

Alahıdır (Fig. 63, no. 2), near Ahmetli

Tumulus with three built chambers, side by side.

Looters reportedly removed a bronze bed from the middle chamber. It was probably located along one side wall (or lengthwise in middle of chamber), since the width of the chamber is not sufficient for the placement of a bed against the rear wall.

Bronze

1.5–2.0 m L, ca. 0.80 m W, according to reports

Little information as to the form of the bed is contained in the police reports, other than the fact that the bed was large enough for only one person. Some indication of length is suggested by the description of efforts to conceal the bed during transport: after the bed had been taken to a house by tractor, it was transported by vehicle (presumably a truck) to the point of sale to a dealer. Part of the bed protruded from the back of the vehicle and had to be covered with a blanket. Some small fragments of bronze “plates” with pieces of linen textile adhering were recovered during salvage excavation.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Other tomb information: All three chambers are composed of point-dressed sandstone and measure 1.27 m × 2.47 m, with flat ceilings 1.49 m high. Projecting bands run along the tops of the walls. Small, high windows in the interior dividing walls provide the only connection between the three rooms, each of which has a separate entrance closed by a plug-type door composed of two separate blocks of stone. There are masons' marks and finely drafted margins on the façade.

Associated finds: In addition to the pieces of bronze and textile, fragments of wood were also found in the rescue excavation. Other finds include a skyphos recovered in front of the entrance to the north chamber and, from the middle chamber, a lekythos, a ridged lydion, a skyphos base, and fragments of at least one alabastron. Looters reportedly removed two silver bowls, a bronze calf's-head ladle, one bronze and one silver pitcher, one bronze and one silver dish, one tray, one bronze jug, and some broken pottery.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1979

Fragments of bronze, wood, and fabric (adhering to the bronze) recovered during the rescue excavation after the looting in 1979 were once in the Manisa Museum but are now reportedly lost. The bronze bed itself is likely the one in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Fig. 23; see Baughan and Özgen 2012.

Turgutlu Jandarma report of 17 March 1979; Nayır 1980; Mellink 1980a, 514; Nayır 1981, 115–29; Mellink 1982, 570; McLauchlin 1985, E1a, 257–58; Dinç 1993, no. 17; Roosevelt 2003, 436–37, no. 97; 2009, 214–15, no. 2.2; Baughan and Özgen 2012.

Ca. 550–500?

25—Lale Tepe

Ahmetli (Fig. 63, no. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

Single *kline* along each side wall, double *kline* at rear, with additional bed depressions carved into floor slabs beneath each couch, for a total of seven burial places. The built *klinai* consist of horizontal bedslabs on upright slab or rectangular supports, some incorporated with chamber walls. These were broken up by looters in 1999, and the floorbeds were damaged in 2002. Further vandalism and destruction of the chamber were discovered in 2008.

Marble and limestone

Rear: 2.42 m L, 1.30 m W, 1.04–1.15 m H; left: 1.90 m L, 0.62 m W, 0.53–0.57 m H; right: 1.90 m L, 0.585 m W, 0.53–0.57 m H

Rear kline: Bedslab of double width, with two anthropoid depressions. The top surfaces of the bedslab bear some traces of green paint and, on a thin marble “dutchman” in the right rear corner, part of a red painted volute. The front edge of the bedslab is carved to replicate a mattress lying atop a *kline* rail, extending over raised Aeolic-style volute capitals at each end, with fillets (and eyes?) painted red. Red palmette-tassels hang down from each side below the volutes, toward projecting horizontal tenons. Between the volutes at the top is a lozenge in relief, on a black background. The left capital is not as high as the one on the right and is truncated on the left side, where the whole bedslab was evidently cut back after the carved and painted decoration was complete. The left front corner of the bedslab was made from a separate block of marble, joined to the rest of the bedslab by means of rectangular (iron?) dowels sealed with lead; the joined surfaces were treated with anathyrosis. The curved mattress layer carries two bands of painted decoration: a red and green zigzag above a green vine with paired leaves. On the rail itself is a painted lotus-and-palmette frieze with a rosette, lotus flower, and sphinx at each end and an unidentifiable (no longer preserved) motif in the center. At each far end, near the junction with the “legs,” elongated red triangles extend horizontally from the edges, and the triangular spaces between them may have been painted black. The “blank” space left where the “mattress” rises over the raised capital at each end is painted black.

The rear *kline* was supported on two large, upright marble slabs, the front faces of which carry projections at the top (ca. 0.36 m high), carved to replicate Type B couch legs and socketed into the tops of the bedslabs of the side *klinai*. These projections carry carved decoration replicating Type B *kline* legs, with the surrounding background space painted black. The legs have double-volute side cutouts with a petal extending horizontally from the middle of the crescent on each side, palmette suspended below, and concave lower portion. Providing additional support for the front edge of the rear *kline*, and blocking off the space beneath it (hiding the rear floorbed), was a large upright limestone slab with painted decoration on its front face: three palm trees (rendered in green and black) on a red background, with a black meander band at the bottom.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Side klinai: The side *klinai* are composed of marble bedslabs (ca. 0.23 m thick) on limestone supports, some of which are formed by projections from the chamber walls. Both feature repairs: the left *kline* has a small marble “dutchman” at the bottom right corner of the bedslab, and the rear right corner of the right *kline* suffered a break that was repaired with several clamps. An additional limestone slab support was cut to fill the space between the two right legs of the right *kline* and provide extra support for this end of the bedslab; it was perhaps installed after the break. Each bedslab has an anthropoid depression with raised head end oriented toward the door. The front edges of the bedslabs are carved to replicate a mattress lying on top of a couch frame, with carved post capitals that widen toward an abacus (painted red) at the top and projecting tenons (black) at the level of the rail, in the manner of Type A couches. Extending above and below the tenons are traces of linear double volutes painted red, surrounded by green. The front rail of each side couch is decorated with a series of painted rosettes, poorly preserved, with red and green petals.

The legs of the side *klinai* were partly incorporated with the masonry of the chamber. Both rear legs and one front leg of each were formed by projections from the lowest course of limestone masonry. The other two legs (the front right leg of the left *kline* and the front left leg of the right *kline*) consisted of upright rectangular marble blocks. The front faces of all preserved legs, including those built into the chamber walls, were carved with the profiles of Type A turned legs, of slightly varying design. The preserved front legs carry additional painted decoration: the background areas surrounding the relief leg profiles are painted black; the front right leg of the right *kline* has three black petals at the top; the front left leg of the right *kline* has a palmette with alternating red and green petals (the central green petal extremely elongated) hanging down from the top; there may also be parts of a volute at the top. The front right leg of the left *kline* has on the central bulge a six-pointed star with alternating red, green, and black rays. The front left leg of the left *kline* has not been located, although a broken-off projection from the wall block in that location indicates that it was once built in and made of limestone.

Floorbeds: Carved directly into the limestone floor slabs beneath the built *klinai* were three additional concave resting places of anthropoid form, surrounded by raised borders

(ca. 0.05–0.07 m wide, 0.08–0.10 m high). Those beneath the side *klinai* have oval head depressions framed at the outer edge by a semi-oval recess, and the one beneath the left *kline* has an additional, smaller (more circular) foot depression at the opposite end. Both are oriented with head end on the right. The depression beneath the rear *kline* is less defined but also has a roughly anthropoid form, with head end on the right.

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.01 × 2.42 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone masonry, with pitched ceiling 3.10 m high at apex (side walls 1.95 m high). Traces of claw chiseling on lower wall courses and floorbeds; flat chisel marks smoothed away with abrasives; evidence for repairs (filled with white powdery substance); miltois; engraved setting lines for rear *kline*; anathyrosis on surfaces of *klinai* that abut wall and adjoining wall surfaces; combination butterfly-staple clamps on schist slab found in dromos. A plug-type door filled the exterior part of the doorway, while a working two-leaf marble door with carved and painted decoration opened into the chamber. The top parts of the chamber walls and the ceiling carry painted decoration replicating a gabled structure with thatch roofing: the gables, bordered by the principal rafters and tie-beam in blue, are each divided in half by a central king post in green with volute scroll and palmette at the top. On either side of the king post, each triangular half is bordered by a series of colored bands of varying widths (white, black, and green) and contains a red-bordered window-like box. On the sloping sides of the ceiling are painted red rafters and white purlins (each bordered by green bands), between which are herringbone-patterned bands composed of thin, diagonal red, blue, and white bands in alternation. Encircling the chamber on the tops of the walls, below the blue beams, is a band with egg-and-dart (red and green) over bead-and-reel (green on a red background).

Associated finds: Finds from the porch include two alabaster alabastra, various ceramics (an Attic black-glazed cup, two Achaemenid bowls, twelve lekythoi, two fruit stands, “five small late lydia,” cookware and other sherds), and some human or animal bones; from layers above the dromos: several ceramic jugs and two pieces of cookware with traces of burning; from near the end of the dromos: fragments of sarcophagus lids, several cooking pots, and an Achaemenid bowl; and from the relieving triangle above the entrance

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

(reused): a small sculpted lion (unfinished) and part of the chamber door (Roosevelt 2003, 442–43). Additional marble fragments recovered in the chamber or nearby include a small carved and painted Ionic volute with rectangular socket in its abacus and a projecting element (broken off) above (perhaps part of a table support or other furnishing) and a small marble armrest-like (?) piece.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation 1999, recording by Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition; author visits and examination of fragments, 2000–2002

Fragments are stored in Sardis excavation compound. Built-in parts remain *in situ*.

Roosevelt 2003, 441–43, no. 104; 2008; 2009, 214–15, no. 2.2; Stinson 2008; Baughan 2008a

ca. 500–470

Figs. 66, 71, 83, Plate 1

26—Musacalıtepe (Çaldağ M)

Musacalı (Fig. 63, no. 19), near Turgutlu

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Two double couches, one along each side wall.

Limestone

Broken remains of two bedslabs, each a single piece with two depressions separated by a raised divider. The placement of each along a side wall is suggested by “rough tooling and minimal weathering” on the lower portions of the walls in these locations (Roosevelt 2003, 455).

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.28 × 4.96 m (transverse plan), constructed of smoothly worked limestone, with flat ceiling 2.12 m high. Traces of claw chiseling and anathyrosis.

R. Dinç survey, 1991

Dinç 1993, no. 28; Roosevelt 2003, 455, no. 139; 2009, 217, no. 2.8

Fifth century?

27—Bahçetepe (İğdecik A) (Fig. 63, no. 5)

Near Sancaklı İğdecik, Karaoğlanlı

Tumulus with built chamber.

Three couches in a Π-shaped formation (one along each side wall and one at the rear), each composed of a horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports.

Limestone?

The right *kline* is the best preserved and the only one still *in situ*. The presence of the other two is indicated by fragments

within the debris filling the chamber and heaped upon the right *kline* as well as areas of rougher tooling on lower portions of the chamber walls. The bedslabs have concave depressions in their top surfaces, bordered by flat bands, and their front edges consist of a rounded molding over a flat band, like a mattress over a couch rail. Faint shapes are discernible on both “mattress” and “rail,” resembling horizontal bow-tie shapes crossing vertical bands; these could be “ghost” traces of painted decoration, natural formations within the surface of the stone, and/or weathering patterns. Only the front face of one slab support is exposed (on the right *kline*), and it is carved to resemble a turned wooden leg in profile, in low relief against a red background. The carved leg profile has a thin capital and tapers downward, with four closely stacked torus moldings just above mid-height (probably: the floor has not been cleared), similar to Achaemenid throne legs.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.81 × 2.17 m, with flat ceiling at least 2.16 m high. Anathyrosis; traces of claw and flat chiseling; protective lips; clamps.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 461, no. 154; 2009, 219, no. 3.5

Fifth or fourth century

Fig. 84

28—Karaoğlanlı C

Karaoğlanlı (Fig. 63, no. 13), Manisa

Tumulus with built chamber.

Couch set against rear wall mentioned in Manisa Museum report.

Limestone?

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.10 × 1.90 m composed of smoothly worked limestone blocks, with flat ceiling 2.50 m high. Plug-type door. Traces of flat chiseling.

Recorded by Manisa Museum after 1964 looting

Roosevelt 2003, 467, no. 171; 2009, 219, no. 4.2

Sixth–fourth century

29—Hamamtepe (HT91)

Near Kayapınar (Fig. 63, no. 14), Manisa

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos

Nine fragments from the right end of a *kline* bedslab found in robbers’ trenches on mound. Location in chamber uncertain.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Limestone

Pres. L 0.88 m (total unknown), 0.63 m W, height unknown
Bedslab 0.23 m thick, with rectangular depression in upper surface, surrounded by flat borders.

Raised headrest on right end, with curved outer edge. On front face of bedslab, at raised right end, is a schematic Aeolic-style double volute painted in red. The bedslab was probably supported on upright slabs (not recovered).

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed of smoothly worked limestone; it has not been completely cleared because of the destruction of walls on one side, but it apparently measured 2.60 × 2.07 m, and was at least 1.16 m high (ceiling not preserved). Recessed doorframe and fragments of fitted plug-type door block with further recessed panels including a cyma reversa molding, decorated with hook-and-square designs in red paint.

Associated finds: Lydian pottery was found in the dromos: two bowl or dish rim fragments, three fragments of a marbled-ware lydion, and two fragments of a streaky-glaze skyphos.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1991

Dinç 1993, no. 25; Dinç and Önder 1993; Roosevelt 2003, 475–76, no. 187; 2009, 222, no. 4.5

550–500?

Figs. 79, 115i

30—Sarıçam A (Fig. 63, no. 22)

Near Kalemli, Saruhanlı

Tumulus with built chamber and antechamber (presence of dromos uncertain).

Three double couches in projecting niches on side and rear walls.

Limestone

2.15–2.17 m L, 1.22–1.23 m W, 0.81 m H

Each bedslab (0.21 m thick) has two concave depressions, separated by a ridge 0.08 m high, surrounded by raised rectangular borders. The central portion of the front face of each bedslab, between the supports, has a rounded mattress profile at the top, 0.10 m high, above a flat “rail,” 0.11 m high. Each end of the front face of the bedslab, above the supports, is plain, as if an extension of the “leg,” and is set off from the profiled face by a vertical line.

Plain slab supports 0.15–0.20 m wide, 0.60 m high, 1.23 m deep.

Other tomb information: Main chamber measures 2.15 × 2.17 m, with three projecting niches (1.22–1.23 m deep, 2.15–2.17 m wide, 1.84 m high) and pitched ceiling with a single inverted-V-shaped slab at apex. Smoothly worked limestone masonry with traces of flat and claw chisel; anathyrosis; protective lips. Plug-type door.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1983

McLauchlin 1985, E5, 265–66; Dinç 1993, no. 56; Roosevelt 2003, 476–77, no. 192; 2009, 223–24, no. 6.1

Late sixth or fifth century?

31—Mitrallyöztepe (Alibeyli A)

Alibeyli (Fig. 63, no. 3), Saruhanlı

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

Single couch once set against rear wall, with head end toward the right, composed of a horizontal bedslab and upright slab supports.

Marble (gray)

1.88 m L, 0.78 m W, H not recorded

Bedslab 0.39 m thick, with anthropoid depression bordered by a flat raised band at the front, ca. 0.08 m wide.

Plain slab supports 0.20 m wide.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.20 × 1.90 m, constructed of smoothly worked marble masonry, with pitched ceiling reaching a height of 1.98 m at apex. Traces of claw chiseling; combination butterfly-staple clamps. Stele base seen on slope of tumulus in 2001.

Associated finds: Some fragments of decorative bone or ivory (including a sphinx, lion, and lotus leaves) found in the chamber appear to be Late Archaic and may belong to additional furnishings. The earliest pottery dates from the second half of the sixth century, but the tomb was evidently in use in Hellenistic and Roman times: two one-handled amphorae, a lekythos of Roman date, a Megarian bowl, and some glass fragments were also found in the chamber. Additional items recovered from looters in 1965 include a gold diadem, a lamp, unguentaria, a bowl, and a lidded bronze vessel.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1982; C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Nayır 1982, 202–4; Mellink 1983a, 441; McLauchlin 1985, E4c, 143–44, 264–65; Dinç

1993, no. 23, fig. 217; Roosevelt 2003, 481–82, no. 204, fig. 4.12; 2009, 224–25, no. 6.4

Late sixth or early fifth century with later reuse

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

32—Bekçitepe (Alibeyli D)

Alibeyli (Fig. 63, no. 3), Saruhanlı

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

Single *kline* against the rear wall; another against the left wall.

Both composed of a horizontal bedslab and upright slab supports. The rear *kline* is slightly larger than the left *kline*.

Marble

Rear: 1.98 m L, 0.74 m W, 0.76 m H

The rear bedslab is 0.215 m thick, with raised headrest on the right end. On its front face is an Aeolic volute capital in relief. There is a shallow concave depression on the bed surface between flat raised borders along the long sides. On the raised portion on the right, the concavity terminates in a shape like a “3,” with two curved sections. Three circular holes, in roughly triangular formation, are in the middle of the bed surface on the right end (cf. Cat. 33). The bedslab of the left *kline* is not on display in the Manisa Museum, but it too had a raised volute capital on the right end, indicated by the lower part of a double volute carved on the top of its right support.

Both slab supports (0.55 m high for the rear *kline*, 0.49 m high for the left *kline*) taper in width from top to bottom. The support for the rear *kline* is 0.17 m wide at the base. The front faces have carved and painted decoration replicating Type B legs of very ornamental form, with side cutouts consisting of two pairs of double volutes (red, with blue eyes), palmettes above and below (with petals alternating red and blue), and a delicate red and white flower/star painted in the diamond-shaped space in the center. Below the lower palmette is a flat horizontal band on which a small egg-and-dart or bead-and-reel frieze was once painted, over a base in the form of an Ionic-style horizontal double volute. The left *kline* supports have concave profiles and a painted lotus band at the top. Above this on the right support for the left *kline* are the lower tendrils of an Aeolic volute capital in relief. These colors have unfortunately faded since exposure but are very clear in photographs kindly provided by Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.28 × 2.03–2.08 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone masonry, with flat ceiling 2.08 m high. The original locations of the *klinai* are indicated by patterns of wear and exposure on the wall masonry. A working single-leaf door, reportedly carved to replicate a wooden door, is not preserved. Protective lips; miltos.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1982; author examination of fragments, 2002

Both supports of the left *kline*, one support from the rear *kline*, and the right end of the rear *kline* are on display in the Manisa Museum, inv. 5005–6, 6085–86.

Nayır 1982, 201–2; Mellink 1983a, 441; McLauchlin 1985, E4b, 143–44, 262–64; Dinç 1993, no. 24; Roosevelt 2003, 484–85, no. 207; 2009, 224–25, no. 6.4

530–500?

Fig. 70, Plate 9

33—Mangaltepe (Alibeyli C)

Alibeyli (Fig. 63, no. 3), Saruhanlı

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Double *kline* composed of two bedslabs side by side along rear (east) wall, on two upright slab supports.

Limestone

2.18 m L, 1.38 m W (combined), 0.485–0.50 m H

Each bedslab has an anthropoid depression (1.90 m long, 0.55 m wide, 0.08 m deep) surrounded by raised borders (0.055–0.12 m wide), with three circular holes (0.03 m diam.) in the surface (above and below the level of the waist). The head ends of these depressions are oriented toward the right (south). The front edge of the front bedslab has a rounded molding over a flat plane, replicating the appearance of a rounded mattress over a *kline* rail. The rounded molding carries a painted egg-and-dart frieze. The two raised ends of the bedslab are decorated on the front with painted (and lightly carved?) Aeolic-style volutes, from which hang pendant lotus flowers.

The front faces of the slab supports carry lightly carved (and painted?) Type B double-volute cutouts of schematic form, with rosettes below.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.18 × 2.50 m, composed of smoothly worked limestone blocks, with flat ceiling 1.90 m high, entrance facing west. Floor blocks joined with clamps set in butterfly- and fish-shaped cuttings; anathyrosis; traces of claw chiseling.

Associated finds: All finds reflect later reuse (Hellenistic?). These include three one-handed amphoras, a terracotta button, and glass necklace beads.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 1982

Nayır 1982, 200–201; Mellink 1983a, 441; McLauchlin 1985, E4a, 143–44, 261–62; Dinç 1993, no. 22, figs. 204–5;

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

- Roosevelt 2003, 483–84, no. 206, fig. 4.14; 2009, 224–25, no. 6.4
Fifth century
Fig. 77
- 34—Kumtepe C
Kumtepe, near Hierakome (Fig. 63)
Tumulus. Form of tomb complex unknown.
Limestone?
Possible fragments of a *kline* bedslab with raised border were seen on the tumulus slope in 2001, used in a campfire ring.
Roosevelt 2003, 492–93, no. 226; 2009, 226–27, no. 7.3
C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001
Date uncertain
- 35—Harmandalı
Sarıçalı, Akhisar (Fig. 63, no. 11)
Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.
Single couch composed of bedslab on upright slab supports, probably before rear wall.
Marble
Dimensions unknown
Large fragment from the right end of a massive *kline* bedslab. Shallow depression in bed surface bordered by flat raised band at front edge and raised rectangular headrest at right. Flat semicircular “pillow” at right end of bed surface, next to raised headrest. In 1990 the fragment was located before one of the short side walls of the transversely oriented chamber. Since its full length would have been greater than the length of the side wall (only 1.45 m), the *kline* was probably originally located before the long rear wall of the chamber.
Plain slab supports.
Other tomb information: Transverse chamber (with entrance on long side) 1.45 × 2.60 m, constructed of finely dressed marble blocks, with flat ceiling at least 1.85 m high (floor not cleared at time of measurement by Sardis expedition team members). Protective lips. Before the earth of the tumulus was piled above it, the chamber was first covered with a layer of rubble, then a layer of fine lime mortar, a thin layer of charcoal, and finally reed matting, impressions of which are preserved in the clay above it.
Manisa Museum salvage operations, 1970s; Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition visit, 1990
- Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1994, 31–32, figs. 37–39; Roosevelt 2003, 495–96, no. 230; 2009, 227, no. 7.4
Probably before the end of the sixth century (550–500?) with later reuse
- 36—Harta (Abidin Tepe) (Fig. 63, no. 12)
Harta, Kırkağaç
Tumulus with built chamber, porch, dromos, and krepis wall. Double *kline* against rear wall. Front edge of bedslab rested on two vertical supports in the form of sphinxes. Side and rear edges set into a continuous groove (0.20 m high, 0.05 m deep) in rear wall and rear part of side walls.
Marble
2.18 m L, 1.22 m W, 0.80 m H
Fragmentary bedslab 0.20 m thick, with two shallow depressions side by side, separated by a ridge ca. 0.035 m wide. Both ends of each depression are curved. The depression farthest from the tomb entrance is slightly wider. The flat area surrounding the curved depression on the right end of the bedslab is broader than that on the left end, and the contour of the depressions on this end was apparently of a slightly different shape. Both ends of the bedslab are at the same level, but the differentiation of the right end probably indicates that this was the “head” end of the bed. The front edge of the bedslab reportedly had painted decoration.
Fragmentary slab supports carved as sphinxes seated on haunches, with some details painted. Heads worked “free,” almost in the round, rising above the top surface of the rest of the support, which is worked flat for reception of bedslab. The heads thus would have occupied the location of the capitals common at the tops of legs, at or above the juncture of bedslab and legs. On both sphinxes, the flat top surface is 0.59 m high. The plinth of the better-preserved sphinx is 0.61 m long, but the relief projects at least 0.06 m beyond that, so that the total length is at least 0.67 m. Neither has a preserved back surface. Both sphinxes have almond-shaped eyes, brows that connect with the sides of the nose, and wavy locks on the forehead, but they differ in size, style, and other details. Sphinx A, the larger and better preserved of the two, is 0.71 m high, with straight nose, small mouth, rounded paws, and Archaic-style tresses composed of distinct, bead-like segments. Sphinx B is 0.65 m high and has heavier facial features (flatter, wider nose and

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

wider mouth), pointed paws, and more fluid hair, with the locks falling on the breast carved as individual wavy strands of hair. Sphinx A has concentric rows of hair rendered on the back of the head, while the back of Sphinx B's head is left smooth. Outlines of wings are rendered in relief; interior details are lightly incised and/or painted; parallel black lines indicate feathers, alternately painted red and blue-green. Tails in relief curl around or over the haunches, where preserved. On Sphinx A, where the haunches are preserved on both sides of the slab, a tail is indicated on each side.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.58×2.18 m, constructed of conglomerate masonry, with flat ceiling 2.15 m high. Plug-type door. Anathyrosis; clamps in butterfly-shaped cuttings. Porch and chamber walls carry painted decoration, heavily vandalized: a dado of cross-in-checkerboard, above egg-and-dart, above bead-and-reel (in red, blue, and green, with dark outlines). Above the dado on the right wall of the porch are traces of what appear to be standing figures; above the dado in the chamber, a frieze, now largely lost, once showed figures in procession and wheeled vehicles. Visitors to the tomb in 1965–66 and 1987 noted traces of a wheeled vehicle drawn by horses on the west wall, and on the east wall a mule carrying a sarcophagus, led by a man. A layer of charcoal was laid over the chamber before the rest of the tumulus was piled atop it.

Associated finds: A fragment of an "Achaemenid bowl" was found in the dromos along with a fragmentary alabaster alabastron and pottery of the second half of the sixth century. A fourth- or third-century lamp found in the porch attests to later reuse. A radiocarbon date of 365 ± 70 years for a charcoal layer above the chamber may have been affected by exposure before sampling (Özgen et al. 1996, 39).

Manisa Museum salvage operations in 1960s and 1980s, after looting and vandalism; author examination of fragments, 2002

Uşak Museum inv. 1.1.96, 1.2.96 (sphinx supports)

Kasper 1970, 81n15; Langlotz 1975, 134–35, 207, pl. 31.5; Dinç 1993, no. 26; Özgen et al. 1996, 36–39, no. 1, figs. 58–61; Dedeoğlu 1996, 197–206, figs. 4, 5, 8, pl. 44; Roosevelt 2003, 502–4, no. 250; 2009, 172, 178, 182, 230–31, no. 9.1; Draycott 2007, 185–86

Ca. 515–450?

Fig. 85

37—Soma A1

Beyce (Fig. 63, no. 6), Soma

Tumulus with rock-cut chamber, antechamber, and dromos, built krepis.

II-shaped bench along side and rear walls of main chamber.

Additional benches on right and left walls of antechamber.

Bedrock

Main chamber benches: 0.85 m H; antechamber benches: 0.40 m W, 0.65 m H

The II-shaped bench in the main chamber has a continuous raised rectangular border (ca. 0.10 m wide) along the front edge. Benches in antechamber are plain.

Projecting bands (0.10 m wide) in relief at the top, right, and left edges of each vertical face of the II-shaped bench in the main chamber suggest bed/couch legs and rails.

Other tomb information: Main chamber 2.65×2.50 m, cut from bedrock, with pitched ceiling 1.95 m high at apex. Antechamber 1.65×2.00 m, also cut from bedrock, with pitched ceiling 1.85 m high at apex. The ceilings of both chambers are carved to replicate wooden architectural forms, with ridgepole and rafters. Slight curvature in walls and ceiling. Side walls tilt inward at the top.

Associated finds: Sherds found in the tomb range from Late Geometric to Roman, including a Late Archaic black-glazed sherd with graffito. Geometric to Late Classical sherds found in general vicinity.

Recorded by S. Kasper, 1968

Kasper 1970, 72–74, 77; Albert 1970; Karageorghis 1978, 366; Roosevelt 2003, 606–7, no. 511; 2009, 233, no. 9.7

Seventh–sixth century with later reuse?

38—Soma A2

Beyce (Fig. 63, no. 6), Soma

Tumulus with rock-cut chamber, antechamber, and dromos, built krepis.

II-shaped bench along side and rear walls of main chamber.

Additional benches on right and left walls of antechamber.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Similar in size and form to Soma A1 (Cat. 37), but the architectural details in relief on the ceilings are more schematic and more lightly carved. Two of the rafters on the left side of the main chamber's ceiling are painted red over half their length.

Recorded by S. Kasper, 1968

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Kasper 1970, 74; Roosevelt 2003, 607, no. 512; 2009, 233, no. 9.7
Seventh–sixth century with later reuse?

39—Soma C

Beyce (Fig. 63, no. 6), Soma

Tumulus with rock-cut chamber and dromos.

Γ-shaped bench on left and rear walls.

Bedrock

Recorded by S. Kasper, 1968

Kasper 1970, 75; Roosevelt 2003, 608, no. 514; 2009, 233, no. 9.7
Seventh–sixth century with later reuse?

40—Soma D1

Beyce (Fig. 63, no. 6), Soma

Tumulus with rock-cut chamber and dromos, built krepis.

Γ-shaped bench on left and rear walls.

Bedrock

Recorded by S. Kasper, 1968

Kasper 1970, 75; Roosevelt 2003, 608–9, no. 515; 2009, 233,
no. 9.7

Seventh–sixth century with later reuse?

41—Nizam

Nizam, near Sevişler, Soma (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

A couch of unknown material (probably limestone) once stood against the rear wall, as indicated by an area of rough tooling on the lower part of the rear wall and the rear portions of the side walls.

Probable dimensions based on the size of the roughly worked area: ca. 2.21 m L, 1.00 m W, 0.20 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.55 × 2.21 m, 1.64–2.07 m high, with pitched ceiling. Monolithic, triangular gable block. Walls composed of limestone blocks; chamber ceiling composed of conglomerate slabs; antechamber ceiling composed of limestone slabs. Cyma reversa molding at tops of chamber walls. Staple clamps.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 611–12, no. 520; 2009, 233, no. 10.1

Fifth or fourth century?

42—Yabızlar Tepesi (or Palavuztepe) (Fig. 63, no. 24)

Near Çukuroba, Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Fragmentary double *kline* composed of two bedslabs side by side, set against rear wall.

Limestone

1.85 m L, 1.25 m W (combined), 0.70 m H

The front bedslab was broken up and taken by looters. The remaining rear bedslab is ca. 0.17 m thick and contains an anthropoid depression, with head end toward the left.

Fragmentary slab supports ca. 0.53 m high, the front faces of which are decorated with Type B volute cutouts in relief, with palmette above and lotus blossom below.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.17 × 1.87 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone, with flat ceiling 1.98 m high. Plug-type door. Projecting bands (protective lips) on wall blocks and between ceiling slabs; clamps (in cuttings of uncertain type).

Associated finds: Finds from the tomb include a Megarian bowl, a one-handled amphora, Hellenistic and Roman lamps and unguentaria, and pieces of wood. One of the wood fragments is a piece of a turned wooden furniture leg (0.06 m long), perhaps from a table or stool.

Manisa museum salvage excavation, 1990; author examination of fragments, 2002

Manisa Museum inv. 7197–98 (supports)

Dedeoğlu 1992; Dinç 1993, no. 21; Roosevelt 2003, 508–9,
no. 259; 2009, 233–34, no. 10.1

Ca. 500–470 (?) with later reuse

Fig. 78

43—Kordon Tumulus

Kordon Köyü (Fig. 63, no. 18), Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Double couch composed of two bedslabs side by side, placed against rear wall.

Limestone

1.90 m L, 1.29 m W combined (rear: 0.55 m; front: 0.74 m),
0.68 m H

Each slab contains an anthropoid depression (0.09 m deep), with head end toward the right, surrounded by raised borders (0.05–0.10 m wide). The front face of the front bedslab consists of a flat band (0.06 m high), within which is a narrow groove, 0.02 m below the top. Below this band the slab is cut back on a curving recess (0.14 m high) toward the bottom.

Plain rectangular slab supports, 0.15 m wide, 0.46 m high,
1.40 m deep.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.21×1.91 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone, with flat ceiling 1.85 m high. A plug-type door closed the exterior side of the doorway, but a working two-leaf door (not preserved) once stood on the interior side and opened into the chamber. Anathyrosis; protective lips.

Associated finds: Skeletal remains from as many as twenty individuals were found on the rear bedslab; a single skeleton was found on the front bedslab. Several lamps were lined up on the narrow lintel above the interior side of the doorway. Most of the pottery finds appear to be Hellenistic. In addition to ceramic vessels, several wooden unguent containers and a wooden comb were recovered.

Manisa Museum salvage excavation, 2000

Aydın 2001; Roosevelt 2003, 516–17, no. 276; Aydın 2007; Roosevelt 2009, 234, no. 11.1

Early fifth century with second-century reuse

Figs. 64–65

44—Tombaktepe

Near Yeşilova (Fig. 63, no. 25), Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Single couch located along right side wall, consisting of a horizontal bedslab on upright slab supports.

Limestone

1.98 m L, 0.86 m W, 0.55 m H

The bedslab has a concave depression (ca. 0.03 m deep) on the top surface, bordered by flat bands (0.08–0.09 m wide) on the front and back edges. Higher raised rectangular headrests at each end (ca. 0.30 m wide) contain curved (semi-oval) depressions that form the ends of the concave bed hollow. Traces of a dark painted band (ca. 0.01 m wide) at the left end roughly demarcate a “pillow” depression area within the raised headrest from the rest of the concave hollow (no trace of a corresponding band was visible on the more weathered right end). On the flat part of the raised headrest on the right end, ca. 0.06 m in from the edge and parallel to it, is a dark painted line or the edge of a dark band that once defined the edge of the headrest. Amorphous traces of dark pigment were noted on the flat front border of the bedslab near the right end. The front edge of the bedslab, between the raised headrests at each end, consists of a flat rectangular face (0.09 m high) over an angled recess (ca. 0.10 m high) that recedes to the roughly worked bottom

surface of the slab. Total thickness of bedslab: ca. 0.19 m. The bottom surface of the bedslab is roughly worked, except for smoothed areas ca. 0.30 m wide at each end, corresponding to the raised headrests above. These areas provided flat planes for resting the bedslab on its slab supports.

Slab supports 0.23 m wide, 0.39 m high, 0.86 m deep/long.

Traces of dark pigment near top right of left support; right support not visible.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.82×1.60 m, constructed of smoothly worked limestone, with flat ceiling 1.87 m high. Side walls tilt inward from bottom to top. Plug-type door. Traces of flat chiseling; protective lips. Stone “mantle” above chamber, and perhaps also a protective layer of charcoal.

Associated finds: Some bone fragments and a few undiagnostic sherds visible within the rubble filling the floor of the chamber.

C.H. Roosevelt survey and author visit, 2002

Roosevelt 2003, 521, no. 289; 2009, 235, no. 11.4

550–400?

Fig. 115d

45—Paşa Çiftliği (Fig. 63, no. 21)

Near Derbent, Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber, porch, and dromos.

One couch, probably of double width, against rear wall.

Limestone or marble?

1.93 m L, 1.16 m W, height unknown

Fragments of bedslab 0.17–0.18 m thick, with depression 0.05–0.06 m deep surrounded by raised edge. Dimensions of whole inferred from area of rough chiseling and point-dressed area on rear wall and rear portion of side walls. Height above floor is uncertain, since the floor is not exposed.

Other tomb information: Tumulus flattened to level of ceiling blocks. Chamber 2.56×1.93 m, with walls constructed of marble and flat ceiling of limestone slabs, held together with clamps in butterfly-shaped cuttings on exterior. Thin red pigment layer or stain covers interior wall surfaces. Protective lips; anathyrosis.

R. Meriç survey, 1984; C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

R. Meriç, unpublished report on Regional/Urban Survey at Sardis, 1984; Meriç 1985, 201; Roosevelt 2003, 525–26, no. 298; 2009, 235, no. 11.6

Late sixth or fifth century?

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

46—Hacılı A (Tombaktepe)

Near Hacılı (Fig. 63, no. 10), Salihli

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Fragmentary monolithic (?) *kline*, painted and sculpted, found on west side of chamber, in front of the rear wall.

Limestone or marble

Bed surface has flat, raised borders along front and rear edges and raised headrests at each end (the left one slightly lower than the right). Judging from one of the only few available photographs of the *kline*, the raised right end has a deep semi-oval depression on its inner edge, and its outer edge may have been curved, with a central convex bulge flanked by slight concavities that flare out slightly toward the ends.

Only the upper parts of the legs are visible in available photographs, and they were apparently solid, slab-like supports at each end of the monolithic (?) *kline*. Their front faces were carved to resemble Type B *kline* legs. An Aeolic double volute in sunken relief decorates the front of the raised right headrest, with traces of a worn lotus flower (or palmette?) at the top between the volutes and a plain abacus above. The top of the left corner is not fully preserved, but it appears to be plain, raised slightly above the level of the front rail. Near the top of the leg on each side is a rosette in relief, with petals painted red and blue in alternation. Of the side “cutouts,” only the top halves are visible in available photographs: the back-to-back double volutes are indicated schematically, in silhouette relief (sides cut back ca. 0.05 m), with disc-shaped terminals; relief palmettes grow from the top juncture, with petals painted alternately red and blue.

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed of smoothly worked marble masonry, with flat ceiling. Long walls incline toward ceiling. The tumulus was partly sectioned by the Manisa Museum in the 1960s, but the chamber was not located. It was subsequently discovered by looters, and the tomb was recorded during R. Meriç’s survey of the region in 1984.

Associated finds: Finds collected by Meriç are stored in the Sardis Excavation depot. It is unclear whether any of these come from inside the chamber, but they include a considerable amount of wood fragments and pottery (some recognizably Lydian but most of it nondescript Roman), a stone alabastron fragment, and a small limestone fragment that resembles the raised lip of a *kline* bedslab.

Manisa Museum exploration, 1967; R. Meriç survey, 1984; author examination of finds, 2002

R. Meriç, unpublished report on Regional/Urban Survey at Sardis, 1984; Meriç 1985, 201, fig. 9; Roosevelt 2003, 526–27, no. 299; 2009, 235, no. 11.7

Sixth century?

Fig. 69

47—Barajtepe

Near Aşar, Sarıgöl

Tumulus with chamber, porch, side chamber, and dromos, all cut from bedrock.

Rock-cut bench before each wall of main chamber in II-shaped formation. The side chamber probably also held rock-cut benches, but this was not fully cleared at the time of survey.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 1.82 m L, 0.70 m W, 0.40–0.45 m H; sides: ca. 1.18 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.40–0.45 m H

Other tomb information: Main chamber 2.10 × 1.50 m, cut from schist bedrock, with flat ceiling at least 1.52 m high. Pick-dressed walls, ceiling, and floor.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 535, no. 321; 2009, 237, no. 12.2

Sixth–fourth century?

48—Saraylı Boğazı

Near Aşar (Fig. 63, no. 4), Sarıgöl

Tumulus with chamber cut from bedrock and porch partly rock-cut, partly built.

Rock-cut bench along left wall.

Bedrock

1.99 m L, 0.90 m W, 0.55 m H

Raised rectangular border on the front edge of the bench surface (0.20 m wide, 0.05 m high).

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.95–1.99 × 1.79–1.82 m, cut from schist bedrock, with flat ceiling 2.05 m high. Walls smoothly finished; schist slab ceiling and rock-cut floor roughly dressed. Plug-type door. At least two other burials in this tumulus, in rock-cut pits, at least one of which held a limestone bathtub sarcophagus; fragments found in the chamber may or may not belong to the sarcophagus in the pit-burial.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Associated finds: Fragments of a limestone bathtub sarcophagus found in chamber.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 536–37, no. 324; 2009, 237, no. 12.3

Sixth–fourth century?

Fig. 90

49—Kadırcop W

Near Caberburhan (Fig. 63, no. 8), Alaşehir

Tumulus with built chamber.

Fragments of a bedslab exposed in pit on surface of tumulus; original location uncertain.

Limestone or marble?

Ca. 0.65–0.70 m W, other dimensions unknown

Bedslab fragments have raised rectangular borders (ca. 0.10 m wide) and angled depression with deep semicircular end (anthropoid depression?). Inner edges of raised borders are beveled/angled (rather than curved) toward flat bed surface about 0.05 m deep.

Other tomb information: Chamber destroyed. Wall blocks and *kline* and sarcophagus fragments “exposed in numerous pits and trenches of varying size and depth which have rendered this tumulus formless” (Roosevelt 2003, 553).

Associated finds: Sarcophagus fragments, probably from a secondary burial in tumulus mantle.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 553, no. 372; 2009, 240, no. 12.8

Sixth or fifth century?

50—Tekçam

Tekçam, Kula (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Built-in shelf along rear wall.

Tuff or conglomerate

2.05 m L, 0.93 m W, 0.75 m H

Plain slab 0.50 m thick, with projecting tenons at each end socketed into deep grooves in rear portion of side walls. Top surface of slab is smooth; lower surface is rough.

Other tomb information: Chamber walls, floor, and ceiling and built-in shelf all composed of clastic tuff or conglomerate. Chamber 2.10 × 2.05 m with pitched ceiling. Monolithic, triangular gable block. String course on side walls. Plug-type door (missing).

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 568–69, no. 415; 2009, 245, no. 16.5

Date uncertain, possibly as late as Hellenistic

Fig. 89

51—Ortaköy B

Ortaköy (Fig. 63, no. 20), Kula

Tumulus with built chamber.

Bedslab fragment observed on slope of mound; possible remains of an upright support seen in chamber fill.

Stone

The bedslab fragment has a shallow depression and raised border.

Plain slab support?

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed of schist and andesite blocks, with flat ceiling of schist slabs.

C.H. Roosevelt survey, 2001

Roosevelt 2003, 570, no. 418; 2009, 247, no. 16.7

Sixth or fifth century?

Uşak

52—Aktepe

Near Güre (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built chamber, dromos, and krepis wall.

Single monolithic *kline* set before the rear wall.

Limestone

2.05 m L, 0.85 m W, 0.54 m H

The bed surface consists of a shallow concave depression bordered by recessed flat bands. Both short ends once had raised headrests supported on posts above each leg. Only the right front and left rear posts are preserved; the right front one is decorated with a volute capital, and the left rear one has a similar carved profile. The fragmentary right headrest contains a shallow semi-oval head depression on the inner side and has a curved outer contour with projecting flare and a round boss on its upper surface, above the corner post. The front edge of the headrest is painted with a meander pattern. The front “rail” carries faint traces of a lightly incised and painted frieze with a symmetrical tripartite composition, consisting of a central animal confrontation—two winged (?) lions/griffins facing a bull—flanked by files of galloping horsemen wearing sleeved cloaks and tunics over long trousers,

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

terminating (at least on the right end) in a horse-drawn chariot.

The legs are individually carved and trapezoidal in form, narrowing toward the foot. The front faces of the front legs have Type B side cutouts carved in relief, with painted (red) palmettes above and below, and a projecting tenon (placed horizontally, semicircular in section, painted red, within larger red rectangles) near the top, at the level of the rail. A corresponding tenon is placed vertically on the exterior side of the leg, at a slightly lower level. The feet take the form of reclining calves or deer. The tops of the legs extend beyond the bed surface and form the posts for the raised headrests. Of the front posts, only the right one survives, and it is decorated with an Aeolic-style volute carved in relief, with fillets painted red.

Other tomb information: Chamber constructed within a pit cut into bedrock and covered with a layer of clay and then a layer of charcoal before the rest of the tumulus was heaped over it. Chamber 3.64 × 2.62 m, composed of smoothly worked limestone, with corbel-vaulted ceiling (corbeled masonry cut as a false barrel vault) 2.78 m high. Traces of claw chiseling; anathyrosis; milots; beveled joints; staple clamps in butterfly-shaped cuttings. Plug-type door block with recessed frames. Carved and painted façade, with moldings framing doorway, Ionic consoles, and stepped courses of alternating stone above lintel. Wall paintings on the rear portion of each side wall, consisting of a lifesized standing figure facing the rear, extending a branch towards the *kline*. Paintings were removed by looters and are now in the Uşak Museum; the lower portions of standing figures remaining in the chamber were painted recently, after the looting, and a painted black maeander band on the rear wall is probably also modern.

Associated finds: Finds recovered from the chamber in 1987 cleaning operations (post-looting) include fragments of three stone alabaster, lydion fragments, a sherd from a closed vessel, an iron knife, and fragments of bone or ivory that may belong to additional furnishings.

Uşak Museum salvage excavations and recording, after looting in 1960s and 1980s; author examination of *kline*, 2002

Uşak Museum 1.6.96, 1.7.96, 1.8.96, etc.

Dinç 1993, no. 32; Özgen et al. 1996, 35, 40–46, 70; Roosevelt 2003, 576–78, no. 433; Draycott 2007, 176–83; Roosevelt 2009, 172, 178, 247, no. 16.8, figs. 6.41–42; Baughan 2010b

Ca. 525–475

Figs. 73, 115h, 119, Plate 11

53—Töptepe (Haylaz Tepe)

Near Güre (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with partly built, partly rock-cut chamber and dromos.

Single rock-cut couch at rear.

Bedrock

Raised rectangular borders on the front and rear edges of the bed surface. Higher-raised rectangular headrest on each short end, within which is a semi-oval concave hollow.

Other tomb information: According to plans and drawings of the tomb on display in Uşak, the chamber floor and the lower parts of the chamber walls are cut from bedrock, while the upper portions of the walls and the flat ceiling are composed of limestone blocks. There is a plug-type door.

Associated finds: According to looters' reports, offerings were found laid out on the couch along with a skeleton, oriented with head toward the right. Many of these items have been returned from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and are now on display in Uşak. These include a silver oinochoe with kouros handle, silver ladle, glass bracelets with gold lion-head terminals, gold appliqué plaques, an onyx and carnelian necklace, a gold hippocamp brooch, chain pendants, and other jewelry. Jewelry items were reportedly found in places corresponding to where they were worn on the body of the deceased, probably a woman. Stone alabaster were found on the floor.

Uşak Museum salvage excavation and recording in 1980s and 1990s, after 1965 looting

Özgen et al. 1996, 52, 150–68, nos. 106–21; Roosevelt 2003, 575–76, no. 432, fig. 4.10; 2009, 180, 247, no. 16.8

Ca. 525–475

Fig. 153

54—İkiztepe

Near Güre (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with two built chambers, porches, and dromoi, side by side.

Chamber 1 (the north chamber) contained a couch made from local gray tuff, with a sarcophagus-like lid (?), supported on two upright slabs. Chamber 2 (the south chamber) contained two marble *klinai*, placed side by side across the

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

central axis of the chamber, oriented with head ends toward the right and decorated sides facing the entrance; one was monolithic, the other composed of a horizontal bedslab on two upright slab supports.

Tuff, marble

Couch from Chamber 1: 1.75 m L, 0.84 m W, 0.74 m H; both *klinai* from Chamber 2: 1.90 m L, 0.76 m W, 0.67 m H

Chamber 1 (north): Fragmentary bedslab 0.20 m thick, slightly wider at one end. Shallow depression with curved corners at the wider (probably the head) end, surrounded by a raised border (0.20–0.24 m wide). Rested on upright slab supports 0.54 m high. The couch has been reconstructed as a sort of sarcophagus, covered by a hollowed-out lid with “undecorated antefix-like elements” at the corners (Özgen et al. 1996, 49), but the piece restored as the lid may in fact be another bedslab, of unusual form: the hollowed-out area would then be the depression in the bed surface and the “antefix-like elements” could be projecting legs, as Roosevelt has suggested (2003, 583; 2006a, 79n66). This piece is also wider at one end than the other, but it is on the whole larger than the other bedslab: 1.88 m long, 1.00 m wide, and 0.41 m thick. This would be unusually thick for a *kline* bedslab; its hollowed depression would also be deeper than normal. This fragmentary piece remains puzzling.

Chamber 2 (south): One *kline* is monolithic, with “supports” on each end spanning the entire width of the bedslab. This couch is on display, with damaged areas restored, in the Uşak Museum. The other is more fragmentary, composed of a horizontal bedslab resting on upright slab supports that were socketed into the bottom of the bedslab. One of its supports is built into a house in Kemaller, near the tumulus; the left end of the bedslab is at the Uşak Museum. Owing to its size, the monolithic *kline* must have been placed in the chamber before completion of the tomb. The *klinai* seem to have been very similar, though not identical. Both have shallow rectangular depressions in the bed surface, bordered on the long sides by raised bands (0.01 m high; 0.12 m wide on the monolithic *kline*, 0.13 m wide on the other) and at the left end by a slightly wider raised band (0.012 m high; 0.145 m wide on the monolithic *kline*, 0.135 m wide on the other), with additional squared rectangular posts at the corners (0.14 × 0.125 m, 0.035 m high). The right end of the monolithic *kline* has a raised rectangular headrest (0.24 m wide, 0.035 m high), while the right end

of the other bedslab is not preserved. The front edge of each bed surface, between the raised ends, consists of a flat band or “rail” (0.14 m high on the monolithic *kline*, 0.13 m high on the other).

The “supports” of the monolithic *kline* taper from ca. 0.14 m wide at the top to ca. 0.11 m wide at the bottom. These are decorated with Type B double-volute side cutouts in silhouette relief (0.05 m deep) on their front faces; the exterior side faces are bordered by a horizontal “rail” in relief at the top and vertical “legs” in relief on the sides, with a roughly picked, slightly recessed area between. Both the front and side faces of the “legs” on the monolithic *kline* have projecting tenons at the top. These tenons are semicircular in section and have a spool-shaped form, tapering toward a central band in the middle (0.022–0.025 × 0.04–0.05 m); those on the long sides of the *klinai* are placed horizontally, while those on the short sides are placed vertically and slightly lower with respect to the top of the bedslab. At least one of the tenons on the monolithic *kline* may have been added as a separate piece—on the rear “leg” of the right “support,” in a location corresponding to the tenon on the rear left “leg,” is a hole ca. 0.045 × 0.025 m, 0.01 m deep. The bottom of the preserved left end of the bedslab of the nonmonolithic *kline* is roughly worked except for a smoothed band 0.14 m wide on the left end, where the slab would have rested on the slab support. Within this smoothed area are two rectangular sockets (ca. 0.11–0.12 m long, 0.05 m wide, 0.04 m deep), presumably for fastening the supports to the bedslab.

Other tomb information: Both chambers 2.67 × 2.15 m, constructed of smoothly worked sandstone masonry, with flat ceilings 2.02 m high. Pitched relieving spaces above the ceilings created by andesite slabs. Butterfly-shaped clamp cuttings; anathyrosis. Plug-type doors. Two marble relief stelai in the form of symbolic doors found in a nearby village have been associated with this tumulus and are thought to have possibly been set up on grooved bases found on the tumulus slope, although the dimensions may not match.

Associated finds: Of the 125 objects allegedly looted from Chamber 2, some were recovered from looters. In addition, many of the items recently returned to Turkey from the Metropolitan Museum of Art as part of the “Lydian Treasure” have been assigned to this tomb. Looted items include many silver and bronze vessels (bowls, jugs, a lydion), silver ladles and strainers, a silver incense burner, alabaster

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

alabastra, a stone pyxis, a chalcedony dish, and ceramic vessels (lydia, a lekythos). Salvage excavations in 1966 and 1994 recovered a fragment of a sandstone hand, small bone and metal animal figurines (decorative attachments?), and fragments of wood (perhaps parts of tables or other furnishings) from Chamber 2. A silver sigilos thought to belong to the reign of Dareios I (518–486) and a silver ring were found in the porch in front of Chamber 2.

Uşak Museum salvage excavations 1966, 1994; author examination of fragments, 2002

Uşak Museum: monolithic *kline* and bedslab fragment from Chamber 2; one support of Chamber 2 *kline* built into house wall in Kemaller, near the tumulus

Alkım 1968, 39, no. 37; Tezcan 1979; McLauchlin 1985, F1, 266–67; Dinç 1993, no. 33; Özgen et al. 1996, 48–52; Roosevelt 2003, 582–85, no. 440; 2006a, 79; 2009, 247, no. 16.8

Ca. 500–450

Figs. 81, 154

55—Velişintepe

Near Güre (Fig. 63)

Tumulus with built krepi wall.

Two rock-cut chambers with dromoi cut in slope; Π-shaped benches reported in each.

Bedrock

In one chamber, rear bench: 1.92 m L, 0.62–0.65 m W; sides: 1.74 m L, 0.62–0.65 m W

Three bed surfaces are delineated within the continuous Π-shaped bench (one along the rear wall and one on each side), with a raised rectangular border (0.10 m wide) along the front edge of each.

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.85–1.92 × 2.44 m, cut from bedrock, with vaulted ceiling 1.75 m high. Rubble rear wall may be a later addition. Another chamber located a few meters away is said to have the same arrangement of benches. These chambers are probably secondary burials cut in the natural slope beneath an earlier tumulus, though no other chamber has been located. Pits dug by looters on top of the mound in 1966 reportedly uncovered a layer of charcoal and ash, in which a Lydian lekythos was found. A “phallic” marker found in the 1960s strengthens the possibility of an Archaic Lydian date for the tumulus.

Associated finds: Some human skeletal remains found atop the benches, along with fourth-century pottery. Other

finds from the chamber fill include a lekythos, the foot of a black-glazed perfume vessel dated to the second half of the fourth century, a silver ring, a fourth-century coin of Pergamon, and some Roman pottery fragments.

Uşak Museum salvage excavation, 1991

Akbıykoğlu 1993; Özgen et al. 1996, 29; Roosevelt 2003, 581–82, no. 439; 2009, 247, no. 16.8

Tumulus possibly Archaic; rock-cut chambers with benches probably fourth or third century, with later Roman reuse

56—Selçikler Tumulus 2

Selçikler/Sebaste (Fig. 63, no. 23), near Sivaslı

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, porch, and dromos.

Built-in Γ-shaped shelf set into horizontal grooves (ca. 0.10 m deep, 0.10–0.15 m thick/tall) in rear and right side walls, at level of junction of first and second masonry courses.

Limestone or marble?

Rear: 2.20 m L, ca. 0.70 m W, 0.59 m H; right: ca. 2.05 m L, ca. 0.45 m W, ca. 0.59 m H

Only a few fragments of the rear bedslab survive. These have a projecting flange for insertion into the groove. The only recovered fragment from the front edge has a raised lip, broken off. In the reconstruction drawings (İzmirligil 1975, pls. VIII, XII.1), it is shown with lip projecting downward. İzmirligil (p. 46) suggests that the slab was on one side inserted into the wall and “from the other side went down to the floor”; if restored the other way around, with projecting lip facing up, then it may be seen as a raised rectangular border along the front edge of the bedslab, as on the built-in shelves in Sardis Tomb 89.11 (Cat. 4) and commonly on *kline* bedslabs. Judging from the dimensions of the wall grooves for the shelf along the right wall, this shelf is much narrower than the rear one; İzmirligil (p. 46) suggests that it may have been intended for the placement of grave goods rather than another burial location. Roosevelt (2003, 617), however, observes that “two small rectangular sockets in the floor, located just to the right of the doorway, may have been intended to receive the legs or supports of some kind . . . thus suggesting a width wider than that reconstructed from the wall slots.”

Other tomb information: Main chamber 2.75 × 2.20 m, constructed of smoothly worked marble masonry, with flat ceiling 2.10 m high, above which is a pitched relieving roof. Antechamber and porch also have flat ceilings, but dromos

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

is pitched. Entrance to antechamber closed by a two-leaf door in local limestone, of simple four-panel design. Entrance to main chamber closed by two-leaf marble door of four-panel type with bosses/studs in relief. Possible traces of claw chiseling. For the interior arrangement cf. Sardis Tomb 89.11 (Cat. 4) and Cilician tombs (Machatschek 1967, pls. 21, 34).

Turkish Department of Antiquities excavation, 1967–69
İzmirligil 1975; McLauchlin 1985, F2b, 268–70; Dinç 1993, no. 29; Roosevelt 2003, 615–17, no. 528
Fifth century or later

Mysia

Balıkesir

57—Üçpınar Tumulus

Üçpınar, near Daskyleion (Fig. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Two couches, one along each side wall, each composed of a horizontal slab on upright slab supports.

Marble?

1.92–1.95 m L, 0.70 m W, ca. 0.60 m H

Bedslabs 0.20 m thick, with shallow concavities in the bed surfaces and a raised rectangular headrest at each end (0.22 × 0.70 m). A sunken band/horizontal cutting along the front face of each bedslab distinguishes a curved “mattress” layer from vertical “rail” (0.06 m high) below; the right and left ends of the front face, below the raised headrests, are plain, set off from the “mattress” and “rail” by a vertical incised line. These areas thus appear as extensions of the “legs” (slab supports) below.

Plain slab supports ca. 0.22 m wide, 0.40 m high (estimated).

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.18 × 1.92 m, constructed of marble masonry, with flat ceiling 1.80 m high.

Associated finds: Just outside the entrance to the dromos were found the bronze and iron remains of two chariot wheels (dismounted and left side by side) and other chariot trappings (yoke parts, harness parts). With these items were decorative plaques with holes around their edges for application to fabric or other material. Pottery finds include fragments of at least two black-figure lekythoi and a black-figure/white-ground pattern lekythos (Kütük 1995, 21–22, figs. 13–15). Fragments of bone and pottery were found lying atop the couches.

Bursa and Balıkesir Museums salvage excavation, 1988

Replica of tomb chamber in Bursa, Tofaş Anadolu Arabaları Müzesi

Kütük 1995; Kökten 1998; Kökten Ersoy 1998

Late sixth–early fifth century

58—Tumulus at Daskyleion

Daskyleion (Fig. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and long dromos. One *kline* in recessed niche on rear wall, across from entrance.

The foot/short end of the *kline* faces the entrance and protrudes slightly into the space of the chamber, while most of the couch recedes into the niche, with a raised headrest at the rear of the niche.

Marble?

There appears to be a raised headrest at the far end, and it may bear carved decoration. The top part of the solid end of the couch, facing into the chamber, has a projecting horizontal band that appears to represent the end of the bed surface. On the solid face of the short end of the couch are relief projections that may represent legs.

Other tomb information: The chamber has a flat ceiling, and a carved doorframe surrounds the niche where the couch is located. The tops of the walls have a projecting cornice.

Daskyleion Excavations, 2010

Unpublished. This description is based on brief reports and videos in the news media following the discovery, and a brief mention in İren 2012, 75.

Ca. 450–400

59—Koru Tumulus, Daskyleion

Daskyleion (Fig. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and long dromos.

Two monolithic (?) *klinai*, one at the rear and one along the left wall; a third wooden *kline* may once have stood along the right wall.

Marble, wood?

The tops of the *klinai* each have a sunken bed surface between raised borders on the long sides and a raised headrest on each end. The headrests have carved relief decoration, with a curved outer edge (convex in the center flanked by concavities and flared corners) and a curved recess on the inner edge, in the location of the head. The front face is carved to replicate a rounded mattress in relief over a flat rail, below which is a recessed flat surface that extends down to the

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

level of the middle of the carved legs, just above the side cutouts.

On both ends of the front face are Type B legs carved in relief, with double-volute capitals and volute side cutouts with central terminals. At the bottom the leg flares to a rounded foot. The overall outline of the leg tapers from top to bottom. In one of the few photographs published so far, it appears that there may also be relief decoration (maeander?) on the “abacus” above the volute capitals.

Other tomb information: Chambers made of banded Prokonnesian marble. The walls of the burial chamber are smoothly finished.

Associated finds: Many fragments of disintegrated wooden furniture were found on the floor, along with skeletal remains belonging to two individuals (a female about twenty years old found under the left *kline*, an adult male found on the floor nearby). Remains of a third individual (a man over fifty years old) were found atop the rear *kline*. It is possible that some of the wood pieces belong to a third *kline*, made of wood, that stood along the right wall, and/or to tables or other furniture. A photograph of wooden fragments published in some early news reports shows pieces of turned legs with two closely stacked turnings at the middle; these could belong to a stool, *kline*, or table. Remains of another individual were recovered from the antechamber. Other finds include fifth-century coins of Kyzikos, an agate (?) ring with gold setting, alabaster alabastra, lydia, small ivory pieces (furniture inlays?), and a fragmentary glass rhyton. On the *klinai* themselves were the remnants of decayed textiles, which must have been dyed purple, since vivid purple stains cover much of the top surfaces, borders, and rails; these rich coverings must have hung over the edges of the *klinai* at the time of burial. A burnt layer found near the entrance to the tomb contained finds datable to the early fifth century.

Daskyleion excavations, 2010

İren 2012; İren and Doğan 2012, 526–27, fig. 7; İren and Erdal 2012

Ca. 450–400

60—Yağcılar Tumulus

Near İvrindi

Tumulus with partly rock-cut, partly built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

One “floorbed” along each side wall.

Stone

0.75 m W, 0.50 m H, lengths unknown

Fragments of two stone slabs with “table-like flat tops” (Akat 1975, 30) were found broken up in shallow (0.08 m deep) hollows cut in the bedrock floor before each side wall.

Other tomb information: Floor and rear wall cut from bedrock; rest of chamber masonry-built. Pitched ceiling. Plug-type door.

Associated finds: Many pottery sherds as well as some lamps and perfume jars, including some recognizably Late Roman material.

Bursa Museum salvage excavation

Akat 1975

Sixth or fifth century with later reuse

The Troad

Çanakkale

61—Dedetepe

Gümüşçay (Fig. 1), near Biga

Tumulus with built chamber and antechamber/porch.

Two identical painted marble *klinai*, before the rear and left walls respectively, each composed of a horizontal slab on two upright slab supports.

Marble

Ca. 2.05 m L, 0.92 m W

The bedslabs have shallow concave depressions bordered by flat bands on the long sides. The depressions are rectangular in shape but have rounded corners. Both short ends have slightly raised rectangular “headrests,” outlined in red, with a raised blue boss at each end. The front faces of the raised ends are set off from the rest of the bedslab by painted blue lines that continue the profiles of the slab supports and have painted volute capitals that complete the Type B legs painted on the supports. These consist of Ionic capitals supporting abaci decorated with red and blue maeander bands. The volutes are outlined in blue-black, with red eyes. Between the spirals are three rows of alternately colored rectangles (green, black, and pale background color), separated by thin black or red bands. Below each capital is a green rectangular “tenon” filled with vertical black stripes that may schematically represent the end-grain of a projecting wooden tenon. Between the raised ends, the front face of the bedslab is carved to resemble a mattress lying atop a couch rail, with a rounded molding over a flat vertical plane.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

The rounded “mattress” layer is decorated with horizontal stripes (painted green, yellow, blue, and red); the front “rail” was apparently undecorated (reed-like patterns on the rail of the rear *kline* may have been left by tomb looters when they tried to clean their hands).

The rectangular slab supports have smooth faces on which are painted the lower portions of Type B legs. The painted leg profiles taper from top to bottom and are outlined in blue. The double-volute side “cutouts” have red disc terminals (volute eyes) outlined with reserve bands bordered by blue circles at both ends and on either side of the thinnest portion of the leg. A palmette with seven petals, alternately red and blue, appears above the volute crescents, sprouting from a small, linear double volute. The lowest portion of the leg, beneath the side “cutouts,” has a concave contour, flaring slightly at the bottom toward a rectangular base, painted brown. Spanning the juncture between bedslab and support are two tightly spiraling, red double volutes, with blue pointed lozenges extending from the volute separations at top and bottom. The slab supports were finished with a claw chisel, while the bedslabs were finished with a flat chisel. A pale yellow gesso was applied to the marble before the addition of the painted decoration.

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.60×4.20 m, constructed of smoothly worked marble masonry, with flat ceiling 1.90 m high. Marble door block attached to frame by dowels. Dovetail clamps. Claw chiseling on exterior of wall blocks. Burnt layer before entrance covered marble chip-ping layer from final dressing. Guide poles may have been used during construction of tumulus.

Associated finds: Ivory deer protome, ivory fragments that may have been parts of musical instruments, alabastra, pottery (mostly skyphoi and bowls), and five wooden table legs, probably belonging to two tables set in front of the *klinai*. Skeletal remains belonging to at least three individuals, some found atop the *klinai*.

Çanakkale Museum salvage excavation, 1994

Çanakkale Museum

Özgen et al. 1996, 56–57; Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 75, 78; on the table legs, Paspalas 2000a, 538

Ca. 480–460, based on pottery (one sherd found in the dromos dated ca. 430 attests to a later opening)

Figs. 51, 74, 156, Plate 10

62—Dardanos Tumulus

Dardanos, Maltepe

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Three *klinai* in main chamber, one against rear wall and one before each side wall. Each is composed of a horizontal bedslab on four individual rectangular supports.

Limestone

2.05 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.60 m H

The bedslabs are thin, flat slabs. Separate blocks placed above the right end of each bedslab form raised rectangular headrests. The front edges of these are profiled, with a rectangular layer over a convex bulge on each side, resembling a Type B volute capital in silhouette. The top surfaces of these headrests have semi-oval depressions.

Each rectangular, pillar-like leg carries carved Type B decoration on its front face: double-volute side cutouts in relief. On the front legs of each *kline*, these are outlined in relief ca. 0.10 m deep, with shallower incisions indicating the spirals and eyes of the volute terminals and discs on either side of the thinnest section at the middle of the cutouts. On the rear supports, however, the same design is rendered entirely in lightly incised relief. The leg profiles are straight, except for concave contours on the sides of the lowest portion, below the side cutouts. Beneath a break in the left portion of the left *kline* bedslab is a plain, secondary support. (N.B.: In photos on display in the Çanakkale Museum, one of which is reproduced here in Fig. 82, the front right leg of the rear *kline* appears upside down.)

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.23×3.65 m, constructed of limestone masonry, with steep corbeled ceiling 3.28 m high at apex. Dromos walls incline inward toward the top. Dovetail clamps; claw and flat chiseling. Inscriptions above doorways to antechamber and main chamber name Skamandrios, son of Makaris, and Onyenades, son of Karin. Taslıkoğlu dates the inscriptions and thus the construction of the tomb to the late sixth century.

Associated finds: The remains of several skeletons were found on and under each *kline*, representing at least forty-two individuals. These were stacked with intervening offerings (about 470 items), including gold diadems, earrings, medallions, lamps, vases, and parts of musical instruments. Additional cremation burials were placed in metal vessels and wooden boxes, and remains of painted wooden furniture, textiles, wooden combs, small containers, and baskets were

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

also found in the tomb. Most of this material dates to the fourth century, but the tomb appears to have been in use until the first or second century CE, when the dromos was closed, the chamber was covered with rubble, and the rest of the tumulus was constructed. The earliest item from the tomb is a fifth-century silver phiale. One bronze vessel carries an inscription from the first century BCE.

R. Duyuran excavation, 1959–61

Duyuran 1960a, fig. 1, pl. 68.5; Duyuran 1960b, pl. 10a; Melink 1961, 51–52; Taslıkoğlu 1963; Sevinç and Treister 2003, figs. II, VII

Late sixth–early fifth century (?) with reuse in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods

Fig. 82

Ionian

İzmir

63—Belevi Tumulus (Fig. 63)

Belevi, next to the Belevi Mausoleum, near Ephesos

Tumulus with chamber, antechamber, dromos, and krepis wall, partly rock-cut, partly built.

Fragments of a bedslab, possibly of double width, found in the dromos and on the tumulus slope before the entrance to the dromos. Original location unknown.

Marble

The preserved fragments have two parallel, shallow, trough-shaped depressions.

Other tomb information: Antechamber has lantern-type corbeled ceiling and half-round molding (Ionic kymation) at tops of walls, with traces of claw chiseling. Main chamber (ca. 1.75 × 2.40 m, max. height ca. 2.30 m) has corbeled ceiling, cut as a false barrel vault, with dovetail clamp cuttings on uppermost blocks. Relieving chambers (corbeled rubble) above each chamber. Grooves in door jambs for a portcullis closing system. The entrance to the main chamber is small, located 0.57 m above the floor level. Ashlar blocks found on the top of the mound may belong to a crowning monument of some kind. A small shaft leading from the top of the tumulus down to the dromos may have served as a libation hole.

Austrian excavation, 1933; S. Kasper excavation and recording, 1970s

Fragments housed in depot of Austrian excavation house in Selçuk; Kasper 1976–77, 155n41

Kasper 1967; 1975; 1976–77; 1978, 387–98, with earlier references; Vettters 1974, 42–44, figs. 34–40; McLauchlin 1985, G3, 271–73; Alzinger, in Praschniker and Theuer 1979, 170–72; Roosevelt 2003, 619–20, no. 536

Sixth century (?) with later use (fourth–third century)

Phrygia

Kütahya

64—Taşlık Tumulus

Taşlık (Fig. 91, no. 14), Örenköy

Tumulus with rock-cut complex (dromos, antechamber, and two burial chambers).

Kütahya Museum staff entered the tomb just after looting in 2003 and reported that there were two couches in Chamber 1 and three in Chamber 2, in a Π-shaped formation. No further details are known, as the chambers are now full of debris and the couches are no longer visible.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber 1 measures 2.25 × 2.25 m, with pitched ceiling 2.15 m high in center. Chamber 2 measures 2.70 × 2.20 m, also with pitched ceiling, though its full height is unknown. Both chambers and the antechamber have architectural details carved in relief and painted (red), including rafters, purlins, and gables with king posts. The antechamber has additional figural reliefs: antithetical cocks in the gable and a horse and lion on one side wall.

2003 looting, followed by Kütahya Museum recording

Tüfekçi Sivas 2010

Period of Lydian or Persian domination (sixth–fifth century?)

The Kibyrtis

Burdur (see Fig. 1)

65—Üç Tümülsler 1 (Middle Tumulus)

Bademli, Karamanlı

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Three *klinai*, one filling the rear wall and one filling the remaining space before each side wall.

Sandstone?

1.86 m L, 0.68 m W, H not recorded

Each bedslab has a sunken, concave surface bordered by flat bands on the long sides, and a semi-oval headrest at one end. On the rear couch, the headrest is located on the right side, while the headrests of the side couches are located on the ends nearest the doorway.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Plain slab supports.

Other tomb information: Sandstone chamber $2.20 \times 2.13 \times 2.36$, with pitched ceiling. Monolithic triangular gable block. Plug-type door.

Associated finds: Sherds datable to the Classical and earlier periods were found in the tumulus fill. Finds from the chamber include disordered skeletal remains, pottery sherds, two small pieces of an unguentarium, and bronze fragments belonging to a harness. The two other tumuli in the group (the East and West Tumuli) have also been excavated. They also had couches but are currently the subject of study by the Burdur Museum and are not yet published. The couches were of different types than those in the Middle Tumulus, with slabs socketed into grooves in the chamber walls and one couch of unusual, sarcophagus-like form, similar to the ledged burial places in some Carian tumuli (e.g., Henry 2009, fig. 32; Ratté 2012, 46, 48, figs. 6, 12–13).

Burdur Museum investigation, 2005

Ekinci 2006; 2007; Hüllden 2011, 505

Fifth–fourth century?

66—Çeştepe

Harmankaya, Karamanli

Tumulus with built chamber, antechamber, and dromos.

Two bench-like couches, one along the rear and one along the right side wall.

Limestone

Burdur Museum investigation, 1998, 2001

Ekinci 2003a, 62; 2003b, 56; Hüllden 2011, 505

Fifth–fourth century?

67—Yuvalak Tumulus

Yuvalak, Tefenni

Tumulus with built chamber and dromos.

Two couches, one filling the rear wall and one along one side wall.

Limestone

Bedslabs socketed into grooves in the chamber walls. Slabs shattered by looters.

Other tomb information: The tumulus is very large (60–70 m in diam.) and once had a “phallos” stone at the top, shattered by looters.

Burdur Museum investigation, 2008

Ekinci and Çankaya 2008; Hüllden 2011, 505, fig. 8

Fifth century?

The Milyas (Northern Lycia)

Antalya

68—Kızılbel Tumulus

Kızılbel, near Elmalı (Fig. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Single couch, composed of a bedslab resting on a pedestal block support, in the northwest corner of the chamber (along the west wall, with one short end up against the north wall); original location determined by the absence of painted decoration on the lower part of the west wall and a “jog” in the lower frieze band of the north wall.

Limestone

1.85 m L, 0.74 m W, 0.43 m H

Bedslab 0.10 m thick, with a shallow concave depression in its upper surface, bordered on all four sides by a flat band 0.10 m wide. The edges of the slab and border are beveled. The lower surface has an “offset rectangular raised area 1.69×0.61 m roughly centered with relation to the overall slab” (Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 19). On the flat front face of the slab there are “traces of vertical red and blue stripes 0.015–0.02 m wide” (p. 19). A narrow undecorated band on the west wall directly above the *kline* may have been left to accommodate the mattress and/or coverings and the burial itself.

Pedestal block base, 0.33 m high.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.45×2.00 m, constructed of limestone masonry, with pitched ceiling 2.30 m high at apex. Polygonal joints; no traces of claw chiseling. Portcullis door “consisting of a stone slab lowered through a slot in the lintel and guided by grooves in the jambs and threshold, in a hybrid Lycian manner” (Mellink 1983b, 171). The walls of the chamber carry elaborate figural painted friezes, including scenes of hunting, dancing, sea travel, the departure of a warrior, and the slaying of Medusa. On the west wall just above the *kline* is a banquet scene, poorly preserved. On the floor before the *kline* is a painted rug, with rosette and other floral motifs as well as a checkerboard design. The ceiling was also painted, with red and blue checkerboard designs.

Associated finds: Skeletal remains of a male around fifty years old. Fragmentary stone table (0.72×0.34 m, 0.31 m high) with plain legs carved in relief on the front face and

impressions of metal vessels (apparently not bronze) on its upper surface. Nails in the wall above the table once held additional vessels, which also left impressions in the painted wall surface. Other finds include a stone alabastron rim, a limestone alabastron, neck fragments of a red-glazed lydion (imported), various metal fragments, and a fragment of incised bone.

Bryn Mawr expedition salvage excavation, 1969 and subsequent seasons

Kline restored, *in situ*

Mellink 1970, 251–53; 1971, 246–49; 1972b, 261; 1973, 301–3; 1974a, 359; 1974b; 1975, 353–55; 1976a, 377–82, figs. 3–6; 1976b; 1979a; 1980b, 156, pl. XLIV; Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998

Ca. 525

Figs. 88, 117

69—Karaburun Tumulus II

Karaburun, near Elmalı (Fig. 1)

Tumulus with built chamber.

Monolithic *kline* located before the rear (west) wall, in the northwest corner.

Limestone

2.14 m L, 0.99 m W, 0.58 m H

Concave bed surface bordered on all sides by raised flat borders, with higher square posts (ca. 0.09 m high) at each corner. The entire top surface of the *kline* is painted red, and red paint continues above the right end of the couch on the north wall.

Rectangular legs in relief on both exposed faces (front and left side). The front legs have painted Type B decoration in black and red: back-to-back crescent-shaped bands outlined in black with red disc terminals, joined at the middle by a red horizontal band, at each end of which is another red disc outlined with a plain band bordered by a black line (as are the terminals of the crescents, in the centers of which are compass points); red palmettes above and below. On the better-preserved left front leg, the upper palmette has twelve petals while the lower, pendant palmette has nine. The base of the palmette is red, bordered with a band outlined in black and filled with alternating red and black lines in a ladder pattern. Similar bands border the top and bottom edges of the central cross-bar connecting the back-to-back crescents. The front faces of the front corner posts are

not well preserved, so it is uncertain whether the tops of the legs carried the characteristic volute capitals. Fragments of the front left corner post have traces of red paint. The front rail in relief at top of the front face, 0.11 m high, partially preserved, has traces of a rosette frieze: two rosettes are clear, and the existence of two similar motifs is suggested by additional amorphous traces of red paint. The four motifs are spaced ca. 0.15–0.20 m apart. The best-preserved rosettes are the two outermost, both ca. 0.08 m in diam. The one on the left has alternating red and blue petals, while the one on the right has only red petals preserved (empty spaces between them may once have held or been intended to hold blue paint). Below the rail and between the legs, on the flat sunken face of the block, several animals are painted in vivid colors on a blue background: a cock, a hen, a dog, and a partridge, from left to right. The blue background matches traces of blue stucco found on fragments of the floor slabs. It therefore seems that these animals are meant to be perceived as standing on the floor under the couch. A thin red band at the top of this painted zone, just beneath the relief rail, may hint at perspective, if it is meant to represent the bottom edge or shadow of the front rail.

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.00 × 2.61 m, composed of limestone masonry, with pitched ceiling that ranges from 1.95–2.66 m high. Gable block at each end as well as one spanning the middle of the chamber, attached to side walls by horizontal tenons. The *kline* appears to have been put in place before the rear block of the right wall, and therefore before the chamber was completely constructed. This is suggested also by the large size of the monolithic *kline* block and the lack of a permanent doorway: there is no tomb entrance besides a plug-block secured in a temporary doorway following burial. This “door”-block is distinguished from the rest of the masonry only by being slightly recessed and having an overhanging lintel on the interior. All masonry joints contain lime plaster, and claw chiseling has been noted in several locations. The limestone floor, heavily broken up by looters, was covered with blue stucco. The chamber was covered with a pile of rocks and then a layer of white clay before the rest of the tumulus was heaped above it. The southeast slope of the tumulus has a terraced area with a limestone base for a monument involving a symbolic door and lion sculpture. The chamber walls carry painted friezes. On the west (rear) wall above the

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

limestone *kline*, a bearded gentleman reclines on a couch with Achaemenid-style turned legs, equipped with a banquet and attended by two male figures and a woman. Two additional figures painted on the adjoining north wall also attend the scene. On the remainder of the north wall is a battle scene featuring the same bearded man on horseback, vanquishing an enemy. He and his allies wear sleeved tunics over trousers, while their foes wear Greek hoplite attire. On the south wall is a procession, showing the same dignitary riding on a throne-chariot, a chest or sarcophagus pulled by horses, and two servants carrying a table or stool with turned legs like those of the couch painted on the west wall. On the east wall, to one side of the false doorway, is a bearded old man.

Associated finds: The tomb was looted in Roman times, as evidenced by a lamp left by robbers. All that remained of the original grave offerings were “slivers of alabaster, small scraps of ivory, but no fine pottery” (Mellink 1972b, 264). A small stone table (0.72 × 0.59 × 0.20 m), found broken, probably stood in the southeast corner of the chamber, opposite the *kline*: “a low rectangular block with offset beveled edges,” with “no decoration apart from the red painted top and the blue paint on the front side which blended with the floor slabs” (Mellink 1974a, 358).

Bryn Mawr expedition excavation, 1970 and subsequent seasons

In situ, with broken fragments restored with plaster

Mellink 1971, 250–55; 1972b, 263–69; 1973, 297–301; 1974a, 355–59, pl. 69, figs. 16–19; 1974b; 1975, 349–53; 1976a, 382–84; 1979a, 484–96; 1979b; 1983b; Boardman 1990, 128, pl. 12b; Mellink 1991, 9; Bingöl 1997, pls. 7–8; unpublished report of R. Bridges on the architecture of the tomb, and unpublished notes of M.J. Mellink, kindly shared by S.G. Miller.

Ca. 475

Figs. 75, 118

ROCK-CUT TOMBS

Lydia

Manisa

70—Sardis, Tomb 59.2

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with dromos and two chambers.

In the first chamber, a low rock-cut bench on the right held a terracotta sarcophagus. The second chamber contained a

continuous II-shaped bench, with a tub-shaped terracotta sarcophagus on the floor in the middle.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Ceiling of first chamber flat. Second chamber 2.20 × 2.50, with pitched ceiling 2.80 m high at apex.

Associated finds: Fragments of terracotta sarcophagi, some with linear painted decoration, were found on the side couches in the second chamber as well as on the floor of the first chamber and in the dromos fill. Other finds include a fragment of an alabaster alabastron and a fragment of a Lydian lekythos.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1959; probably also explored by H.C. Butler

Hanfmann 1961, 10–12; Hanfmann and Detweiler 1960, 23; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59, fig. 114; McLauchlin 1985, CC16, 231–33; Dusinberre 2003, 246

Sixth or fifth century?

71—Sardis, Tomb 59.3

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with two chambers in T-shaped arrangement. Two rock-cut couches, one along each side wall of the second chamber.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Second chamber 1.80 × 3.10 m, ceiling 1.90 m high.

Associated finds: Fragments of a terracotta sarcophagus and fragments of unglazed Lydian lekythoi.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 1959; probably also explored by H.C. Butler

Hanfmann 1961, 10–12; Hanfmann and Detweiler 1960, 23; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59, fig. 114; McLauchlin 1985, CC17, 233–34; Dusinberre 2003, 246

Sixth or fifth century?

72—Sardis, Tomb 03.1

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Left: 1.92 m L, 0.70 m W, ca. 0.50 m H; rear: 2.08 m L, 0.83 m W, 0.75 m H; right: 1.70 m L, 0.74 m W, 0.50 m H

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Irregular raised edges (ca. 0.05–0.13 m wide) border the bed surfaces of the side couches.

Other tomb information: Two steps before rear couch. Chamber 2.62–2.80 × 2.28 m, with pitched ceiling.

Associated finds: Skeletal remains found on both side couches, with heads oriented toward the tomb entrance. A stone alabastron was found on one of the side couches; on the other were several plain lekythoi. Finds from the chamber fill include an Attic red-figure askos, a black-glazed bowl with palmette stamp, several core-formed glass vessels, and a pile of beads. On the rear couch were found several human bones (pelvis, femur, and finger) along with plain lekythoi and an alabaster alabastron.

Harvard-Cornell Sardis expedition excavation, 2003

Unpublished excavation report of G.E. Isinak; Baughan 2010a, 283–84, figs. 21–25; Cahill 2010, 554–60, nos. 196–205. A study of the tomb by Susanne Ebbinghaus is forthcoming.

Late fifth or fourth century?

Fig. 102

73—Sardis, chamber tomb behind the Pyramid Tomb

Sardis (Fig. 63), Şeytan Deresi

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Continuous Π-shaped rock-cut bench, plain.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 1.80 m L, ca. 1.15 m W, ca. 0.90 m H; sides: 2.20–2.30 m L, 0.70 m W, ca. 0.90 m H

Associated finds: Gold beads found on one of the benches by Butler; marble alabastron fragments found on west bench in 1990.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1914; Harvard-Cornell expedition excavation, 1990

Butler 1922, 155; Ratté 1992, 139, figs. 2, 3, pls. 21.1, 22.1

Sixth–fourth century?

74—Sardis, McLauchlin CC1 / “Pot of Gold Tomb”

Sardis (Fig. 63), northwest Akropolis foothills

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Traces of rock-cut benches noted.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: The tomb chamber had been almost completely eroded away at the time of discovery and was only recognizable as such from the few remaining traces

of benches and a few human skeletal fragments found in association.

Associated finds: The tomb gets its name from a coarse gray-fabric vessel found within it, containing thirty gold Croesid staters. Lydian pottery was noted on the surface in the area.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1922

Shear 1922a; Shear 1922b, 396–400; McLauchlin 1985, CC1, 147, 213

Mid- to late sixth century

75—Sardis, McLauchlin CC3 / Butler C

Sardis (Fig. 63), Akropolis foothills

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall, one of double width at rear.

Bedrock

Associated finds: Door stele with inscription reused in dromos blocking wall. Finds from chamber include two “hemphorae” (one-handed amphorae?), a saucer, fourteen “saphanides,” fourteen terracotta lamps, a Myrina-type terracotta figurine, and a bronze box mirror.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1910

Thumb 1911, 151–153; Littmann 1916, 41–44; Butler 1922, 56–57; Buckler 1924, 8–11; McLauchlin 1985, CC3, 213–14

Sixth–fourth century?

76—Sardis, McLauchlin CC7 / Butler’s “Lydian Tomb on Two Levels”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with two chambers.

Rock-cut benches/couches along both side walls of the first chamber and probably the second. At the rear of the second chamber, a couch of double width in a projecting niche.

Bedrock

Double couch at rear of second chamber, with two rectangular depressions surrounded by flat borders, side by side; other couches plain. Butler (1922, 162) mentions couches (plural) in the first chamber but does not describe the arrangement of couches in the second chamber. His fig. 181 shows only the left half of the tomb, in section. A bench is indicated before the left wall in both chambers. It is likely that the second chamber contained a corresponding bench along the right wall.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Other tomb information: The second chamber was at a lower level than the first and was accessed by a rock-cut stairway leading down from the first chamber. The entrance to the second chamber, at the bottom of the stairs, was sealed with a stone door.

H.C. Butler excavation

Butler 1922, 162, fig. 181; McLauchlin 1985, CC7, 220, fig. 23;

Dusinberre 2003, 255–56

Sixth–fourth century?

77—Sardis, McLauchlin CC18 / Butler’s “Tomb in SW Necropolis”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Rock-cut couch against right wall, narrow ledge at left, and double couch in projecting niche at rear.

Bedrock

Height of benches ca. 2.00 m above sunken floor

Raised rectangular borders on all sides of right couch, framing a rectangular depression. Two rectangular depressions side by side on double couch; these were arranged on the long axis of the chamber, one slightly wider than the other.

Other tomb information: Butler noted that the ceilings of both the chamber and the niche at the rear were “irregularly pitched.” Traces of pinkish plaster were noted on the walls. The floor between the right couch and the ledge on left was sunken. The dromos descended at an angle toward the floor level of the chamber; the final descent must have been achieved by a set of stairs, as restored in Butler’s section drawing.

Associated finds: Fragments of terracotta sarcophagi were found in the chamber.

H.C. Butler excavation

Butler 1922, 163–64, fig. 183; McLauchlin 1985, CC18, 234, fig. 24; Dusinberre 2003, 256

Sixth–fourth century?

Fig. 101

78—Sardis, McLauchlin CC19

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with short dromos and single chamber.

Two rock-cut couches: one along the right wall and one of double width at the rear.

Bedrock

Raised band across length of rear bench in center divided its bed surface into two side-by-side rectangular areas; benches are otherwise plain.

Other tomb information: Located in South Nekropolis, immediately to the right of Tomb S1 (Cat. 93). Entrance to dromos is pitched, while its ceiling is carved like a barrel vault. Ceiling of tomb chamber is pitched.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1913

Butler 1922, 140–41, 162–64, fig. 182 (right); McLauchlin 1985, CC19, 234–35, fig. 25.

Sixth–fourth century?

79—Sardis, McLauchlin CC 22

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with dromos and two chambers.

In first chamber, two plain rock-cut couches end-to-end along each side wall, separated by a “slightly projecting ridge of untrimmed bedrock” (McLauchlin 1985, 238). One couch along each side wall in second chamber, very eroded.

Bedrock

Front couch in first chamber: 1.90 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.72 m H;
rear side couch in first chamber: 1.50 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.90 m H

B. McLauchlin survey

McLauchlin 1985, CC22, 237–39; Dusinberre 2003, 256

Sixth–fourth century?

80—Sardis, McLauchlin CC23

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Γ-shaped rock-cut bench to left of entrance (against left and rear walls).

Bedrock

0.85 m W, 0.75 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.10 × 3.02 m. Ceiling of chamber irregular. Doorway and dromos have pitched ceilings.

B. McLauchlin survey

McLauchlin 1985, CC23, 239; Dusinberre 2003, 256–57

Sixth–fourth century?

81—Sardis, Tomb 326

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, one at left and one at right, indicated by recorded findspots.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Bedrock

Associated finds: On the “right bed”: a small Attic (?) late black-figure skyphos. On the “left bed”: a flask (“ampulla”), two “gongylides” (?), a spouted jug, and a bowl. Other finds include two lamps, a carnelian pyramidal stamp seal with walking lion (IAM 4580), a rock crystal pendant with gold lion’s-head cap (IAM 4577), a silver bracelet, four gold pendants (IAM 4605), two gold beads, and an agate bead.

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards; Curtis 1925, nos. 46, 49, 106; Dusinger 2003, 248, fig. 81

Sixth–fourth century?

82—Sardis, Tomb 348

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two or more rock-cut couches, indicated by recorded findspot of objects from the tomb (“end bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: Chalcedony seal with Potnia Theron (winged figure holding a lion on each side), bronze mirror, stone alabastra, and pottery including an Attic black-figure lekythos, three concave-sided lekythoi, a bowl, a kantharos, several jugs, and several lydia.

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards; Curtis 1925, no. 111; Dusinger 2003, 249

Fifth century?

83—Sardis, Tomb 356

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot of object (“end bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: On the “end bed” was a two-handled ceramic bowl/cup decorated with a band of “discs alternating with pairs of vertical lines” just below the rim. Other finds include a box mirror, a “hemphora” (one-handled amphora?), a large bowl, a pitcher, a jug, three “saphanides,” and five lamps.

H.C. Butler Excavation

Princeton expedition object cards

Sixth–fourth century (?) with later reuse

84—Sardis, Tomb 362

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot for object (“left bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: A ceramic bowl was found on the “left bed.”

Other finds include a box mirror, an iron ring, two “hemphorae” (one-handled amphorae?), two jugs, three bowls, four “saphanides,” and two lamps.

H.C. Butler Excavation

Princeton expedition object cards

Sixth–fourth century (?) with later reuse

85—Sardis, Tomb 364

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot for object (“end bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: A “late” kalpis containing human remains was found on the “end bed.” Other finds include a carnelian pyramidal stamp seal showing a Persian archer shooting a lion (IAM 4591), six “saphanides,” a “hemphora” (one-handled amphora?), a jug, four alabastra, two lamps, and a “dark grey pot.”

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards; Curtis 1925, no. 118; Dusinger 2003, 249

Sixth–fourth century (?) with later reuse

86—Sardis, Tomb 381 (“Tomb of the Bride”)

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Rock-cut bench along rear wall of chamber, on which two terracotta sarcophagi were found.

Bedrock

Associated finds: In Sarcophagus A were the remains of a female teenager, rows of stone alabastra, gold fillets, earrings, a necklace, a gold ring, gold beads, and gold appliqué ornament. Sarcophagus B held the remains of an old man. Other finds, of unspecified provenience, include a silver perfume stirrer, an iron strigil, six ivory cylinders, and other ivory fragments.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

H.C. Butler excavation, 1913

Butler 1922, 143–44; Curtis 1925, 16–17, nos. 25–27, 70–71, 92;

McLauchlin 1985, CC11, 226–27; Dusinger 2003, 250–51

Sixth–fourth century?

87—Sardis, Tomb 411

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall and one of double width at rear.

Bedrock

Associated finds: Lydian inscription found *in situ* to left of entrance to dromos.

H.C. Butler excavation

Littmann 1916, 44–46; Butler 1922, 160, 162; Buckler 1924, 13–14, no. 7; McLauchlin 1985, CC4, 214–15

Sixth–fourth century?

88—Sardis, Tomb 421

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb, with dromos.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspots for objects (“end bed” and “R. bed”: rear and right, in formation?).

Bedrock

Other tomb information: The tomb evidently had a dromos and contained at least two sarcophagi (“inner” and “outer”), as listed findspots indicate.

Associated finds: On the “R. bed” were two lamps, and on the “end bed” was a “saphanis.” Other finds include a coin of Pergamon, an iron spoon, a “very late” kalpis, an amphora, a flask (“ampulla”), and another “saphanis.”

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards; H.W. Bell 1916, no. 140

Sixth–fourth century (?) with later reuse

89—Sardis, Tomb 510

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot for object (“R. bed”)

Bedrock

Other tomb information: The tomb evidently also held a sarcophagus, as indicated by recorded findspots for some items.

Associated finds: Finds include a bronze bracelet, twenty-five gold beads, a silver necklace, silver earrings (?), and an ivory handle. A bronze box mirror and pottery bowl were found in the sarcophagus.

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards

Sixth–fourth century?

90—Sardis, Tomb 515

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot for objects (“end bed” and “R. bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: A jug and two “saphanides” were found on the “end bed.” On the right couch was an Attic red-figure squat lekythos (with woman’s head). Other finds include an alabastron, a lamp, and a bowl.

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards

Fifth–fourth century?

91—Sardis, Tomb 520

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

At least two couches, indicated by recorded findspot for object (“L. bed”).

Bedrock

Associated finds: Finds include a coin of Pergamon, seven glass bottles, seven pinakes, several pottery bowls, a “tall cup,” a “spouted pot,” a jug, eight “saphanides,” and thirty-three lamps.

H.C. Butler excavation

Princeton expedition object cards; H.W. Bell 1916, no. 164

Sixth–fourth century (?) with later reuse

92—Sardis, Tomb 836

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Rock-cut bench/couch along rear wall, and perhaps along each side wall.

Bedrock

Associated finds: Finds from the rear couch and the dromos fill include gold appliqué plaques (bracteates), with stamped

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

decoration of confronted and walking sphinxes, gold rosettes, gold buttons, a gold necklace, coins (two silver sigloi, two Macedonian coins, and three coins of Ephesos), and pottery including an amphora and four clay alabastra. At least two to three interments appear to be represented.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1913

H.W. Bell 1916, nos. 61, 94, 195, 416–17; Butler 1922, 143; Curtis 1925, nos. 1–4, 6, 51; McLauchlin 1985, CC12, 227–28; Dusinberre 2003, 254

Fifth century (?) with later reuse

93—Sardis, Tomb S1

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with long dromos and three chambers.

Rock-cut bench/couch at right of first chamber, raised on one step. On the opposite wall, a rock-cut sarcophagus. In the long second chamber, a cist; the third chamber was plain.

Bedrock

Couch at right of first chamber has raised rectangular border on three sides.

Other tomb information: Dromos and chambers have pitched ceilings.

Associated finds: Small ivory head found in fill, along with fragments of bronze, Attic red-figure pottery, and a pyxis.

H.C. Butler excavation

Butler 1922, 140–41, 162–64, fig. 182 (left); Curtis 1925, no. 87; McLauchlin 1985, CC20, 235–36, fig. 25; Dusinberre 2003, 150, 257–58, fig. 57

Sixth–fourth century?

94—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 7”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Continuous Π-shaped rock-cut bench, with wider rear portion on which a marble cippus was found.

Bedrock

Width 0.65 m

Other tomb information: “Vaulted” ceiling? Two steps before rear couch/platform.

Associated finds: An amphora and three large jars, an alabastron, nine “Lydian bottles” (lydia?), two lamps, two dishes, a round bowl, a gold “trinket,” and two copper coins.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan and section,

dated “9–11 Feb.” (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

95—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 8”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos and two chambers (or one long chamber).

In the first chamber, one rock-cut couch along each side wall.

In the second chamber (after a partition wall at the end of each couch), another couch along each side wall, the left with a deep “sarcophagus” depression. Double couch in “recess” (or projecting niche) at rear, with rear half sunken.

Bedrock

Rear couch: ca. 2.00 m L, 1.65 m W; side couches: ca. 2.00 m L, 0.86–0.90 m W; height not recorded

A section drawing of one side couch (the right couch in the second chamber) shows a rectangular border on the front edge.

Other tomb information: “Vaulted” ceilings in both main chamber and rear “recess” (projecting niche). Step before rear couch. Blocking wall at end of dromos.

Associated finds: Two jars with Greek inscriptions, two large and two small bowls, nine “Lydian bottles” (lydia?), twelve lamps, another jar and jug, a “small bulbous vase,” a statuette of Aphrodite, two glass bottles, two “tiny cups with handles,” two “tiny lamps,” two “Samian” dishes, a strigil, a bronze spatula, five copper coins, a fragmentary “tea strainer vase,” three fragmentary thin “biscuit” cups, a broken “flat bottomed ‘Samian’ vase,” two broken skulls, a broken sarcophagus, and a fragmentary stone stele.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan and section, dated “9–13 Feb.” (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

96—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 9”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall and one of double width in projecting niche at rear.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Stone slab blocking dromos.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

97—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 33”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Continuous Π -shaped rock-cut bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.40 m L, 0.40 m H; left: 0.85 m W, 0.40 m H; right 0.82 m W, 0.40 m H

Other tomb information: Square niche (ca. 0.25×0.25 m, 0.20 m deep) in center of rear wall and in rear part of each side wall (over the rear part of the Π -shaped bench), 0.50–0.88 m above couches. “Entire surface of walls, beds, and small niches coated with fine white plaster, about 0.005 m thick.” Ceiling “vaulted.”

Associated finds: Finds include a Phoenician glass bottle.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

98—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 68 (new 111)”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Two rock-cut couches: one along left wall and one of double width at rear, both in recesses (projecting niches). Sunken beds cut in floor before both left and rear couches.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.90 m L, 1.55 m W (rear half 0.68 m; front half 0.60 m plus border); left: 1.99 m L, 0.60 m W, plus border

Rectangular borders (0.10 m wide) on all four sides of left couch and surrounding the front half of the double couch at rear.

Other tomb information: Projecting masonry walls frame entrance, according to Butler’s plan.

Associated finds: Finds include “leek pots,” bowls, lamps, jugs, and other pots.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan and section (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

99—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 70 (new 113)”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut tomb with dromos and two (?) chambers.

In first chamber (really the end of the dromos), a single rock-cut couch at left, double couch at right. After a partition wall, in the main chamber: double couch on each side, triple couch at rear.

Bedrock

Rear couch: 1.88 m L, 2.10 m combined W (each 0.50–0.60 m), ca. 0.95 m H; side couches in main chamber: 1.67 m L, each 0.50–0.53 m W (plus borders); side couches in first chamber: ca. 2.10 m L, 0.90 m W (left) / 1.90 m L, 1.40 m combined W (right)

Couches in first chamber have rectangular borders on all four sides (and dividing the right couch into two). Those of the main chamber have borders only on their front edges and in the middle, dividing them into double or triple beds. Where determinable from the sketch plan, these borders are 0.12–0.15 m wide.

Other tomb information: Ceilings basically flat. Step before the rear couch.

Associated finds: Pieces of wood were found on all three portions of the rear triple couch and on the front portion of the double couch on the right side of the main chamber; nails were found on the rear two bed-depressions of the rear triple couch and on the back portion of the right double couch in the main chamber; reeds (remains of bedding?) were found on the back depression of the triple couch; and a bronze boss was found on the floor between the couches. The sketch plan also includes the findspots of a silver bowl, a bronze vase, a bronze ring, and alabaster and earthenware pots. It is possible that the silver bowl from this tomb is the silver Achaemenid bowl in Istanbul (IAM 4540), listed as probably coming from Tomb 113 in Waldbaum 1983, no. 964, and Dusinberre 1999, 78n22. Dusinberre 2003 (p. 247), however, assigns the bowl to Tomb 213, on which see Curtis 1925, nos. 52, 55, 85, 88, 95, 105.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan including locations of finds and section drawing (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

Fig. 103

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

100—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 74 (new 100)”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb, with two chambers and dromos.

In second chamber, one rock-cut couch along each side wall and couch of double width at rear.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.15 m L, 1.80 m W, 0.40 m H; right: 1.60 m L, 0.50 m W, 0.40 m H; left: 1.60 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.40 m H

Rectangular depression on rear bed surface 0.27 m deep.

Other tomb information: In the first chamber were two pitched-lidded sarcophagi, placed side by side in the center (across the main axis). The collapsed ceiling was once ca. 3 m high. This is apparently not the same tomb as the one known as “Tomb 100,” a stone sarcophagus that contained a dish with a silver spout and a ladle with a calf’s-head terminal: Waldbaum 1983, 146–47, nos. 965–66.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan and section (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

101—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 98”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall and one at the rear.

Bedrock

Left: 2.15 m L, 0.95 m W, 0.92 m H; right: 1.00 m W, 0.92 m H; rear: 1.00 m H

Raised rectangular borders (0.15 m W, 0.18 m H) on all four sides of side couches; rear couch plain. The rear couch did not fill the full width of the chamber but rather occupied a sort of projecting niche in the rear left corner (cf. Tomb 103, Cat. 103).

Other tomb information: Arched entrance to dromos. Pitched ceiling, 2.65 m high in center. Stone slab blocked entry to main chamber. Step before rear couch.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

102—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 102”

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall and one of double width at rear.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.65 m L, 1.85 m W (total), 0.75 m H; side couches: 2.13 m L, 0.85 m W, 0.75 m H

Side couches plain. High rectangular borders at front and middle of rear couch, dividing it into two sunken bed surfaces (ca. 0.48 m deep).

Other tomb information: Pitched ceiling. Step before rear couch.

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch plan, dated “28 Apr.” (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

103—Sardis, Butler notes: “Tomb 103” (= Tomb 213?)

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Three rock-cut couches: one along each side wall and one at the rear.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.97 m L, 0.93 m W; left: 2.02 m L, 0.84 m W; right: 2.02 m L, 0.77 m W

Raised rectangular borders, ca. 0.15 m wide, on all four sides of all couches. The rear couch did not fill the full width of the chamber but rather occupied a sort of projecting niche in the rear left corner.

Other tomb information: “Arch” at entrance to dromos and entrance to chamber; step before rear couch?

Associated finds: According to the sketch, three alabaster were found on the rear couch; on the left couch were a lamp, a jug, and “fragments of a similar jug”; finds from the right couch include gold and stone beads, a seal, a large mirror, an alabastron, a gold “whorl,” two rings, and a silver “patera.” This could be the tomb known in official publications as Tomb 213, which contained a necklace composed of gold and stone beads, a sealstone, a mirror, a gold “rattle,” and two gold rings (Curtis 1925, nos. 52, 55, 85, 88, 95, and 108; Dusinberre 2003, 247). That some of the Butler notes are labeled with *two* numbers, one old and one “new,” indicates that even the simple numeric system for identifying the Sardis tombs was modified at some point.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

H.C. Butler excavation

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes, with sketch including locations of associated finds, dated “May 1” (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

104—Sardis, Butler notes strips

Sardis (Fig. 63), Nekropolis

Rock-cut chamber tombs.

At least 33 other tombs recorded on narrow strips of graph paper, with a drawing on one side and a key to findspot abbreviations on the other. The drawings are labeled with letters and, in some cases, superscript numbers (for example, A, A¹, A³, etc.) and some are dated (for example, “Feb. 8–10”). These were evidently excavated in 1922, when the superscript system was adopted (see Greenewalt 1972, 115n5).

Twenty-one tombs had three couches, one on each side and one at the rear; two tombs had two couches end to end on the sides and another across the back of the chamber; five had the same arrangement but with a couch of double width at the back; and six were drawn with a continuous Π-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Associated finds: Findspots of various objects are indicated with letters (such as G for “gold” and L for “lekythos”), but the descriptions are not specific enough to suggest dating criteria. A “mask of Artemis” was found in Tomb H¹.

H.C. Butler excavation, 1922

H.C. Butler, unpublished notes (Princeton archive, copies in Sardis expedition archive)

Sixth–fourth century?

105—One of three tombs in a hill called Çatal Kayısı

Near Aşağı, 30–35 km southwest of Sardis

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall. The rear couch is mostly within a projecting niche.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.92 m L, 0.79 m W, 0.63 m H; sides: 1.87 m L, 0.79 m W, 0.63 m H

Each couch has a raised rectangular border at the front edge.

Other tomb information: Ceiling pitched, max. height 1.63 m.

Associated finds: A few sherds were found nearby, including a piece of grayware and a “late”-looking black-glazed sherd (Greenewalt).

Sardis expedition visit, 1986

C.H. Greenewalt Jr., report of visit on 18 June 1986 (Sardis reports: Lydian Promenades 1986); Roosevelt 2003, 638, no. 23; 2009, 215–16, no. 2.5

Date uncertain

İzmir

106—Falaka

Falaka (Fig. 63, no. 9), near Datbey, ancient Hypaipa

Rock-cut chamber tomb, with dromos and two chambers.

Rock-cut benches at right and left in first chamber; Π-shaped bench in second chamber.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Pitched ceiling. On façade, recessed frame around rectangular doorway.

R. Meriç survey, 1982

McLauchlin 1985, G2, 271; Roosevelt 2003, 686, no. 135; 2009, 253, no. 19.4

Date uncertain

Phrygia

Afyonkarahisar

107—Köhnüş 1

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One rock-cut couch at rear.

Bedrock

1.90 m L

Other tomb information: Ceiling rounded, perhaps meant to be pitched.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 122n29 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

108—Köhnüş 2

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One plain rock-cut couch filling the rear part of the chamber.

Bedrock

2.05 m L, ca. 0.88 m W, 0.55 m H

Other tomb information: Ceiling “probably meant to be

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

pitched, but it tends to the barrel vault shape.” Curved and arched niche in right wall, 0.45 m high, 0.40 m deep.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 122, pl. 538.2, .4 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

109—Köhnüş 3

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One rock-cut couch at the rear.

Bedrock

2.00 m L, 0.80 m W

Other tomb information: Roughly pitched ceiling. Arched and curved niche in right wall (probably later).

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 122n29 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?) with later reuse

110—Köhnüş 4

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall (forming a continuous II-shaped bench?).

Bedrock

Rear: 1.80 m L, 0.76 m W, ca. 0.60 m H; left: 0.66 m W, ca. 0.60 m H

Raised rectangular border 0.12 m wide on front edges of side couches.

Other tomb information: Pitched ceiling and carved gable.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 121n28 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

111—Köhnüş 5

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91), next to Arslan Taş

Rock-cut chamber.

Three low rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.97 m L, 0.75 m W, ca. 0.20 m H; sides: 1.85 m L, 0.75 m W, ca. 0.20 m H

Raised rectangular border ca. 0.08 m high on front edge of each couch.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.60 × 1.97 m, with pitched

ceiling ca. 1.85 m high at apex. Carved architectural elements: angled ridge beams; gables with horizontal beams, rafters, and king post with block base and capital in gables; interior doorframe and lintel.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 120, pl. 535.1–3 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

112—Köhnüş 8

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.80 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.50 m H; sides: 1.40 m L, 0.70 m W, 0.50 m H

Raised rectangular border along front edge of each couch.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.20 × 1.58–1.80 m, with rounded-pitched ceiling (like a pointed arch in section), 1.50 m high at apex. Carved architectural elements: horizontal beams at tops of long walls; vertical posts on the side walls that extend above the horizontal beams into a continuous rafter spanning the middle of the ceiling; gable with wide king post on the rear wall. Two steps lead down from the doorway to the level of the chamber floor.

C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Haspels 1971, 120, pl. 535.4–5 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

113—Köhnüş 9

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches (forming a continuous II-shaped bench?).

Bedrock

Rear: 1.95 m L, 0.63 m W, 0.30 m H; left: 1.85 m L, 0.74 m W, 0.18 m H; right: 1.85 m L, 0.67 m W, 0.18 m W

Raised rectangular border ca. 0.12 m wide on front edge of each couch.

Other tomb information: Chamber has pitched ceiling, “tending toward barrel vault.”

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 121n28 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

114—Köhnüş 10

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One rock-cut couch at rear.

Bedrock

1.75 m L

Other tomb information: Ceiling roughly pitched.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 122n29 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

115—Köhnüş 11

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Single rock-cut couch filling rear part of chamber.

Bedrock

Ca. 1.75 m L, ca. 0.70 m W, ca. 0.30 m H

Raised rectangular border on front edge.

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.05 × 1.75 m, with “flat-tish” ceiling ca. 1.10 m high. Curved ledges on side walls, part of same continuous ledge of rock from which couch is carved.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 122, pl. 539.1–2 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

116—Köhnüş 14

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches (forming a continuous II-shaped bench?).

Bedrock

Rear: 1.60 m L, 0.64 m W, ca. 0.28 m H; left: 1.43 m L, 0.65 m W, ca. 0.28 m H; right: 1.43 m L, 0.61 m W, ca. 0.28 m H

Raised rectangular border ca. 0.12 m wide on front edge of each couch.

Other tomb information: Flat ceiling.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 121n28 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

117—Köhnüş 17

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one at right, forming a continuous I-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.00 m L, 0.80 m W, ca. 0.50 m H; right: 1.74 m L, 0.60 m W, ca. 0.50 m H

Raised border on front edge of each couch (ca. 0.15 m wide on rear, ca. 0.10 m wide on right); the one on the right couch has a rounded profile. The rear couch is slightly higher than the right one and has raised post-like projections at each end of its front border. On the front face of each couch, a “rail” is indicated in relief at the top. On the left end of the rear couch, the beginning of a “leg” is indicated in relief at the top (above the level of the adjacent table). A full “leg” is carved on the left end of the right couch, with a cutout indentation near the top.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.51 × 1.72–2.00 m, with pitched ceiling ca. 1.70 m high at apex. Carved architectural elements: horizontal beams, rafters, purlins, gables with king posts, and vertical supports on the side walls. Stairway leading down from level of doorway to chamber floor. Seat (?) and table (?) on left wall, and footstool-like step before rear couch.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 121, pl. 537 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Figs. 95e, 100f

118—Köhnüş 18 / “Vulture Tomb”

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut tomb with chamber and antechamber.

One rock-cut couch on right, in projecting niche/alcove.

Bedrock

1.80 m L, 0.57 m W, ca. 0.35 m H

Raised rectangular border on front edge.

Other tomb information: Chamber ca. 1.97 × 1.62 m, with pitched ceiling (slope of pitch continues on ceiling of niche/alcove). Doorway located above floor level; pivot-sockets and bolt holes in doorframe for a working single-leaf door.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 119, pl. 534.3, .5 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

119—Köhnüş 20

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.48 m L, 0.75 m W, ca. 0.35 m H; sides 1.75 m L, ca. 0.75 m W, 0.20–0.25 m H

The rear couch is higher than the rest. All have raised rectangular borders on the front edges, but the rear couch has additional raised borders on each short end and higher raised posts at each corner. On the front faces of these posts are small squares in relief that are probably meant to represent projecting tenons.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.50 × 2.36 m, with vaulted/pitched ceiling 1.78 m high at apex. Long walls tilt in toward the ceiling, and the sloping sides of the ceiling are curved like a barrel vault in the center. Carved architectural elements include angled ridge beams, horizontal beams at the tops of the long walls, and rafters in the center of the sloping ceiling sides, below which (on the side walls) are vertical supports (like pilasters) with curved capitals (like schematic double volutes in silhouette). The rear wall has an additional pilaster in the center, extending from the level of the rear couch to the apex of the ceiling. There is a low narrow footstool-like step before the rear couch. Two steps descend from doorway to chamber floor. The floor slopes down toward the rear couch.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 120, pl. 536.5, .7–10 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Fig. 95c

120—Köhnüş 22

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.65 m L, ca. 0.65 m W, 0.45 m H; sides: ca. 1.48 m L, ca. 0.65 m W, 0.45 m H

Low, raised rectangular border along front edge of each couch.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.13 × 1.65 m, with vaulted/pitched ceiling 1.55 m high at apex (like a pointed arch in section; walls curved, as if “vault” springs from the level of the couches on the side walls). Carved architectural

elements include horizontal beams, gable with wide king post, and vertical supports on side walls. Stairway leads down from doorway to chamber floor.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 121, pls. 139–40, 499.4, 538.5–6 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Fig. 95a

121—Köhnüş 26

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.08 m L, 0.73 m W, 0.55 m H; sides: 1.70 m L, ca. 0.73 m W, 0.55 m H

Raised rectangular border along the front edge of each couch.

The two side couches each have two profiled legs in relief, ca. 0.15 m wide, with concave, curved cutout section in lower half, just above foot.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.43 × 2.08 m, with pitched ceiling 1.70 m high at apex. Long walls tilt in toward ceiling, and sloping sides of the ceiling are concave (tent-like in section).

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 120, pl. 536.1, .4, .6 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Figs. 95f, 100e

122—Köhnüş 27

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 1.90 m L, ca. 0.80 m W, at least 0.44 m H (floor not completely cleared); sides: 1.70 m L, ca. 0.80 m W, at least 0.36 m H (floor not completely cleared).

Raised rectangular border along the front edge of the rear couch.

Other tomb information: Flat ceiling and slightly off-center door.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 120, pl. 536.2–3 (Group I)

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?
Fig. 95b

123—Köhnüş 29
Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)
Rock-cut chamber tomb.
Three rock-cut couches (forming a continuous Π -shaped bench?).
Bedrock
Other tomb information: Pitched ceiling.
C.H.E. Haspels survey
Haspels 1971, 121 n. 28 (Group I)
Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

124—Köhnüş 30
Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)
Rock-cut chamber tomb.
Three rock-cut couches (forming a continuous Π -shaped bench?).
Bedrock
Other tomb information: Ceiling “flattish.”
C.H.E. Haspels survey
Haspels 1971, 121n28 (Group I)
Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

125—Köhnüş 34
Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)
Rock-cut chamber tomb.
One rock-cut couch at the rear, which continues as a narrow ledge along the left wall, forming a Γ -shaped bench.
Bedrock
Ca. 2.12 m L (max.), ca. 0.73 m W, 0.36 m H
Wide rectangular border, ca. 0.15 m wide, on three sides (front, right, and left) of bed surface. Because of the shape of the chamber, the couch is roughly trapezoidal.
Other tomb information: Trapezoidal chamber ca. 2.12 $\times$ 1.27–1.48 m, with pitched ceiling ca. 1.52 m high at apex.
C.H.E. Haspels survey
Haspels 1971, 122, pl. 538.7–9 (Group I)
Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

126—Yılan Taş / “Broken Lion Tomb” (Köhnüş 38)
Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)
Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One rock-cut couch before right wall, one before rear wall, both now fragmentary.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.32 m L, ca. 0.75 m H; right: 2.10 m L, 0.86 m W, ca. 0.75 m H

The better-preserved right couch had wide rectangular borders (ca. 0.15 m wide, 0.08 m high) on all sides, with slightly taller rectangular posts at each corner (ca. 0.16 $\times$ 0.20 m, 0.15 m high), and simple post legs in relief on each side. Of the rear couch, only the back portion, where it met the rear wall of the chamber, is preserved. It is located directly across from the entrance and therefore slightly to the right of the central axis of the chamber.

Other tomb information: Large chamber, 5.00 m $\times$ 4.80 m, with pitched ceiling 3.20 m high at apex. Carved details on ceiling and top of front and rear walls, indicating wooden architectural features: rafters, horizontal beams, and central vertical support (king post) in each gable. Projecting niche on left side of chamber, above a platform (ca. 0.75 m high, 1.20 m wide) with raised rectangular border about ca. 0.15 m wide on the front edge. Half-columns with palmette capitals extended from the front of the platform to the flat ceiling of the niche. A small seat or table to the right of the entrance, next to the right couch, has profiled legs in relief. The exterior of the tomb was decorated on the right side with a large-scale relief of two lions facing each other, each with one paw raised and head turned backward. Surrounding the entrance was a raised doorframe, above which was a gorgoneion in relief; two hoplite warriors in relief flanked the doorway. The tomb lies in fragments today, and the façade reliefs are no longer easily accessible. The palmette capitals have been damaged.

Nineteenth-century recording; C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Ramsay 1882; Ramsay 1888, figs. 1–9 (though scale of restorations is too long, influenced by his reading of the lion fragments); Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 113–19, figs. 66, 69–70 (also inaccurate); Körte 1898, 124–33, pl. 3.1, 3.4; Akurgal 1955, pl. 38a; 1965, 473, fig. 6, pl. 117; Haspels 1971, 129–33, pls. 141–56, 544 (Group II); Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 288, fig. 70; Hemelrijk and Berndt 1999, 15–16; von Gall 1999; Draycott 2007, 35–40, 261–62 no. 2

Late sixth–fifth century?

Figs. 92–93

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

127—Köhnüş 39

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Single rock-cut couch against rear wall, not well preserved.

Bedrock

2.45 m L, 1.10 m W, 0.87 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 4.20 × 3.90 m, with pitched ceiling 3.08 m high at apex. A “band running round the top of the four walls,” and a roundel in rear gable (once a gorgoneion?). Blocks projecting from top of front gable and two oblong projections at the top of each side wall. Rectangular “seat” in right rear corner, to right of couch.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 133, fig. 545.2–3, .5–6 (Group II)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

128—Köhnüş 40 / “Fırın In”

Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.66 m L, ca. 0.86 m W, 0.52 m H; sides: ca. 1.87 m L, ca. 0.86 m W, 0.52 m H

Raised rectangular border on front and rear edges of side couches, as well as on side nearest entrance. Rear couch not fully cleared.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.73 × 2.66 m, with pitched ceiling. Band at top of left wall.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 134, pl. 545.4, .8–9 (Group II)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

129—Ayazın: Tomb at beginning of cliffs east of gorge leading to Avdilas

Ayazın (Fig. 91, no. 2)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two or three rock-cut couches.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Entrance high on cliff face, with “typical Phrygian doorway, small almost square, slightly tapering upwards.” Right side of tomb reused and recut as dwelling in the Byzantine era.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 123–24, pl. 294 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

130—Ayazın: Tomb behind the Bedestan rock

Ayazın (Fig. 91, no. 2)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One low rock-cut couch filling right part of chamber.

Bedrock

1.85 m L, ca. 0.75 m W, 0.10–0.15 m H

Wide rectangular border on front edge, projecting slightly before doorway (exposed corner rounded).

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.85 × 1.65 m, with flat ceiling 1.06 m high. Off-center door with recessed frame.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 124, pls. 167, 539.10–12 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

131—Gâvur Evleri

Karababa Valley, east of Köhnüş/Göynüş Valley (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Continuous I-shaped rock-cut bench against rear and right walls.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.60 m L, 0.65 m W, 0.65 m H; right: ca. 1.20 m L, 0.65 m W, 0.65 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.20 × 2.60 m, with rounded ceiling 2.05 m high (max.). Pivot socket and groove in doorway for single-leaf working door (?).

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 123, pl. 540.1, .4 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

132—Beyköy: Seven tombs southeast of the village

Beyköy (Fig. 91, no. 3)

Rock-cut chamber tombs.

Three rock-cut couches in each tomb, in projecting niches/arcolia on rear and side walls, with raised borders along their front edges.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: The tombs have “small square entrances and pitched roofs,” and “some have steps.”

Associated finds: Iron Age sherds found in vicinity.

H. Gonnet survey

Gonnet 1994, 76, fig. 8.4

Middle–Late Phrygian with Roman reuse?

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

133—Karaçayır: two tombs

Beyköy (Fig. 91, no. 3)

Rock-cut chamber tombs.

Three rock-cut couches in each tomb, in projecting niches on rear and side walls.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: From cup marks outside one of the tombs a channel “runs into the tomb and follows the bed on the left.”

H. Gonnet survey

Gonnet 1994, 76, fig. 8.5

Middle–Late Phrygian with Roman reuse?

134—Yumrutepe, “Tomb of the Lion”

Yumrutepe, near Beyköy (Fig. 91, no. 3)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Rock-cut couches; number and location not reported.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber has pitched ceiling, later carved into a vault. The entrance was originally small and squarish, but later vaulted. A rock-cut throne monument was located on a rock outcropping above the tomb.

H. Gonnet survey

Gonnet 1994, 76

Middle–Late Phrygian, with Roman reuse?

135—Yumrutepe, “Tomb of the Candelabra”

Yumrutepe, near Beyköy (Fig. 91, no. 3)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

“Rounded” rock-cut couches; number and location not reported.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: “Small Phrygian entrance” later “enlarged.” Menorahs carved on chamber walls.

H. Gonnet survey

Gonnet 1994, 76.

Middle–Late Phrygian, with Roman reuse

Kütahya

136—Tomb in isolated rock east of Fındık Kale

Fındık (Fig. 91, no. 7)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.17 m L, 0.86 m W, ca. 0.25 m H; sides: 2.09 m L, 0.70 m W, ca. 0.25 m H

Rear couch slightly higher than side couches.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.95 × 2.17 m, with vaulted ceiling ca. 1.83 m high (max.). Recessed doorframe. Two steps lead down from doorway to chamber floor.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 125, pl. 540.2–3, .6 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

137—Zıngırlı Inler, tomb cut in isolated rock

Zıngırlı Inler

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.20 m L, 0.85 m W, 0.45–0.50 m H; right: 1.90 m L, 0.60 m W, ca. 0.35 m H; left: 1.90 m L, ca. 0.50 m W, ca. 0.35 m H

Plain benches; rear couch surface higher than the others and concave in center, curving from left to right.

Other tomb information: Chamber slightly trapezoidal (wider at the back), with pitched ceiling. Two angled beams at ridge, side by side, set into the ceiling in “sunken” relief. Before the rear couch is a step filling the entire width of the chamber floor between the side couches. Tomb entrance located 3.00 m above ground level.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 125, pl. 540.8–10 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

138—Doğuluşah Tombs 1–3

Doğuluşah (Fig. 91, no. 6)

Three rock-cut chamber tombs.

Each tomb has three low rock-cut couches, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Each chamber roughly rectangular, with pitched ceiling.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2004

Sivas 2008, 162

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Eskişehir

139—“Triclinium Tomb” (Midas City 14 / Berndt 91)

Midas City / Yazılıkaya (Fig. 91)

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Rock-cut chamber tomb with side chamber.

Three rock-cut *klinai* in main chamber: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous Π -shaped bench; two in side chamber, against rear and right walls, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Main chamber, rear: ca. 1.97 m L, 0.75–0.80 m W, 0.60 m H; right: 2.00 m L, 0.75–0.80 m W, ca. 0.60 m H; left: ca. 1.97 m L, 0.70–0.80 m W, ca. 0.60 m H

Side chamber, rear: ca. 2.00 m L, 0.90 m W, ca. 0.55 m H; right: ca. 1.90 m L, ca. 0.55–0.95 m W, ca. 0.55 m H

All five *klinai* have raised headrests (ca. 0.15 m high) on one end, and those in the main chamber have raised borders, half-round in section, on their front edges. The headrests have rounded profiles that angle down toward the bed surface, resembling the appearance of a mattress or other soft bedding laid over a raised couch end. The front faces of the couches in the main chamber have “legs” carved in relief on each side and a flat plane at the top resembling either a tall couch rail or (more likely) a cloth/covering hanging over a couch frame. In both chambers the couches are in an interlocking arrangement that resembles a dining room—in the main chamber, for instance, the foot end of the right couch fills the right part of the rear wall, to the right of the rear couch. The head ends of the rear and right couches in the main chamber and the rear couch in the side chamber are oriented toward the right; the other couches (the left one in the main chamber and the right one in the side chamber) have their head ends on the left.

The carved “legs” on the couches in the main chamber measure ca. 0.18 m wide, 0.33 m high. These have schematic Type B side cutouts in relief on their lower portions.

Other tomb information: Main chamber 3.27 × 2.80 m, with pitched ceiling 2.47 m high at apex. Side chamber ca. 1.88 × 2.85 m (slightly trapezoidal), with pitched ceiling 1.80 m high at apex. Carved architectural elements on sloping sides of ceiling in main chamber: ridgepole, central rafters, and purlins. Plain ledge in front left corner, to left of head end of left couch. The side chamber is thought to be a later addition.

Nineteenth-century recording; C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Texier 1839, pl. 57; Heuzey 1873, 505; Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 184–86, figs. 124–26, 211; Gabriel 1952, 40–41, fig. 22a;

Haspels 1971, 127, pls. 56, 495.14, 542.3, .5–6 (Group II); Berndt 2002, 59

Sixth–fifth century?

Figs. 98, 100h

140—Midas City 11 (Berndt 82)

Midas City / Yazılıkaya (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along the right wall, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.25 m L, 0.75 m W, 0.38 m H; right: 1.75 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.38 m H

Bed-surfaces plain except for raised pillow-like headrests (ca. 0.25 m wide and ca. 0.05 m high) at one end of each (on the right end of the rear couch and on the left end of the right couch). The rear couch is slightly higher than the one on the right.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.50 × 2.25 m, with pitched ceiling 1.38 m high at apex. Small rectangular seat to the left of the entrance, against the left wall.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 113, pls. 495.11, 530.4–5 (Group I); Berndt 2002, 55

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Fig. 95d

141—Midas City 12

Midas City / Yazılıkaya (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Single rock-cut couch fills the rear part of the chamber.

Bedrock

2.00 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.55 m H

Raised rectangular border along front edge, 0.15 m wide. Flat pillow-like headrest on right end, ca. 0.25 m wide and ca. 0.10–0.15 m high.

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.50 × 2.00 m, with flat ceiling 1.65 m high.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 113, pls. 38, 495.12, 530.7–9 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?) with Roman reuse?

142—“West Tomb” (Berndt 13)

Midas City / Yazılıkaya (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Two rock-cut *klinai*, one against left and one against rear wall. Carved from individual blocks of bedrock, with three legs and rails in relief on three sides; only the rear side of each couch is incorporated into the chamber wall.

Bedrock

Ca. 1.75 m L, 0.78 m W, 0.65 m H

Flat bed surface. Raised headrest on right end, above raised post of right leg, with curved outer edge. Rectangular cornerposts above each leg on left end. Front face of block has “rail” in relief at top and legs in relief on each side. “Rail” decorated with incised rosette (cross-in-circle) motifs.

Type B legs in relief, with volute side cutouts and incised rosette (cross-in-circle) on upper face. Legs terminate in thin square bases.

Other tomb information: Chamber 3.90 × 2.50 m, with pitched ceiling 2.20 m high at apex. Small squarish door 0.90 × 0.83 m, with stepped frame; larger, shallowly recessed rectangular frame surrounding door, creating a sort of façade. Approached by stairway leading down into rock, like a dromos. Interior ceiling carved in imitation of a gabled wooden structure, with ridgepole, rafters, and purlins, and a king post in each gable. Slight vertical and horizontal curvature in walls and all architectural elements. Ridgepole roundish in section, with faceted surface resembling a trimmed log. The tomb has been vandalized and the *klinai* damaged and restored several times since discovery in 1970.

Ankara Museum discovery and cleaning, 1970; Eskişehir Museum recording and restoration, 1990 and 1998; author visit, 2002

Klinai restored, *in situ*

Mellink 1972a, 178; Özçatal 1992, 209–10; Hemelrijk and Berndt 1999, 13–14, figs. 23–26; Tuna and Çağlar 2000, 69–70, drawings 1–3, figs. 2–5; Berndt 2002, 21, fig. 26; Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, fig. 2

Sixth–fifth century?

Figs. 97, 100i

143—“Pyramid Tomb” (Midas City 13 / Berndt 90)

Midas City / Yazılıkaya (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb with side chamber.

Two rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one on the left, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 2.10 m L, 0.80–0.88 m W, 0.45 m H; left: 1.93 m L, 0.80–0.88 m W, 0.45 m H

A low rounded border runs along the entire front edge of the Γ -shaped bench. Each couch has a plain, angled headrest at one end: on the right end of the rear couch and on the left end of the left couch (at each end of the bench). These are ca. 0.30 m long, with a max. height ca. 0.05 m above the level of the bed surface. A third bed, of rougher workmanship, was later added in a projecting niche on the right side of the tomb, probably in the Roman era.

On the front face of each couch, slender “legs” are carved in relief on each end. These taper from top to bottom and terminate in small rounded feet.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.81 × 2.65 m, with vaulted ceiling 2.14 m high. Rectangular, seat-like block to right of entrance. Recessed doorway. Exterior reliefs include a weathered lion to the left of the doorway and other animals and riders on the left side of the rock in which the tomb is carved. This rock is roughly pyramidal, and the left side resembles the long side of a gabled building; a scalloped pattern carved at the top of the left side resembles a ridgepole.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Ramsay 1889, 166, fig. 19; Gabriel 1952, 40, fig. 22c, pl. 13; Haspels 1971, 127–28, pls. 37, 39–40, 495.13, 542.1–2, 542.4 (Group II); Berndt 2002, 57–59, figs. 104–7, 109; Draycott 2007, 41–45, 263–64, no. 3

Sixth–fifth century (?) with later reuse

Figs. 95h, 100a, 157

144—Tomb at Pişmiş Kale

Pişmiş Kale, near Midas City (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb with antechamber.

Two rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one on the right, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench, with offset corner between them.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 1.80 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.75 m H; right: ca. 2.00 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.75 m H

Raised rectangular border at front edge and right end of rear couch, continuing toward the right at the front of the square corner space between the two couches. Raised pillow-like headrest at right end of right couch, ca. 0.25 m wide and 0.05 m high.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

On the front face of each couch are broad, projecting “legs” in relief: one at each end of the Γ and a shared one in the middle, at the corner where the two couches meet. These “legs” have rounded tops (at a slightly lower level than the bed surface), are roughly rectangular in section, and project ca. 0.15 m from the face of each couch. The middle of the right couch was largely cut away in later (Byzantine?) times, and a niche was cut into the wall behind it.

Other tomb information: Main chamber 2.63×2.20 m, with ceiling “slightly-flattened barrel-vaulted,” 2.00 m high; a “double broad band is cut out horizontally all round high up on the walls.” The antechamber has a pitched ceiling and carved gables, with tie beam, rafters, and king posts in relief.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 128, pl. 541.6–10 (Group II)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?) with later reuse

Fig. 95g

145—Deve Boynu: Tomb 1 (on right)

Doğanlı Kale (Fig. 91, no. 5)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous Π -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.30 m L, 1.00 m W, ca. 0.25 m H; sides: 1.90–1.95 m L, 0.76 m W, ca. 0.25 m H

Low rectangular borders on three sides of both side couches.

The rear couch has wider ledges at its short ends and a raised border at the back.

Other tomb information: Recessed doorway. Pitched ceiling has curvature approaching that of a barrel vault. Architectural elements are carved in relief: ridgepole, rafters, purlins, and central vertical post (king post) in gables. Side walls tilt in slightly toward ceiling. There are steps on both sides of the doorway. Some cuttings are visible in the rock face just above the entrance.

C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Haspels 1971, 114, pls. 91, 530.3, .6, .10 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?)

146—Deve Boynu: Tomb 2 (on left and higher up)

Doğanlı Kale (Fig. 91, no. 5)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous Π -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.22 m L, ca. 0.75 m W, height unknown; sides: ca. 2.00 m L, ca. 0.75 m W, height unknown. (The floor was not cleared at time of visit in 2002, but the couches appeared to be very low.)

Rectangular post-like elements projecting from the side walls vary slightly in shape and dimensions (ca. 0.12 and 0.18 m wide). The rear couch was hollowed out to create a cist grave in later, probably Roman, times.

Other tomb information: Chamber $2.75 \text{ m} \times 2.22 \text{ m}$, with pitched ceiling 1.90 m high at apex (irregular, asymmetrical pitch). Architectural elements are carved on ceiling: ridgepole, rafters, and gables with central vertical king posts; the rear gable, however, lacks a tie beam, and the king posts do not extend for the full height of the gable. Central rafters terminate at the top of each side wall in squared blocks, and the primary rafters of the gable above the doorway also end in squared forms. All these elements are somewhat irregular, with curved edges and slightly bulging profiles, and there is hardly a straight line anywhere in the tomb. On the exterior, worn traces of a recessed façade with pitched roof are visible.

C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Haspels 1971, 114 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?) with later reuse

147—Dübecik Kale, Tomb G

Dübecik Kale, near Yapıldak (Fig. 91, no. 12)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

The chamber originally had three plain rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous Π -shaped bench. These were later extended in width by means of projecting niches and then hollowed out to create cists.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 2.10 m L, 0.70 m W, 0.70 m H; right: ca. 2.28 m L, 0.62 m W, 0.70 m H; left: ca. 2.28 m L, 0.50 m W (originally), 0.70 m H

Other tomb information: Chamber originally $2.28 \times 3.24 \text{ m}$, with pitched ceiling 1.80 m high at apex. Transverse plan, with entrance on long side. Portcullis door.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Haspels 1971, 116, pl. 533.1, .4 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?) with later reuse

148—Delikli Kaya

Kümbet Valley

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches, one on each side wall. A third added later in projecting niche at back.

Bedrock

Ca. 2.20 m L, 0.50 m W, 0.45 m H

Other tomb information: Small chamber, with door ca. 0.55 m above floor level. Façade recarved in Roman times.

C.H.E. Haspels survey

Haspels 1971, 114, pls. 313, 531.3–5 (Group I)

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?)

149—“Tomb of Solon”

Kümbet (Fig. 91, no. 10)

Rock-cut chamber tomb with antechamber.

Continuous Π -shaped rock-cut bench, into which cists were later cut.

Bedrock

3.00–3.55 m L, 1.00–1.25 m W, ca. 0.45 m H

Other tomb information: Main chamber ca. 3.55×2.80 m, with slightly vaulted ceiling. The cist grave cut into the left wall of the antechamber is a later, probably Roman, addition, as are the carved architectural façade and the inscription from which the tomb gets its name. Some of the animal reliefs on the exterior may, however, pre-date this Roman reuse.

Nineteenth-century recording; C.H.E. Haspels survey; author visit, 2002

Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 125–32, figs. 83–89; Körte 1898, 150–51; Akurgal 1961, fig. 76; Haspels 1971, 128–29, pls. 96, 543; Draycott 2007, 49–50, 269–70, no. 6

Fifth century (?) with Roman reuse and additions

150—Tekören 1

Tekören, near Pessinus (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one at rear and one at right, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.05 m L, 0.69 m W, 0.48 m H; right: 1.63 m L, 0.69 m W, 0.43 m H

Raised rectangular border on front edge of each couch (ca. 0.10–0.11 m wide, 0.02–0.03 m high). The rear couch is slightly higher than the one on the right. The front face of each couch has a “rail” 0.11 m high in relief at the top.

A schematic “leg” with simple Type B cutouts can just barely be discerned in worn low relief on the left end of the front face of the right couch, ca. 0.32 m high and 0.09 m wide. A faint outline of a similar leg can be made out on the left end of the rear couch, and the worn right end of the right couch presumably also had a relief leg.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.32×2.05 m, with pitched ceiling 1.80 m at apex. Carved architectural elements: ridge-pole, principal rafters, tie beam, horizontal beam at top of each side wall, and king posts in gables. Slight curvature in walls and ceiling. Doorway framed on exterior and interior by rounded projecting moldings. The tomb is carved into a projecting, pyramidal knob of granite on a hillside north of a gorge with a stream. On the same knoll is a rock-cut step/throne monument and a rock-cut basin with flow channel to a lower basin (wine press?). The Belgian survey team found a considerable amount of “protohistorical (Iron Age?)” pottery (gray and black wares, some glossy, most handmade, some recognizably Phrygian) on the slope between these monuments and the stream, on the banks of which is another rock-cut tomb.

Pessinus expedition excavation and recording, 1990; author visit, 2002

Devreker and Vermeulen 1991, 109–17, figs. 6–8; Devreker 1994, 111, pl. 6.2

Sixth–fifth century?

Figs. 99, 100g

151—Zey 1

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut tomb with two chambers.

Plain rock-cut bench in first chamber, on left.

Bedrock

Ca. 1.91 m L, 0.93–1.00 m W, 0.53–0.66 m H

Other tomb information: First chamber 1.90×1.95 m, with pitched ceiling 1.37 m high in center. Carved ceiling and gables, with rafters, beams, and king posts in relief.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220, fig. 6

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century?)

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

152—Zey 3

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one along left wall and one along rear wall, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.53 m L, W not pres., 0.50 m H; left: 2.34 m L, 0.87 m W, 0.50 m H

It appears that there were originally two rock-cut benches forming a continuous Γ -shaped shelf, with the left side higher by ca. 0.15 m. The rear couch is almost completely carved away, but its former existence is suggested by the rough-hewn irregular shelf remaining, and its juncture with the rear wall is preserved. Both sides were evidently plain.

Other tomb information: Transverse chamber, with entrance on long side, 2.40 $\times$ 3.60 m. Pitched ceiling ca. 1.90 m high in center with narrow rafters in low relief. Carved gables with tie beam and king post in relief; horizontal beams carved at tops of side walls.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001; author visit, 2002

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

153—Zey 5

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Plain, continuous rock-cut Π -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Small doorway above the level of the chamber floor. Pitched ceiling.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001; author visit, 2002

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

154—Zey 6

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Rock-cut couch before rear wall.

Bedrock

Molded band along the front edge of the couch.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.60 $\times$ 2.26 m, with roughly pitched ceiling 1.55 m high in center.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

155—Zey 7

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Low rock-cut couch before south wall.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber 1.76 $\times$ 1.44 m, with flat ceiling 1.22 m high.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

156—Zey 8

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Plain Γ -shaped rock-cut bench against right and rear walls.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.80 $\times$ 2.40 m, 1.78 m high.

Adjacent to Zey Tomb 9, connected by doorway in left wall.

Pitched ceiling.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

157—Zey 9 / “Bull’s Hoof Tomb”

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one at rear and one at left, forming a continuous Γ -shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.84 m L, 1.04 m W, 0.45 m H; left: 2.74 m L, 1.04 m W, 0.45 m H

Each couch has raised rectangular borders (0.10 m wide, ca. 0.15 m high, with stepped inner recess) on all four sides and a raised headrest on the right end (0.45 m wide), within which is a shallow semi-oval depression. The rear left corner of the rear couch and both right corners of the left couch have additional raised rectangular posts, in low relief. Just at the level of the couches, the chamber walls are recessed to a depth of 0.10 m. These recesses are 0.37 m high and begin ca. 0.05 m below the level of the top of the couch borders, thus setting off the couches

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

from the walls. A narrow channel also separates the right end of the rear couch from the wall. At the right end of the headrest on the right couch are two small circular holes.

The front face of each couch has a “rail” in relief at the top and relief legs with stylized bulls’-hoof feet. The upper part of the each leg consists of a rectangular post, 0.19 m wide, with beveled corners; the lowest part, just above the foot, is recessed; the feet consist of splayed hooves that spread onto the chamber floor.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.10 × 4.10 m (transverse plan), with pitched ceiling 1.90 m high at apex. Wide shallow gables, each with king post and tie beam in relief (but no rafters indicated); a horizontal beam encircles the whole tomb at the tops of the walls. The tomb is located high on the face of a rock outcropping that contains several other tombs. On top of the outcropping is a rock-cut step monument.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001; author visit, 2002

Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, 287, fig. 6; 2005, 220–21, fig. 7

Sixth–fifth century?

Figs. 96b, 100b

158—Zey 11

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one along each side wall.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.00 × 2.20 m, with “flattish ceiling” 1.52 m high.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

159—Zey 12

Zeyköy (Fig. 91, no. 13), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Rock-cut couch of double width before rear wall.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.25 × 2.30 m, with flat ceiling 1.35 m high.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

160—Karakaya

Karakaya (Fig. 91, no. 9), near Sivrihisar

Rock-cut chamber tomb with short dromos and two chambers.

Single rock-cut couch fills rear part of second chamber.

Bedrock

1.90 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.40 m H

Bed surface bordered on front and left side by raised rectangular border and on the right side by wider pillow-like band, sloping up to the right at an angle.

Front face of couch has projecting band (“rail”) carved at the top, and two broad carved “legs” with schematic lion’s-paw feet.

Other tomb information: The short dromos leads down to large chamber with a flat ceiling and a simple carved gable (with king post) on at least one end. The ceiling of this first chamber is inset from the walls and so appears to rest on a sort of projecting cornice. The doorway at the rear of this chamber has a recessed frame and leads to a second, smaller rectangular chamber, at a lower level. The chamber has a pitched ceiling that does not span the entire width of the chamber but again is somewhat inset, giving the impression of a projecting cornice at the tops of the walls. Each gable in the second chamber is carved with rafters, tie beam, and king post in relief. On each long side, a horizontal beam and a single rafter are carved in relief. The ceiling of this chamber is lower than that of the first. Although the floor was not cleared in the first chamber, the floor level of the second chamber is probably also lower than that of the first.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, 286, fig. 1; 2005, 218, fig. 2; 2008b, 1170–73, figs. 2, 8–9

Sixth century?

Figs. 96a, 100c

161—Beypınarı

Beypınarı, near Sivrihisar (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb with dromos.

Plain, I-shaped rock-cut bench against left and rear walls.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 2.40 m L, 0.80 m W; left: ca. 2.60 m L, 0.80 m W; height of couches unknown (floor not cleared)

Other tomb information: The short dromos leads down to the chamber. The chamber measures 2.10–2.40 m × 2.66 m, with pitched ceiling at least 1.73 m high in center.

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2001

Tüfekçi Sivas 2003, 287, fig. 4; 2005, 219, fig. 5

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

162—Gerdekkaya

Kargın, near Sivrihisar (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: The chamber has a pitched ceiling. A step leads down from doorway to chamber floor. A surface survey of a nearby occupation mound (Ibikseydi) yielded some Phrygian grayware as well as later pottery.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2003

Tüfekçi Sivas 2004; Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2004, 107; Sivas 2008, 162

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

163—Karacakaya, “Gelin Kız Mezarı”

Karacakaya, near Sivrihisar (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one before left wall and one before right wall, forming a continuous I-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: 2.40 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.60 m H; left: 1.80 m L, 0.60 m W, 0.60 m H

Raised borders ca. 0.10 m wide and 0.15 m high on front edge of each couch.

On the right end of the front face of each couch is a couch leg, rendered in relief, composed of three bulbous forms and a thin disc on top, over a foot in the form of a predatory bird’s claw (a hawk’s?).

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.55 × 2.35–2.45 m, with pitched ceiling 2.10 m high in center. Carved façade with gable and king post in relief. On the chamber wall just to the right of the entrance is a low-relief figure on horseback followed by a standing figure holding a spear. Ceiling and gables are represented in relief, with rafters and king posts; there is a single pillar in relief on each side wall, about the middle of the chamber, and a niche in the right wall.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2004

Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2005, 38, pl. 7, figs. 35–36; 2006, 166, figs. 7–8; Sivas 2008, 162;

Tüfekçi Sivas 2008a, figs. 4–5, 9–12

Sixth century?

Fig. 100d

164—“Anı Kadın”

Near Çapıl Halilbağı, Beylikova (Fig. 91, no. 4)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches, one before each side wall.

Bedrock

Raised, rectangular headrest on rear end of left couch; corresponding part of right couch not visible in published photographs.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2004

Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2005, 38, fig. 32; 2006, 165, fig. 6; Sivas 2008, 162

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

165—Okçu

Okçu, Beylikova (Fig. 91, no. 4)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Plain rock-cut couch (or couches).

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Small entrance. Pitched ceiling with carved ridgepole and gables with king posts.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas survey, 2003

Tüfekçi Sivas 2004

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

166—Aşağı Doğanoglu

Near Okçu, Beylikova (Fig. 91, no. 4)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches, one before each side wall.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Chamber has roughly pitched ceiling.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2003

Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2004, 107; Sivas 2008, 162

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

167—Karaburhan

13 km southwest of Karaburhan (Fig. 91, no. 8)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Catalogue of Anatolian Tombs with Funerary Beds or Couches

Other tomb information: Chamber $2.50 \times 1.80 \times 1.50$ m

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2004

Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2006, 166, fig. 9

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

168—Kokarkuyu

Aslanbeyli, near Seyitgazi (Fig. 91)

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches: one before left and one before rear wall, forming a continuous T-shaped bench. The left couch has been destroyed.

Bedrock

Kline legs said to be rendered in relief.

Other tomb information: Chamber has pitched ceiling, with architectural elements (rafters and gable) in relief.

T. Tüfekçi Sivas and H. Sivas survey, 2003

Tüfekçi Sivas and Sivas 2004, 104, fig. 21

Middle Phrygian (eighth–fifth century)?

Pisidia

Burdur

169—Düver

Düver

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Three rock-cut couches: one at the rear and one along each side wall, forming a continuous II-shaped bench.

Bedrock

Rear: ca. 2.45 m L, 0.85 m wide, 0.60 m H; sides: ca. 1.80 m L, 0.80 m W, 0.50 m H

Three bed surfaces are delineated by raised rectangular borders (ca. 0.05–0.10 m high) on their front edges. The rear couch is about 0.10 m higher than those on the sides.

Other tomb information: Chamber 2.45×2.70 m, with pitched ceiling ca. 1.72 m high. The doorway is framed by a series of five recessed bands, one of which is decorated with lotus flowers carved in relief, comparable to lotuses on Archaic

architectural terracottas from Lydia and East Greece. The outermost band above the doorway once carried a row of cross-like motifs (perhaps flowers), not well preserved. Some of the other recessed moldings have traces of red painted bands, and some traces of red paint have also been observed on the carved motifs. There is a low step just inside the entrance to the chamber.

Sagalassos project survey 1996; T. Kahya survey, 2010

Waelkens et al. 2000, 184, figs. 241–42; Labarre, Özsait, and Özsait 2010, 70–71, figs. 28–31; Kahya 2012

Late sixth–early fifth century

170—Pencere Kaya

Çeçtepe

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

Two rock-cut couches.

Bedrock

Other tomb information: Recessed frame around chamber entrance, with profiled doorway. About 100 m away, on a rock-cut terrace below two tumuli, is a rock-cut relief showing two horsemen and a man in a horsedrawn cart/chariot.

N. Fıratlı survey, 1967

Mellink 1968, 144; Fıratlı 1970, 122, fig. 85. For the rock-cut relief: Fıratlı 1970, 121–22, figs. 80–81, 84

Sixth–fourth century?

Isparta (Fig. 1)

171—Two tombs near Lake Hoyran

Lake Hoyran, near Yalvaç

Rock-cut chamber tomb.

One has a rock-cut couch against the rear wall, while the other has a rock-cut couch against one side wall.

Bedrock

G. Fiedler survey

G. Fiedler, pers. comm., 2002

Middle–Late Phrygian

List of Vases Cited in the Text

The following list provides references for all the ancient Greek and Etruscan vases cited in the text. Although many of these vases carry representations of *klinai*, this list is not intended as a comprehensive catalogue of such scenes, and it includes vases cited as comparative material for other reasons (for instance, similar forms on thrones or stools, or depictions of banqueters reclining without furniture). Wherever possible, the references include traditional Beazley numbers (*ABV*, *ARV²*, *Paralipomena*, and *Beazley Addenda²*) as well as record numbers for the now indispensable Beazley Archive Pottery Database (*BAPD*), available online at <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>. Vases for which illustrations do not exist in the online Beazley Archive have an additional image source reference following the *BAPD* reference. Details of provenance and subject matter can be found in the Beazley Archive records or other sources referenced. Figure numbers in brackets refer to illustrations in this book.

CA. 750–700

Attic

1. Attic Late Geometric amphora, Athens, National Museum 18062 (*BAPD* no. 1010401) [Fig. 17a]
2. Attic Late Geometric amphora, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1966.89 (*BAPD* no. 1005499), Ahlberg 1971, fig. 43e [Fig. 17c]
3. Attic Late Geometric amphora, Sydney, Nicholson Museum 46.47 (*BAPD* no. 9018096), Ahlberg 1971, fig. 14d [Fig. 17b]
4. Attic Late Geometric jug, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.777, Hahland 1954, figs. 4–6
5. Attic Late Geometric krater, Athens, National Museum 990 (*BAPD* 9018158) [Fig. 127]
6. Attic Late Geometric krater fragments, Paris, Musée du Louvre A541 (*BAPD* no. 1008098)

7. Attic Late Geometric krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.14 (*BAPD* no. 9018109)
8. Attic Late Geometric krater, fragmentary, Paris, Musée du Louvre A517 (*BAPD* no. 1008009)
9. Attic Late Geometric pitcher, Athens, National Museum 18542 (*BAPD* no. 9018367)
10. Attic Late Geometric oinochoe, Dresden, Antike Kunstsammlungen ZV 1635, Ahlberg 1971, fig. 23

Samian

11. Samian Late Geometric kantharos fragment, Samos, Archaeological Museum K76, Ahlberg 1971, 214–15, fig. 51 [Fig. 17d]

CA. 650–600

Corinthian

12. Early Corinthian krater, Paris, Musée du Louvre E635, Amyx 1988, 147.1; Boardman 1998a, fig. 396 [Figs. 26, 32a]

CA. 600–550

Corinthian

13. Middle Corinthian amphora, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum MS 552, Amyx 1988, 311.2, F 25 (*BAPD* no. 1002187)
14. Middle Corinthian bowl, London, British Museum 1861.4–25.45, Payne 1931, no. 717; Murray 1990, pl. 13b; Schäfer 1997, pl. 4
15. Middle Corinthian krater from Tocra, Boardman and Hayes 1966, pl. 16, no. 233
16. Middle Corinthian plate, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.26, Richter 1966, fig. 295
17. Middle Corinthian sherd from Miletos, Pfisterer-Haas 1999, fig. 6

List of Vases Cited in the Text

18. Late Corinthian black-figure amphora attributed to the Tydeus Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre E640, *LIMC* Ismene I no. 3
19. Late Corinthian black-figure hydria, Paris, Musée du Louvre E643 (*BAPD* no. 9019334), Richter 1966, fig. 310 [Fig. 37]
20. Late Corinthian black-figure krater, Paris, Musée du Louvre E629 (*BAPD* no. 9019327) [Fig. 12]
21. Late Corinthian black-figure olpe, Brussels, Musées Royaux A4 (*BAPD* no. 1011070)

Attic

22. Attic black-figure skyphos, Athens, National Museum 996 (*BAPD* no. 46491)
23. Attic black-figure cup attributed to the KX Painter, Samos, Archaeological Museum 1184, *ABV* 26.27 (*BAPD* no. 300305), Kreuzer 1998, no. 200, pls. 37–38 [Fig. 34]
24. Attic black-figure volute krater signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos (“François Vase”), Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4209, *ABV* 76.1 (*BAPD* no. 300000)
25. Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Painter of London B 76, University of Zurich, Archaeological Collection 4001, *Paralipomena* 32.1bis (*BAPD* no. 350209)
26. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Omaha Painter, Omaha, Joslyn Art Museum, 1963.480, *Paralipomena* 34 (*BAPD* no. 350215)
27. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to Lydos, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 70995, *ABV* 110.32 (*BAPD* no. 310178)
28. Attic black-figure column krater attributed to Lydos, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 98903 (*BAPD* no. 23730), Cygielman 1998, pl. 33; Neils 2009, fig. 2
29. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Ptoon Painter, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 39515, *ABV* 84.3 (*BAPD* no. 300777)
30. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Ptoon Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 59.64 (*BAPD* no. 350203)
31. Attic black-figure column krater attributed to the Ptoon Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre E623, *ABV* 83.1 (*BAPD* no. 300775) [Figs. 2, 32b]
32. Attic black-figure Siana cup attributed to the Heidelberg Painter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 110339, *Paralipomena* 27.13bis (*BAPD* no. 350189)
33. Attic black-figure Siana cup attributed to the C Painter,

Athens, National Museum P3639, *ABV* 53.31 (*BAPD* no. 300408)

34. Attic black-figure Siana cup attributed to the C Painter, Hannover, Kestner Museum 1959.1, *Paralipomena* 24.32bis (*BAPD* no. 350157)
35. Attic black-figure Siana cup attributed to the C Painter, Kassel, Antikensammlung T387, *ABV* 52.9 (*BAPD* no. 300386)
36. Attic black-figure Siana cup in the manner of the C Painter, Athens, National Museum 12552, *ABV* 59.2 (*BAPD* no. 300517)
37. Attic black-figure Siana cup in the manner of the C Painter, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität 4351, *ABV* 59.6 (*BAPD* no. 300511)
38. Attic black-figure Siana cup, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco CC676 (*BAPD* no. 45453), Lepore 1998, pl. 75.1, 3
39. Attic black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter, San Antonio Art Museum 86.34.169, *Paralipomena* 35 (*BAPD* no. 350329)
40. Attic black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter, Stanford 61.66, *Paralipomena* 35 (*BAPD* no. 350324)
41. Attic black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora attributed to the Castellani Painter, Bochum, Ruhr-Universität S1104, Kunisch 2005, pl. 24.1–2
42. Attic black-figure Tyrrhenian amphora, Paris, Musée du Louvre E843, *ABV* 95.7 (*BAPD* no. 310007)

Lakonian

43. Lakonian black-figure cup attributed to the Arkesilas Painter, Brussels, Musées Royaux R401 (*BAPD* no. 1011323)
44. Lakonian black-figure cup attributed to the Naukratis Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre E672 (*BAPD* no. 800027)
45. Lakonian black-figure cup attributed to the Rider Painter, Stibbe 2004, pl. 52
46. Lakonian black-figure fragments attributed to the Arkesilas Painter, Samos, Archaeological Museum K3167 and 3326, Stibbe 1972, no. 197, pl. 65
47. Lakonian black-figure cup from Samos, Diehl 1964, 578, no. 54, fig. 30

CA. 575–525

“Chalkidian”

49. “Chalkidian” black-figure amphora attributed to the Orvieto Painter, once Northwick Park, Churchill collection, Rumpf 1927, no. 26, pls. 52a, 53–54

50. "Chalkidian" black-figure cup, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 354, Rumpf 1927, no. 20, pls. 40–42; Steinhart and Slater 1997, pl. 5 [Fig. 32c]
51. "Chalkidian" black-figure skyphos, Copenhagen, National Museum 64, Rumpf 1927, no. 19, pl. 37

Attic

52. Attic black-figure amphora in an unspecified private collection (*BAPD* no. 9022271), Neils 2009, fig. 3, pl. 15b
53. Attic black-figure amphora, Paris, Musée du Louvre F2 (*BAPD* no. 10707)
54. Attic black-figure lekane lid fragment from Naukratis, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum N118 (*BAPD* no. 12898)
55. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to Group E, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 00.330, *ABV* 135.45 (*BAPD* no. 310305)
56. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to Group E, Kassel, Antikensammlung T674, *Paralipomena* 56.31bis (*BAPD* no. 350427)

CA. 550–500

Klazomenian

57. Klazomenian black-figure hydria fragment, Athens, National Museum 5610, Cook and Dupont 1998, fig. 12.8

Attic

58. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Xenokles Painter, Athens, National Museum 1045, *ABV* 186 (*BAPD* no. 302454)
59. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Princeton Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.1, *ABV* 298.5 (*BAPD* no. 320404)
60. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Affecter Painter, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 509, *ABV* 239.5 (*BAPD* no. 301293)
61. Attic black-figure dinos (lebes) attributed to the Atalante Group, London, British Museum B46, *ABV* 91.5 (*BAPD* no. 300850) [Fig. 54]
62. Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1890, *ABV* 269.34 (*BAPD* no. 320044)
63. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Antimenes Painter, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1917.470, *ABV* 270 (*BAPD* no. 320076)

64. Attic black-figure amphora near the Antimenes Painter, California, H. and A. Dechter collection 15 (*BAPD* no. 12990), Wolf 1993, fig. 19
65. Attic black-figure amphora in the manner of the Lysippides Painter, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR27.1864, *ABV* 259.17 (*BAPD* no. 302249)
66. Attic black-figure amphora in the manner of the Mastos Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1562 (*BAPD* no. 1160)
67. Attic black-figure olpe attributed to the Amasis Painter, Athens, Agora Museum P24673, *ABV* 714.31bis (*BAPD* no. 306983) [Fig. 32d]
68. Attic black-figure volute krater attributed to the Golv Group, Warsaw, National Museum 142345, *ABV* 194.1 (*BAPD* no. 302548)
69. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter, Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes 219, *ABV* 383.15 (*BAPD* no. 302860)
70. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.60.29, *ABV* 384.17 (*BAPD* no. 302862)
71. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Acheloos Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L207, *ABV* 383.14 (*BAPD* no. 302859) [Fig. 35d]
72. Attic black-figure volute krater attributed to the Acheloos Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.64, *ABV* 384.22 (*BAPD* no. 302867)
73. Attic black-figure volute krater attributed to the Acheloos Painter, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese, *ABV* 384.21 (*BAPD* no. 302866)
74. Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Alkmene Painter, London, British Museum B301, *ABV* 282.2 (*BAPD* no. 320244)
75. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Group of Copenhagen 114, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1538, *ABV* 395.3 (*BAPD* no. 302957)
76. Attic black-figure cup attributed to the Leagros Group, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.463.1–6 (*BAPD* no. 41321)
77. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Leagros Group, Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 10916, *ABV* 508 (*BAPD* no. 305509)
78. Attic black-figure column krater attributed to the Leagros Group, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 52, *ABV* 376.231 (*BAPD* no. 302312)

List of Vases Cited in the Text

79. Attic black-figure cup attributed to the Leagros Group, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 773, *ABV* 381.298 (*BAPD* no. 302379)
80. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Leagros Group, Athens, National Museum 12951, *ABV* 300.287 (*BAPD* no. 302368)
81. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Leagros Group, Paris, Musée Rodin 946, *ABV* 378.254 (*BAPD* no. 302335)
82. Attic black-figure oinochoe in the manner of the Leagros Group, Munich, Antikensammlungen M456 (*BAPD* no. 1006523)
83. Attic black-figure olpe attributed to the Leagros Group, Basel, H.C. Cahn collection HC866, *ABV* 378.249 (*BAPD* no. 302330)
84. Attic black-figure olpe attributed to the Leagros Group, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire 20608.1968 (*BAPD* no. 5664)
85. Attic black-figure psykter attributed to the Leagros Group, Munich, Antikensammlungen SL461 (*BAPD* no. 7642), Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 41.1 [Fig. 20]
86. Attic black-figure psykter attributed to the Leagros Group, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese RC6823 (*BAPD* no. 7648)
87. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Painter of Louvre F 314, Paris, Musée du Louvre F216, *ABV* 389.6 (*BAPD* no. 302905)
88. Attic black-figure hydria attributed to the Madrid Painter, Athens, National Museum CC764, *ABV* 329.4 (*BAPD* no. 301768) [Fig. 40b]
89. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Medea Group, New York, White and Levy collection (*BAPD* no. 43275), Carpenter 1995, fig. 7
90. Attic black-figure stamnos attributed to the Michigan Painter, Los Angeles County Museum A5933.50.8, *ABV* 343.1 (*BAPD* no. 301903)
91. Attic black-figure stamnos attributed to the Perizoma Group, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3211, *ABV* 345.6 (*BAPD* no. 301923)
92. Attic black-figure amphora near the Priam Painter, University of Mississippi Museums 1977.3.62, *ABV* 333.1, *Paralipomena* 147 (*BAPD* 301810), D.M. Robinson 1956, fig. 28 [Fig. 13]
93. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Rycroft Painter, Toledo Museum of Art 72.54 (*BAPD* no. 7276) [Fig. 35e]
94. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Class of Vatican G47, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 264, *ABV* 430.18 (*BAPD* no. 303311)
95. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Dayton Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 76.40, *Paralipomena* 144.1 (*BAPD* no. 351068)
96. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Class and Group of Munich 1812, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1812, *Paralipomena* 180.1 (*BAPD* no. 351304)
97. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Class of New York 96.9.9, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1965.125, *Paralipomena* 295 (*BAPD* no. 352183) [Fig. 35g]
98. Attic black-figure amphora, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 41292 (*BAPD* no. 8881)
99. Attic black-figure amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8052, *ABV* 259.26 (*BAPD* no. 302258)
100. Attic black-figure amphora, London, British Museum B289, *ABV* 593.2 (*BAPD* no. 331302)
101. Attic black-figure amphora, New York, Callimanopoulos collection, *ARV*² 329.5 (*BAPD* no. 301769) [Fig. 35f]
102. Attic black-figure column krater, Paris, Musée du Louvre F305 (*BAPD* no. 10699)
103. Attic black-figure cup fragment, Greifswald, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität 244, *Paralipomena* 97 (*BAPD* no. 340232)
104. Attic black-figure cup, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3889 (*BAPD* no. 4387), Martens 1992, fig. 88
105. Attic black-figure cup, once Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2052, now lost (*BAPD* no. 14936), Stewart 1997, fig. 99
106. Attic black-figure eye cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2082, *Paralipomena* 96.1 (*BAPD* no. 340229), Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 36.6
107. Attic black-figure hydria, Brussels, Musées Royaux R242 (*BAPD* no. 10939) [Fig. 35h]
108. Attic black-figure kantharos once on the Basel market (*BAPD* no. 641), *MuM, Auktion* 56 1980, no. 72, pl. 27
109. Attic black-figure krater fragment in the Hague, Scheurleer Museum 2113 (*BAPD* no. 13946)
110. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 27.228 (*BAPD* no. 3746), Vermeule 1979, fig. 1.8a [Fig. 35c]
111. Attic black-figure phormiskos, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 1438 (*BAPD* no. 5237)
112. Attic black-figure phormiskos, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1657 (*BAPD* no. 28997), Shapiro 1991, fig. 10

113. Attic black-figure stamnos fragment, Cracow, Czartoryski Museum 1077 (*BAPD* no. 13966)
 114. Attic bilingual amphora attributed to the Andokides and Lysippides Painters, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2301, *ARV*² 4.9, *ABV* 255.4 (*BAPD* no. 200009) [Fig. 3]
 115. Attic bilingual amphora attributed to Psiax, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2302, *ARV*² 6.1 (*BAPD* no. 200021) [Fig. 36a]
 116. Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Andokides Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS491 (*BAPD* no. 200004)
 117. Attic red-figure amphora fragments attributed to the Andokides Painter, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, *ARV*² 3.6 (*BAPD* no. 200006)
 118. Attic red-figure cup signed by Epiktetos, London, British Museum E38, *ARV*² 72.16 (*BAPD* no. 200460) [Fig. 46]
 119. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Oltos, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2618, *ARV*² 61.74 (*BAPD* no. 200510) [Fig. 32g]
 120. Attic red-figure kalyx krater signed by Euphronios, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia L.2006.10 (*BAPD* no. 187), *LIMC* Sarpedon no. 4
 121. Attic red-figure psykter signed by Euphronios, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 644, *ARV*² 16.15 (*BAPD* no. 200078)
 122. Attic red-figure kalyx krater attributed to Euphronios, Munich, Antikensammlungen 8935 etc., *ARV*² 1619.3bis (*BAPD* no. 275007), Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 35.1 [Fig. 29]
 123. Attic red-figure cup signed by Kachrylion, potter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 91456, *ARV*² 108.27 (*BAPD* no. 200931)
 124. Attic red-figure stamnos signed by Smikros, Brussels, Musées Royaux A717, *ARV*² 20.1 (*BAPD* no. 200102) [Fig. 28]
 125. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Epeleios Painter, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig LU35, *Paralipomena* 335, 506 (*BAPD* no. 352451), Berger and Lullies 1979, no. 35 [Fig. 38]
 126. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Epeleios Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2616, *ARV*² 147.17 (*BAPD* no. 201305), Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 36.7
 127. Attic red-figure cup in the manner of the Epeleios Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.27, *ARV*² 1629.32bis (*BAPD* no. 275067), Kilmer 1993, no. R249
 128. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Magnoncourt Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2638, *ARV*² 456.1 (*BAPD* no. 212468)
 130. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Pioneer Group, Cambridge, MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1972.40, *Paralipomena* 324.13bis (*BAPD* no. 352403), *LIMC* Achilleus no. 655
- Etruscan**
131. Etruscan "Pontic" amphora attributed to the Paris Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.7 [Fig. 9]
 132. Etruscan "Pontic" amphora, Copenhagen, National Museum 3794 (*BAPD* no. 1013636)
 133. Etruscan "Pontic" oinochoe, Madrid, National Archaeological Museum 1998/55/4, *Warden* 2004, 153–55, no. 42
 134. Etruscan black-figure kyathos, London, British Museum 1899.7–21.1, Shapiro 1991, fig. 3
- CA. 525–475
- Attic**
135. Attic black-figure olpe attributed to the Daybreak Painter, Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 12299, *ABV* 449.2 (*BAPD* no. 330152) [Fig. 40a]
 136. Attic black-figure skyphos attributed to the Theseus Painter, Basel, H. Cahn collection, *Paralipomena* 258z–mm (*BAPD* no. 351571)
 137. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 1.1995, *ABV* 405.18 (*BAPD* no. 303059), Kunze-Götte 1992, pls. 12, 13.3
 138. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Gela Painter, Athens, National Museum 541, *Paralipomena* 214.49 (*BAPD* no. 340797), *LIMC* Dionysos no. 759
 139. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Class of Athens 581, Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipal 37.897, *ABV* 701.166ter (*BAPD* no. 306729)
 140. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Class of Athens 581, Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts IIB172 (*BAPD* no. 9006867)
 141. Attic black-figure lekythos near the Sappho Painter, once Küsnacht, Hirschmann collection (*BAPD* no. 361407)
 142. Attic black-figure lekythos attributed to the Edinburgh Painter, Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland 1956.436, *Paralipomena* 217.19 (*BAPD* no. 380848) [Fig. 35i]
 143. Attic black-figure kantharos attributed to the Class of

List of Vases Cited in the Text

- One-Handled Kantharoi, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 353, ABV 346.7 (*BAPD* no. 301934)
144. Attic black-figure kantharos attributed to the Class of One-Handled Kantharoi, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 355, ABV 346.8 (*BAPD* no. 301935)
145. Attic black-figure lekythos from Rhodes, London, British Museum B633 (*BAPD* no. 16207), Ransom 1905, headpiece to chap. 1
146. Attic black-figure amphora, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum H535 (*BAPD* no. 1012935)
147. Attic black-figure cup fragment, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G572 (*BAPD* no. 11854)
148. Attic black-figure hydria fragment, Paris, Musée du Louvre CP 10693 (*BAPD* no. 12170)
149. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1887 (*BAPD* no. 41992)
150. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1888 (*BAPD* no. 41991)
151. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F1889 (*BAPD* no. 41979)
152. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, Cleveland Museum of Art 27.145 (*BAPD* no. 761)
153. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität S/10 1481 (*BAPD* no. 5913)
154. Attic black-figure loutrophoros, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.70.1, Richter 1925, fig. 9
155. Attic black-figure olpe, Kiel, Antikensammlung B702 (*BAPD* no. 1009117)
156. Attic black-figure oon fragment, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 846 (*BAPD* no. 42077), Greifenhagen 1935, fig. 62
157. Attic black-figure pelike, private collection (*BAPD* no. 12381)
158. Attic black-figure pelike, Vannes, Musée d'Histoire et d'Archéologie 2159 (*BAPD* no. 8711)
159. Attic black-figure pyxis, Warsaw, National Museum 142319 (*BAPD* no. 14077)
160. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Onesimos, Paris, Musée du Louvre G104, ARV² 318.1 (*BAPD* no. 203217)
161. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Proto-Panaetian Group, Basel, H. Cahn collection HC116, ARV² 316.3 (*BAPD* no. 203241)
162. Attic red-figure cup fragment, Athens, Agora Museum P2574 (*BAPD* no. 6111), Moore 1997, pl. 132, no. 1411
163. Attic red-figure kalyx krater fragment attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 1977A-G, 186.45 (*BAPD* no. 201697)
164. Attic red-figure krater fragments attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Copenhagen, National Museum 13365, ARV² 185.32 (*BAPD* no. 201684) [Fig. 32i]
165. Attic red-figure lebes fragment attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.132.1B (*BAPD* no. 11661), Robertson 1983, figs. 3–4
166. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA453, ARV² 184.22 (*BAPD* no. 201675) [Fig. 36c]
167. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Athens, Kerameikos Museum 3234 (*BAPD* no. 2258), Knigge 1970, pl. 8.1
168. Attic red-figure psykter attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, Princeton University Art Museum 1989.69 (*BAPD* no. 28180), Lissarrague 2001, fig. 17
169. Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, London, British Museum E441, ARV² 187.57 (*BAPD* no. 201709)
170. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter, Kassel, Antikensammlung 57 (*BAPD* no. 9426)
171. Attic red-figure cup fragment, private collection (*BAPD* no. 17974), Wolf 1993, fig. 46
172. Attic red-figure hydria, Rouen, Musée Départemental des Antiquités 25, ARV² 188.68 (*BAPD* no. 201716)
- CA. 500–450
- Attic**
173. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Group of the Athena Painter, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico DL32, ABV 530.75 (*BAPD* no. 305594)
174. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Group of the Athena Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T766, *Paralipomena* 264 (*BAPD* no. 351638)
175. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Group of the Athena Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T871, *Paralipomena* 264 (*BAPD* no. 351639)
176. Attic black-figure lekythos in the manner of the Haimon Painter, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 3341, ABV 552.379 (*BAPD* no. 331473)
177. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Painter of Rhodes 10480, Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 196 (*BAPD* no. 351437) [Fig. 163]

List of Vases Cited in the Text

178. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Antiphon Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2303, *ARV*² 1597 (*BAPD* no. 203446) [Fig. 36e]
179. Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre G192, *ARV*² 208.160 (*BAPD* no. 201979) [Fig. 4]
180. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Painter of Naples 132, Athens, National Museum 1452, *ARV*² 232.2 (*BAPD* no. 202188)
181. Attic black-figure oinochoe attributed to the Class of Vatican G 49, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina T680, *ABV* 533.9 (*BAPD* no. 330913)
182. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Colmar Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre G135, *ARV*² 355.45 (*BAPD* no. 203728)
183. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Troilos Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1986.11.12 (*BAPD* no. 15922), Carpenter 1995, figs. 10–11; 1997, pl. 27b [Fig. 27]
184. Attic red-figure amphora attributed to Myson, Paris, Musée du Louvre G197, *ARV*² 238.1 (*BAPD* no. 202176)
185. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to Myson, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum MK50, *ARV*² 239.24 (*BAPD* no. 202373)
186. Attic red-figure fragment attributed to Myson, Athens, National Museum Akr. 2.810, *ARV*² 243.9 (*BAPD* no. 202445)
187. Attic red-figure fragments attributed to Myson, Athens, Agora Museum P7244, *ARV*² 240.31–32 (*BAPD* nos. 202381–202382)
188. Attic red-figure fragment attributed to Myson, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano AST736, *ARV*² 1638.25bis (*BAPD* no. 275134)
189. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Eucharides Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.182.32, *ARV*² 231.80 (*BAPD* no. 202282)
190. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *ARV*² 402.12 (*BAPD* no. 204353) [Fig. 57]
191. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 01.8034, *ARV*² 401.11 (*BAPD* no. 204352)
192. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Christchurch, Canterbury Museum 17.53, *ARV*² 403.34 (*BAPD* no. 204375)
193. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.345 (*BAPD* no. 23944)
194. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (*BAPD* no. 6425), Martens 1992, fig. 96
195. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Foundry Painter, Kassel, Antikensammlung T 664, *Paralipomena* 370 (*BAPD* no. 204351)
196. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3999, *ARV*² 275.47 (*BAPD* no. 202883)
197. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, Montauban, Musée Ingres 87.414, *ARV*² 275.48 (*BAPD* no. 202884)
198. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum 2464, *ARV*² 278.2 (*BAPD* no. 202961)
199. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, London, British Museum E71, *ARV*² 372.29 (*BAPD* no. 203927)
200. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles L46 etc., *ARV*² 370.8 (*BAPD* no. 203907)
201. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Athens, National Museum Akr. 288, *ARV*² 370.7 (*BAPD* no. 203906), Wolf 1993, fig. 132
202. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, *ARV*² 389.24 (*BAPD* no. 204169)
203. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3949, *ARV*² 376.90 (*BAPD* no. 203988)
204. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, London, British Museum E68, *ARV*² 1574 (*BAPD* no. 203923)
205. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre G313, *ARV*² 377.106 (*BAPD* no. 204004)
206. Attic red-figure cup fragments attributed to the Brygos Painter, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 585 etc., *ARV*² 372.28 (*BAPD* no. 203926)
207. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16582, *ARV*² 369.6 (*BAPD* no. 203905)
208. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to the Brygos Painter, Athens, National Museum Akr. 2.265, *ARV*² 373.37 (*BAPD* no. 203935)

List of Vases Cited in the Text

209. Attic red-figure dog's-head rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter, Aleria, Musée Archéologique 10.127.84, *Paralipomena* 367 (BAPD no. 275955)
210. Attic red-figure dog's-head rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 867, ARV² 382.187 (BAPD no. 204086)
211. Attic red-figure head kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.234-5, ARV² 382.183 (BAPD no. 204082)
212. Attic red-figure head kantharos attributed to the Brygos Painter, London, British Museum E784, ARV² 382.184 (BAPD no. 204083)
213. Attic red-figure ram's-head rhyton attributed to the Brygos Painter, Cleveland Museum of Art 1988.8 (BAPD no. 44593)
214. Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Brygos Painter, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3710, ARV² 389.171 (BAPD no. 204068) [Fig. 39]
215. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to the Brygos Painter, Brauron, Archaeological Museum, ARV² 1649.29bis (BAPD no. 275210)
216. Attic red-figure cup fragment near the Brygos Painter, Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 22148 (BAPD no. 9009458)
217. Attic red-figure kantharos fragment near the Brygos Painter, Athens, National Museum, ARV² 1649 (BAPD no. 275212), van Straten 1995, fig. 141
218. Attic red-figure kantharos fragments attributed to the Brygos Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.82 (BAPD no. 28899), unpublished
219. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos, New York, White and Levy collection, ARV² 399 (BAPD no. 204333)
220. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron or the manner of the Brygos Painter, Adria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 22056, ARV² 477.296 (BAPD no. 204975)
221. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, von Bothmer collection (BAPD no. 21137), Kunisch 1997, pl. 14.23
222. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (BAPD no. 21136), Kunisch 1997, pl. 14.24
223. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Cambridge, Museum of Classical Archaeology UP 130, ARV² 474.253 (BAPD no. 204932), Kunisch 1997, pl. 137.395
224. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Gotha, Schlossmuseum 49, ARV² 467.19 (BAPD no. 204801), Kunisch 1997, pl. 100.303
225. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T3367 (BAPD no. 204804), Kunisch 1997, pl. 14.22
226. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Paris, Musée du Louvre G153, ARV² 460.14 (BAPD no. 204695), Kunisch 1997, pl. 61.169 [Fig. 56]
227. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1979.11.8 (BAPD no. 6920), Kunisch 1997, pl. 79.236
228. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 20.246, ARV² 467.118 (BAPD no. 204800), Kunisch 1997, pl. 130.377
229. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2643, ARV² 467.126 (BAPD no. 204808), Vierneisel and Kaeser 1992, fig. 43.2, Kunisch 1997, pl. 16.29
230. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Makron, private collection (BAPD no. 2573), Kunisch 1997, pl. 21.47
231. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 4596 (BAPD no. 30974)
232. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron, Bolligen, private collection (BAPD no. 22056), Kunisch 1997, pl. 37.107
233. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron, Bryn Mawr College P-203, ARV² 474.250 (BAPD no. 204929), Kunisch 1997, pl. 162.500
234. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, von Bothmer collection (BAPD no. 22109), Kunisch 1997, pl. 84.251
235. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Makron, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.498, ARV² 469.152 (BAPD no. 204834), Kunisch 1997, pl. 136.394
236. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Clinia Painter, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 2093, ARV² 812.57 (BAPD no. 210038)
237. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Diogenes Painter, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 301, ARV² 248.4 (BAPD no. 202473)
238. Attic red-figure cup signed by Douris, Himera, Museo Civico di Termini Imerese H73.42, *Beazley Addenda*² 403 (BAPD no. 20037), Allegro 1976, pl. 44
239. Attic red-figure cup signed by Douris, Paris, Musée du Louvre G116, ARV² 431.44 (BAPD no. 205088)

List of Vases Cited in the Text

240. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Basel, H. Cahn collection HC109, *ARV*² 1653.184bis (*BAPD* no. 275237)
241. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, London, British Museum E50, *ARV*² 443.227 (*BAPD* no. 205273)
242. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Arezzo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 1414, *ARV*² 441.181 (*BAPD* no. 205226)
243. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Athens, National Museum 27523 (*BAPD* no. 7240), Wolf 1993, fig. 43
244. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS401, *ARV*² 1653.10bis (*BAPD* no. 275238)
245. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Bochum, Ruhr-Universität S574 (*BAPD* no. 44070), Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 111
246. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1970.233, *ARV*² 444.241 (*BAPD* no. 205288)
247. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Christchurch, Canterbury Museum AR430, *ARV*² 438.138 (*BAPD* no. 205184)
248. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3922, *ARV*² 432.55 (*BAPD* no. 205099)
249. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco V48, *ARV*² 432.58 (*BAPD* no. 205103) [Fig. 36f]
250. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 70.395 (*BAPD* no. 4704)
251. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, London, British Museum E49, *ARV*² 432.52 (*BAPD* no. 205096) [Fig. 47]
252. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, London, private collection, *ARV*² 436.98 (*BAPD* no. 205144), Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 120
253. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1973.175.7 and 1985.228.5 / Paris, Musée du Louvre CP10907, *ARV*² 430.36, 1569 (*BAPD* no. 205080)
255. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2646, *Paralipomena* 375 (*BAPD* no. 205174)
256. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Cambridge, MA, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1959.124, *ARV*² 438.140 (*BAPD* no. 205186)
257. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano, 16561, *ARV*² 427.2 (*BAPD* no. 205046) [Fig. 55]
258. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Verdun, Musée de la Prinerie, *ARV*² 444.245 (*BAPD* no. 205292)
259. Attic red-figure cup attributed to Douris, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L483, *ARV*² 444.246 (*BAPD* no. 205293) [Fig. 36g]
260. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Douris, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität Leipzig T550, *ARV*² 438.139 (*BAPD* no. 205185)
261. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Douris, Paris, Musée du Louvre G126bis, G330, and S1327, *ARV*² 432.57 (*BAPD* no. 205102)
262. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Douris, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, von Bothmer collection (*BAPD* no. 44083), Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 5.9
263. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Douris, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, von Bothmer collection (*BAPD* no. 44041), Buitron-Oliver 1995, pl. 65.103
264. Attic red-figure cup fragment attributed to Douris, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Vaticano 16527, *ARV*² 432.53 (*BAPD* no. 205097)
265. Attic red-figure pyxis lid fragment in the style of Douris, from Kalapodi (*BAPD* no. 30346), Felsch et al. 1987, fig. 68
266. Attic red-figure head vase attributed to Douris, Hamburg, Termer collection (*BAPD* no. 19562), Lissarrague 1990b, fig. 82
267. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Aegisthus Painter, Vienna, University 551A, *ARV*² 505.13 (*BAPD* no. 205674)
268. Attic red-figure cup fragments attributed to the Aegisthus Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 8557 (*BAPD* no. 1003936)
269. Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Pan Painter, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V282 (*BAPD* no. 206330)
270. Attic red-figure stamnos fragments attributed to the Pan Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre CP10822, *ARV*² 552.22 (*BAPD* no. 206297)
271. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Castelgiorgio Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 82894A, *ARV*² 386.1 (*BAPD* no. 204132)
272. Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen

List of Vases Cited in the Text

- Painter, New York, Brooklyn Museum 03.8, ARV² 258.22 (BAPD no. 202940) [Fig. 42]
273. Attic red-figure stamnos attributed to the Copenhagen Painter, London, British Museum E442, ARV² 257.9 (BAPD no. 202927)
274. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Oedipus Painter, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.752, ARV² 451.2 (BAPD no. 205373)
275. Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Alkimachos Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2325, ARV² 530.19 (BAPD no. 205995) [Fig. 18]
276. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragments attributed to the Birth of Athena Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 151386, ARV² 495.11 (BAPD no. 205570)
277. Attic red-figure pelike attributed to the Birth of Athena Painter, London, British Museum E410, ARV² 494.1 (BAPD no. 205560), Richter 1966, fig. 105
278. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment attributed to the Icarus Painter, Louvain University, ARV² 700.85 (BAPD no. 208415)
279. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Syracuse Painter, Copenhagen, National Museum 9195, ARV² 519.21 (BAPD no. 205826) [Fig. 36b]
280. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Syriskos Painter, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale V794, ARV² 260.10 (BAPD no. 202964)
281. Attic red-figure head kantharos attributed to the Syriskos Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 9410, ARV² 266.85 (BAPD no. 202766)
282. Attic red-figure ram's-head rhyton attributed to the Syriskos Painter, London, British Museum E795, ARV² 265.75 (BAPD no. 202756)
283. Attic red-figure kalyx krater attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 637, ARV² 360.1 (BAPD no. 203792)
284. Attic red-figure ram's-head rhyton attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 79.100 (BAPD no. 7537)
285. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Akestorides Painter in Rome, American Academy 322, ARV² 781.5 (BAPD no. 209615), Schauenburg 1973, fig. 10
286. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 44885, ARV² 882.35 (BAPD no. 211599), Richter 1966, fig. 334
287. Attic red-figure loutrophoros attributed to the Painter of Bologna 228, Athens, National Museum CC1167, ARV² 512.13 (BAPD no. 205750) [Fig. 36d]
288. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Bologna 417, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 77922, ARV² 911.75 (BAPD no. 211012)
289. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter, Milan, Banca Intesa 354, ARV² 567.4 (BAPD no. 206491) [Fig. 32l]
290. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 62.1.3, ARV² 1659.3bis (BAPD no. 275282) [Fig. 41]
291. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter, Los Angeles County Museum A5890.48.I ARV² 567.3 (BAPD no. 206490)
292. Attic red-figure column krater in the manner of the Leningrad Painter, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale R161, ARV² 572.1 (BAPD no. 206586)
293. Attic red-figure column krater near the Mykonos Painter, Perugia, Museo Civico 73, ARV² 516 (BAPD no. 205787)
294. Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Nausikaa Painter, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 3583, ARV² 1109.27 (BAPD no. 214666)
295. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Nausikaa Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.28, ARV² 1110.41 (BAPD no. 214681)
296. Attic red-figure amphora attributed to the Painter of the Munich Amphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2303, ARV² 245.1 (BAPD no. 202451)
297. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragments, Basel, H. Cahn collection HC382 (BAPD no. 17553), Kreuzer 1992, 114
298. Attic red-figure pyxis, Athens, National Museum 1584 (BAPD no. 7898)
299. Attic white-ground/red-figure cup in the manner of the Pistoxenos Painter, Athens, National Museum Ak. 445 / Berlin, Staatliche Museen F4059 (BAPD no. 3888) [Fig. 36h]
300. Attic white-ground/red-figure cup attributed to the Boot Painter, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, ARV² 821.1 (BAPD no. 210161) [Fig. 36i]
301. Attic white-ground stemless cup attributed to the Hesiod Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA482, ARV² 774.2 (BAPD no. 209555)

302. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Tymbos Painter, London, British Museum D35, *ARV*² 756.66 (*BAPD* no. 209344) [Fig. 7a]
 303. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Tymbos Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2772 (*BAPD* no. 209280), Kunze-Götte 2010, pl. 10.1
 304. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Tymbos Painter, Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls-Universität S.10/1715 (*BAPD* no. 16860) [Fig. 7b]
 305. Attic white-ground cup, Paris, Musée du Louvre G109 (*BAPD* no. 2851), *LIMC* Ismene I no. 6 [Plate 3]

CA. 475–425

Attic

306. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Euaion Painter, Bryn Mawr College, P211A-C, *ARV*² 791.40 (*BAPD* no. 209748)
 307. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Euaion Painter, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 3946, *ARV*² 792.51 (*BAPD* no. 209759)
 308. Attic red-figure stamnos near the Barclay Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre G415, *ARV*² 1070.2 (*BAPD* no. 214408)
 309. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Bologna 417, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1929.466, *ARV*² 911.73 (*BAPD* no. 211010)
 310. Attic red-figure bell krater, Brussels, Musées Royaux A2080, *ARV*² 1083.6 (*BAPD* no. 214546)
 311. Attic red-figure column krater fragment, Athens, Agora Museum P25872 (*BAPD* no. 29401), Moore 1997, pl. 31.232
 312. Attic red-figure column krater, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 824 (*BAPD* no. 11176)
 313. Attic red-figure loutrophoros fragment, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3441 (*BAPD* no. 552)
 314. Attic red-figure pyxis, Paris, Musée du Louvre CA587, *ARV*² 1094.104 (*BAPD* no. 216046), Bérard 1989, fig. 140
 315. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, London, British Museum D62, *ARV*² 851.273 (*BAPD* no. 212421)
 316. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.40, *ARV*² 846.190 (*BAPD* no. 212338) [Fig. 5]
- CA. 450–400
- ### Attic
317. Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Painter of Bologna 279, Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS486, *ARV*² 612.2 (*BAPD* no. 207096)
 318. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Painter of Brussels R330, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.192.67, *ARV*² 925.5 (*BAPD* no. 211258) [Fig. 8]
 319. Attic red-figure cup fragments attributed to the Painter of London D12, Greifswald, Ernst-Moritz-Arndt Universität 302–303, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 3705, *ARV*² 959.1 (*BAPD* no. 212996)
 320. Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale di Spina 44894, *ARV*² 1143.1 (*BAPD* no. 215141), Robertson 1992, fig. 231
 321. Attic red-figure loutrophoros, near the Naples Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen S66, *ARV*² 1102.1 (*BAPD* no. 216154), Shapiro 1991, fig. 18a
 322. Attic red-figure skyphos attributed to the Penelope Painter, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2588, *ARV*² 1300.1 (*BAPD* no. 216788)
 323. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Kodros Painter, London, British Museum E82, *ARV*² 1269.3 (*BAPD* no. 217212) [Figs. 32m, 164]
 324. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Kodros Painter, London, British Museum E84, *ARV*² 1269.4 (*BAPD* no. 217213)
 325. Attic red-figure cup signed by Aison, Madrid 11265, *ARV*² 1174.1 (*BAPD* no. 215557) [Fig. 50]
 326. Attic red-figure bell krater attributed to the Marlay Painter, Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte B147 (*BAPD* no. 216195)
 327. Attic red-figure pyxis attributed to the Washing Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum 541, *ARV*² 1133.196 (*BAPD* no. 215006) [Fig. 19]
 328. Attic red-figure chous attributed to the Eretria Painter, Athens, National Museum 15308, *ARV*² 1249.17 (*BAPD* no. 216953) [Fig. 49]
 329. Attic red-figure epinetron attributed to the Eretria Painter, Athens, National Museum 1629, *ARV*² 1250.34 (*BAPD* no. 216971)
 330. Attic red-figure/white-ground lekythos attributed to the Eretria Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.13, *ARV*² 1248.9 (*BAPD* no. 216945) [Fig. 32n, Plate 7]

List of Vases Cited in the Text

331. Attic red-figure kalix krater attributed to the Dinos Painter, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1937.983, *ARV*² 1153.13 (*BAPD* no. 215266)
 332. Attic red-figure fragment near the Kadmos Painter, Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico 4479 (*BAPD* no. 30704), Trias de Arribas 1967–68, pl. 122.23
 333. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Kadmos Painter, Plovdiv, Regional Museum of Archaeology 298, *ARV*² 1187.36 (*BAPD* no. 215726)
 334. Attic red-figure fragment, Aigina, Archaeological Museum 1683 (*BAPD* no. 45377), Margreiter 1988, pl. 17.217
 335. Attic red-figure hydria fragment, Athens, National Museum 1619 (*BAPD* no. 14849), Reinsberg 1989, fig. 19
 336. Attic red-figure loutrophoros, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802 (*BAPD* no. 15815), Reeder 1995, 167, no. 24
 337. Attic red-figure column krater, Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco 4003 (*BAPD* no. 14481)
 338. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Painter of the New York Hypnos, Athens, Peiraios Museum OM 40, Oakley 2004, fig. 47
 339. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Reed Painter, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1969, *ARV*² 1382.133 (*BAPD* no. 217798), Grewenig 1998, 40
 340. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Quadrate Painter, Paris, Musée du Louvre S1667, *ARV*² 1237.19 (*BAPD* no. 216487), Oakley 2004, fig. 48
 341. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Woman Painter, Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum 3748, *ARV*² 1372.16 (*BAPD* no. 217615)
 342. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter, Paris, Musée Rodin 568, *ARV*² 1385.6 (*BAPD* no. 217844)
 343. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter, Athens, National Museum 1756, *ARV*² 1385.4 (*BAPD* no. 217830)
 344. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Triglyph Painter, Lyons, Musée des Beaux Arts E49, *ARV*² 1385.5 (*BAPD* no. 217831)
 345. Attic white-ground lekythos attributed to the Group of the Huge Lekythoi, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F2684, *ARV*² 1390.3 (*BAPD* no. 217904)
 346. Attic white-ground lekythos, Budapest, private collection (*BAPD* no. 2369), Szilágyi and Szabó 1976, fig. 38
- CA. 425–375
- Attic**
347. Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Pronomos Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81673 (*BAPD* no. 217500)
 348. Attic red-figure bell krater near the Talos Painter, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 2382, *Paralipomena* 481 (*BAPD* no. 217526)
 349. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Semele Painter, Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 8.3316, *ARV*² 1343.1 (*BAPD* no. 217563)
 350. Attic red-figure volute krater attributed to the Meleager Painter, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.93 (*BAPD* no. 44230) [Fig. 11]
 351. Attic red-figure bell krater attributed to the Philocleon Reverse Group, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 908, *ARV*² 1442.2 (*BAPD* no. 218120)
- Campanian**
352. Campanian red-figure krater attributed to the Chequer Painter, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, Richter 1966, fig. 333; Trendall 1967, 1973
- Lucanian**
353. Lucanian red-figure hydria with the suicide of Kanake, Bari, Museo Archeologico Provinciale 1535, Trendall 1967, 45.221, pl. 18; *LIMC* Aiolos no. 1
 354. Lucanian red-figure krater fragment attributed to the Dolon Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 58.13.1, Trendall 1967, 105.551, pl. 54.1–2; Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 18.1
- CA. 400–350
- Attic**
355. Attic red-figure hydria attributed to the Group of London E230, London, British Museum E229, *ARV*² 1481.1 (*BAPD* no. 230489)
- Apulian**
356. Apulian red-figure volute krater attributed to the Iliouperisis Painter, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dr. 521, CVA Dresden 1, pl. 9

357. Apulian red-figure pelike attributed to the Suckling Group, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G269 (*BAPD* no. 430006), Richter 1966, fig. 221
358. Apulian red-figure dinos attributed to the Group of Vienna 4013, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.130.13, Hirschmann 1985, pl. 27 [Fig. 14]
359. Apulian red-figure kalyx krater fragment, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.210.17A, *LIMC* Achilleus no. 666
360. Apulian red-figure krater with the Ransom of Hektor, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 1718, *RVAp* I 242.55; *LIMC* Achilleus no. 664

Campanian

361. Campanian red-figure krater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 302, Trendall 1967, 262.238, pl. 104.3
362. Campanian red-figure krater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 4029, Trendall 1967, 415.361; Hirschmann 1985, pl. 4.1

CA. 350–300

Apulian

363. Apulian red-figure volute krater attributed to the Darius Painter, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81393, *RVAp* 495.39; Richter 1966, fig. 606

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Houby-Nielsen 1995.
2. See Appendix A, Cat. 25 (Lale Tepe); Baughan 2008a. The tomb paintings were later destroyed by further vandalism; see Roosevelt 2008, 15.
3. Dusinger 2003, 130–54. See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 284.
4. Koortbojian 2005, 303.
5. The date of the Persian conquest of Lydia was long anchored by the reading of *LU-* at the beginning of the toponym for the land conquered by Cyrus in his seventh year of rule (547/6) in the Nabonidus Chronicle (II 16). But that reading has recently been revised to *U-*, and the land Cyrus conquered in that year, accordingly, is now thought by many to be Urartu: see Rollinger 2008; Stronach 2008. Though the new reading is not without its own difficulties, on which see Stronach 2008, 152–53, the Persian destruction of Sardis can now be dated only generally to the reign of Cyrus before his capture of Babylon, ca. 550–539 (Cahill 2010, 344), or, on the assumption that Cyrus's campaign against Lydia would have followed shortly upon his conquest of Armenia and well enough in advance of Cyrus's death to allow the planning and execution of much of the building program at Pasargadae, to ca. 545: Stronach 2008, 153, 167–68.
6. Although some scholars have criticized modern constructions of “Anatolian civilizations” (e.g., Gür 2010), the rationale of the focus here is primarily geographic, and evidence for intra-Anatolian cultural exchange and hybridization discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 suggests that a concept of “Anatolian-ness” may have existed even in antiquity.
7. Roosevelt 2006b; 2009, 148; Ratté 2009, 42.
8. Hdt. 1.93; Str. 13.4.7; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 56–58; Roosevelt 2003, 190; 2009, 142–48; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 72.
9. Roosevelt 2009, 148–50; Ratté 2012, 41.
10. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 58–59; Roosevelt 2009, 139–40, 150.
11. Roosevelt 2003, 125, 380; 2009, 176.
12. Choisy 1876. For Spiegelthal's work, see von Olfers 1858; Ratté 2011, 69. For Dennis's work, never published, see Choisy 1876, 73; Butler 1922, 7–10.
13. Butler 1922, 11, 158–67; Greenewalt 1972, 115n5; McLaughlin 1985, 57; Dusinger 2003, 131.
14. Hanfmann and Detweiler 1960, 22–23; Greenewalt, Ratté, Sullivan, and Howe 1983, 81–84; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 53–58; Greenewalt, Cahill, and Rautman 1987, 36–44; Ratté 1992, 139; Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1993, 31–35; 1994, 31–32; Roosevelt 2008.
15. E.g., Akbıyıkoglu 1991; Dedeoglu 1991; 1992; Akbıyıkoglu 1993; Dinç and Önder 1993; Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996; Dedeoglu 1996.
16. Von Bothmer 1981; 1984; Özgen et al. 1996; Rose and Acar 1996; Roosevelt 2009, 176; Özgen 2010.
17. Roosevelt 2003, 120–200, 365–622; 2009, 140–51.
18. Roosevelt and Luke 2006; Roosevelt 2007; Roosevelt and Luke 2008; 2010a.
19. See under “Evidence for Wooden Couches in Anatolian Tombs” in Chapter 2.
20. For recent disturbances, see especially Hemelrijk and Berndt 1999. The lack of intact burials led Barnett (1953, 80–82) to question whether the rock-cut chambers in Phrygia ever served as tombs. He suggested that their proximity to water sources makes them more likely to have been “cult chambers,” but comparisons with rock-cut chambers in other cultural areas in which burials have been found *in situ* supports their identification as tombs; see e.g. Karageorghis 1970. Haspels, furthermore, refutes Barnett's argument about water sources

by pointing out that since Phrygian rock-cut tombs and other monuments are near settlements, they are naturally also near the water sources that support such settlements; see Haspels 1971, 99n140, 134n68.

21. Haspels 1971.

22. Devreker and Vermeulen 1991; Tüfekçi Sivas 2003; 2004; 2005.

23. Fiedler and Taşlıalan 2002. See also Talloen et al. 2006; Coulton 2012, 160–62, 433; Kahya 2012, 21–22. For rock-cut tombs of Lycian and other types in Pisidia, see Kahya 2012, 17–20.

24. Ekinci 2006; 2007; Özsait and Özsait 2007; Coulton 2012, 157–59. For Lydian pottery allegedly from another grave in this area (at Düver, near Burdur in northwestern Pisidia), see Greenewalt 1968, 139–50; Cahill 2010, no. 105. See Kahya 2012, 13, 22–23, for other Lydian elements at Düver. For Lydian domination of Pisidia, see also Brandt 1992, 25–26; Hürmüzlü 2009, 494.

25. Henry 2003; 2009, 215–20; Ratté 2009, 144–47; 2012. These tombs have not been included in the catalog (Appendix A) but will be referenced as comparanda in the notes.

26. Ratté 2012, 43.

27. Hdt. 1.173, 777; A.S. Hall 1986; Syme 1995, 185–89; Keen 1998, 19–20; Özgen 1998, 604; Lockwood 2011, 4–5; Hüllden 2011, 504.

28. Dörtlük 1988a; 1988b; 1990; Özgen and Özgen 1988, 32–33; Varinlioğlu 1992; Özgen et al. 1996, 27; Keen 1998, 20, 29; Börker-Klähn 2003; Talloen et al. 2006; Coulton 2012, 158.

29. Mellink 1971; 1972b; 1974a; 1976a; 1976b; Özgen et al. 1996, 47; Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998.

30. Bryce 1986, 116–27; Lockwood 2011; Hüllden 2011.

31. Hüllden 2011, 496; Lockwood, forthcoming.

32. Kasper 1967; 1976–77. See Foss 1979 and Roosevelt 2003, 321, on the different possible routes from Sardis to Ephesos; French 1997 for a Hellenistic distance marker (stadion stone) found near Belevi, recording its distance from both Ephesos and Sardis. On the later mausoleum, see Praschniker and Theuer 1979. For other tumuli in Ionia, though none with evidence for *klinai*, see Philipp 1981; Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.2.

33. Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.2. For intermarriages and other connections between Lydia and Ephesos, see J. Hall 2002, 102; Şare 2010, 64. For an Archaic dating of the tumulus (even though cult activity there continued through the Roman

period), see Kasper 1967, 13; 1976–77. Part of the *krepis* wall was apparently finished in the Hellenistic era: see Kasper 1967, 15–16.

34. Sevinç 1996; Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998; Sevinç, Rose, and Strahan 1999; Sevinç, Körpe, et al., 2001; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 72–76.

35. İren 2012; Cat. 58–59. See also “Afterword,” p. 281.

36. Akat 1975; Kütük 1995; Kökten Ersoy 1998. For a fifth-century inscription from Uyuçık in Mysia with both Phrygian and Lydian linguistic elements, see Cox and Cameron 1932; Woudhuizen 1993.

37. Richter 1926; 1966.

38. Ransom 1905.

39. Laser 1968; Ahlberg 1971.

40. Kyrieleis 1969.

41. Kyrieleis explains (1969, 2) that no Lydian material was included because few examples had been published with photographs.

42. Heuzey 1873; Heuzey and Daumet 1876.

43. E.g., his reference to the “Lydian tombs of Caere”: Heuzey 1873, 312.

44. Heuzey 1873, 507. For Spiegelthal’s excavations, see von Olfers 1858; p. 93 in Chapter 2.

45. Vollmoeller 1901a.

46. Vollmoeller 1901b; Kourouniotis 1899, 221–34. The tombs have recently been restudied: Huguenot 2008.

47. Choisy 1876. See Cat. 5–7.

48. Texier 1849; Benndorf and Nieman 1884; Perrot and Chipiez 1892.

49. Vollmoeller 1901a, 5, with n. 1. Allusions to the wooden prototypes of the decorated examples (e.g., pp. 5, 15) complicate this developmental scheme.

50. Steingraber 1979.

51. Sismanidis 1997.

52. Twenty-two of the thirty-five entries are for *klinai*; the other thirteen are for *kline*-shaped objects. Tomlinson (1993) also provides a brief summary of the evidence for burial *klinai* in Macedonia. For evidence discovered since the completion of Sismanidis’s work, see Delemen 2004; 2006; Andrianou 2009, 39–50.

53. Andrianou 2009, 39–50. Her cat. nos. 21–46 present tombs that were not included in Sismanidis’s study and contemporary evidence outside Macedonia, including Tekirdağ in Turkish Thrace. Negative evidence for decayed, wooden beds

Notes to Introduction and Chapter 1

(floor cuttings or a few inlay pieces) is excluded from the study but listed in a lengthy footnote (162–63n94).

54. Huguenot 2008, 1:112: “L’origine de la coutume des lits funéraires mériterait d’être étudiée de manière approfondie, car elle pose la question des échanges entre l’Orient et l’Occident.”

55. Gossel 1980, 58; Tomlinson 1987, 307; Paspalas 2000a, 552; Steingraber 2000, 53–59; Venit 2002, 18–19; Delemen 2004, 32; Huguenot 2008, 1:111–12.

56. E.g. Steingraber 2000; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a.

57. The term “banqueting” usually refers to simultaneous eating and drinking. Philologists and classical archaeologists often distinguish between feasting/banqueting and the drinking party known to have followed the meal in ancient Greece, the *symposion*: see Goldstein 1978, 1; Murray 1994, 48. Since the *kline* served as the location for both dining and the leisurely drinking that customarily followed it in Greece, both “banquet” and “symposion” will be used here to refer to the whole event rather than its individual phases. Cf. Bergquist 1990, 37.

58. Dentzer (1982, 536) only briefly raises the question of whether *kline* arrangements in some tombs could be related to ritual funerary banquets.

59. Fehr 1971; Dentzer 1971.

60. Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Fabricius 1999.

61. Baughan, forthcoming.

62. Roosevelt 2009, 136.

63. E.g., nineteenth-century *post mortem* photography in America, where the dead are pictured in bed as if sleeping (Ruby 1995, 63–74), or the placement of greenery “blankets” on graves in winter in some parts of the United States today. For Anglo-Saxon burial beds, see Speake 1989; Pollington 2008, 61–62; Simmons 2011; and a recent discovery at Trumpington Meadows: “Mystery of Anglo-Saxon Teen Buried in Bed with Gold Cross,” University of Cambridge Research News, March 16, 2012 (<http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/mystery-of-anglo-saxon-teen-buried-in-bed-with-gold-cross/>) (accessed October 23, 2012).

64. Ucko 1969.

65. Morris 1992, 17–18. See also Pader 1982, 36–44, on ritual. For surveys of archaeological approaches to burial evidence, see Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Härke 1997; and Parker Pearson 2000.

66. Morris 1992, 19. See also Ucko 1969, 265; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 206.

67. Blackburn 2005, 92–93; Aram Tarr and Blackburn 2008, no. 45.

68. Eicher and Erekosima 1987. These ethnographic comparisons are further explored in Baughan, forthcoming.

69. Shennan 1989, 6–14; Jones 1997, 106–10.

70. J. Hall 1995, 9. See also J. Hall 1997, 17–33; Jones 1997, 106–10; J. Hall 2002, 9–17; 2007, 48–49.

71. J. Hall 2002, 9, 17. Cf. Shennan 1989, 14.

72. Antonaccio 2010. See also Jones 2007, 48–53.

73. De Vos 1975, 16–17; Hodder 1982; Pasztory 1989; Graves-Brown, Jones, and Gamble 1996, 7; Jones 1997, 84, 91–97; J. Hall 2002, 10, 21–22. See de Vos 1975, 6–7, on the psychological nature of group definitions.

74. For reviews of the different types of stylistic variation outlined by anthropologists (“emblemic” versus “assertive,” “isochrestic” versus “iconological”), see Shennan 1989, 18–22; Gunter 2009, 92–94. Also: Conkey 1990; Conkey and Hastorf 1990; Jones 1997, 121–22; Wright 2004, 135.

75. Conkey 1990, 7–11; Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 4; Jones 1997, 112–16. Gunter (2009, 93–94), however, urges caution in interpreting even the most active types of stylistic variation (“assertive” or “iconological”) and stresses the importance of context.

76. Cf. Wright 2004 on Mycenaean feasting.

77. J. Hall 2004, 39.

78. Antonaccio 2010, 36. See also Papalexandrou 2010, 41.

79. Van Dommelen 2006.

80. For this term applied to Achaemenid Anatolia, see M.C. Miller 2007, 68; 2011, 97.

81. The concept of an international Achaemenid elite network is borrowed from assessments of an “international Achaemenid style” of metalwork, introduced by Melikian-Chirvani 1993. On the significance of visual hybridity in “international styles,” see Feldman 2006.

82. Available at <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>.

83. Briant 1996, 345, 363–66, 498.

CHAPTER 1. ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK *KLINAI*

1. Burnyeat 1999, 245. On this multifunctionality, see also Boardman 1990, 127; Huguenot 2008, 1:112–13.

2. Kyrieleis 1969. Richter (1966) calls them couches with round and rectangular legs, respectively.

3. Alkman fr. 19 (Page); Xenophanes fr. 18 (Diehl). See Chapter 3 for a full discussion of these sources.

4. As a banquet couch: e.g., Hdt. 9.16; Ar. *Ach.* 1090, *Eccl.* 840; Xen. *Anab.* 4.4.21. As a bed for sleeping: e.g., Ar. *Plut.* 527. As a bed used in times of illness: e.g., Hdt. 6.136; Isoc. *Aegineticus* 24, 26; Is. *Philoctemon* 35; Andoc. *On the Mysteries* 61.8, 64.6. See also Ar. *Lys.* 575, 732, for use by women as a surface for sorting wool, perhaps a play on the “spinning hetaira.” Not until the Roman period are there distinct terms differentiating couches used for banqueting from those used for sleeping (*lectus triclinaris* and *lectus cubicularis*): Mau 1897, 370; Ransom 1905, 15; Rodenwaldt 1921, 847. Andrianou (2006b, 567, 571n82) coined the term “bed-couch” as a translation of *kline*, but her claim that the *kline* “combined the roles of modern bed and sofa” is misleading, since sofas today are more often used for sitting upright than reclining, and it omits the banqueting significance of ancient couches; see also Andrianou 2009, 31.

5. For a *kline* used for sleeping after a symposion, see Pl. *Symp.* 217d.

6. Boardman 1990, 127.

7. Late Corinthian amphora, B18; and the murder of Itys (?) on an Attic red-figure cup, B128.

8. See also B293, 295. Representations of sleep are relatively rare in Greek vase painting and limited to mythical contexts (maenads, Medusa, Herakles, Semele, Ariadne), where sleeping figures often rest upon rocks, like the maenad on a red-figure hydria in Rouen (B172), or on cushions without supporting furniture indicated, as on the name vase of the Semele Painter in Berkeley (B349). A red-figure fragment from Aigina (B334) shows a sleeping satyr on what may be a *kline* of non-standard type. See also McNally 1985.

9. Andrianou (2009, 17) also cautions against using vase painting as evidence for use-context.

10. See also a red-figure cup fragment from Athens (B162), on which a veiled woman sits holding a mirror beside the end of a *kline*, with a dwarf at her side; a white-ground kylix interior with a woman standing between a *kline* and chair, holding a box (B300); a red-figure epinetron showing the nuptial preparations of Alkestis (B329); and a *kline* shown through a half-open door in another scene of bridal preparation (on B314). Dionysos and Ariadne approach a *kline* as marriage bed on a black-figure amphora, B95. See also Boardman 1990, 127; Kauffmann-Samaras 1990; Carpenter 1995.

11. See “Origins of the Type A and B Schemes: Milesian and Chian?” below and Chapter 3.

12. Hdt. 6.58: ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένῃ.

13. *IG* XII.5, 593, lines 6, 13–14; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 200–201; Garland 1989, 11–13; Sismanidis 1997, 233–34.

14. As Knigge (1976, 83) suggests. The term is found only here, but since other σφην- compounds describe the physical appearance of things like beards (σφηνοπώγων), we can assume it refers to the shape of the feet (or legs). Andrianou (2009, 32) explains this term as “a unique description of the architectural form of the leg”; Seaford (1994, 77) interprets it as a descriptor for *klinai* with “simple legs”; Sismanidis (1997, 240) implies that it could not describe couches made for regular household use, since pointed, wedge-shaped feet would be impractical, but the stipulation that the *kline* be returned to the home after the funeral of course indicates otherwise. Wedge-shaped feet are not known from Attica or elsewhere in the Greek world but are found in Near Eastern art, with the pointed/narrow part of the wedge pointing down or up: see, e.g., Assurbanipal’s “Garden Party” relief (Fig. 133) and a Phoenician bowl from Cyprus (Fig. 135). For pinecone-shaped feet on Assyrian thrones and tables, see J. Curtis 1996, 169, figs. 2, 4, pls. 50–52; Seidl 1996, 184.

15. In both cases, the deceased is wrapped tightly in a burial shroud with only the head exposed, supported on a pillow, and fillets hang above from a vault-like ceiling. On B302 only a simple resting surface/platform is indicated, within a vaulted space hung with fillets. On B304 the corpse lies on a Type B *kline* with volute capital. Oakley (2004, 150), however, cautions against reading these vases as representations of the dead person occupying the tomb since they combine *prothesis* and grave imagery. It is possible that the vault-like space could be meant not as a tomb interior but as the exterior of a rounded tumulus/tomb monument, as seen on some other white-ground lekythoi; compare another lekythos attributed to the same painter in Munich, B303, with a deceased woman seated before her tomb in “ein erinnerndes Lebensbild”: Kunze-Götte 2010, 28. By analogy, the figures lying on *klinai* on these two lekythoi could be similarly imagined before their tombs. But it is, in any case, uncertain whether the conjured image shows an abbreviated *prothesis*, as Carboni (2007, 28–29) has suggested, or an interior view of the tomb.

16. *Leg.* 12.947b–e, transl. Bury 1968. See also Vollmoeller 1901a, 52.

Notes to Chapter 1

17. Carpenter and Bon (1936, 301) summarize this view in their publication of the “Tomb of the Funeral Bed” at Corinth, at first thought to be from the fifth century but now dated to the end of the fourth century and understood as an example of a Macedonian-style tomb in Greece: H.S. Robinson 1962, 133n125; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 280; Huguenot 2008, 1:103n595; Andrianou 2009, 45. For Etruscan burial beds, see Chapter 3.

18. See Cat. 52 (Aktepe). For further discussion of this passage and its relation to the scholarly debate over the origins of the “Macedonian tomb,” see under “A Return to Plato’s *Klinai*” in Chapter 5.

19. As in the funeral of Patroklos, *Il.* 23.171. For Macedonian cremation *klinai*, see Andronikos 1984, 220–21; S.G. Miller 1993, 62–64; Paspalas 2000a, 535n24; Huguenot 2008, 1:228; Andrianou 2009, 44–46, nos. 21, 33–36; p. 268 in Chapter 5. See also under “Evidence for Wooden Couches in Anatolian Tombs” in Chapter 2. For bronze *fulcra* from a third-century funerary pyre near Kertsch in South Russia, see Ransom 1905, 30, 41; Greifenhagen 1930, no. 60; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 71; Faust 1992, fig. 9. For the remains of a couch found along with burnt bones and jewelry fragments in a cinerary urn in the Kocakızlar tumulus in western Phrygia (late Hellenistic/early Roman), see Atasoy 1974b, 258. For cremation *klinai* of the Roman period, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 429–32.

20. *Ephesian Tale* 3.7.4; *Chaireas and Kallirhoe* 4.1.11; *FGrH II B*, 1171, no. 257. For discussion of these sources, see Vollmoeller 1901a, 50–51; Sismanidis 1997, 232.

21. See Dikaiarchos fr. 97.10 (*FHG II* 247; *Ath.* 11.479d–e) for reclining on the left elbow while playing *kottabos*, a symposion game; Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 6 (ἐπ’ ἀγκῶνος ἐδειπνοῦμεν). For artistic evidence, see *infra* and Dentzer 1982.

22. E.g., Roebuck 1951, figs. 13–14, pl. 14.4; Tomlinson 1969, pl. 49c; Goldstein 1978, 301, 303. Thus, it is jarring to see a modern wooden replica of an ancient *kline* on one of the couch-platforms at Brauron with its head end placed toward the left, as in a photo arranged for *Life* magazine and reproduced in Robsjohn-Gibbings and Pullin 1963, 23, which shows the same replica with head end on the left side in two additional displays (pp. 27, 114–15).

23. Neils 1995, 434; Kienast 1992, 19. See also Klinger 1997, 345: “toward the right.”

24. E.g., Heinrich 2007, 102n19; Kreuzer 1998, 169, 172. The inconsistency probably depends on whether one’s perspective

is that of the person reclining or that of one facing the person reclining (or representation thereof).

25. See McManus 2002, 41–52, on the relativity and resulting complexity of “left” and “right.”

26. Boardman 1990, 125; see also Mazzarello and Harari 2007, 753. Archaeological and osteological evidence suggests that, in antiquity as today, most people were right-handed: see Toth 1985; McManus 2002, 6, 202–10; Cashmore, Uomini, and Chapelain 2008; Lozano et al. 2009. For a discussion of linguistic evidence for the same, see Dirckx 1988, 454–56. For a cup clutched in the left hand in an Archaic burial at Akraiphia, see Andreiomenou 1994, 108–9, fig. 9.

27. Cannon 1911, 167.

28. Small 1971, 50, on Etruscan mold-made terracotta reliefs and stamped impasto vessels.

29. This explanation is especially compelling for decorative metal attachments: e.g., Dentzer 1982, fig. 179; Gjødese 1948, 10, figs. 1–2. See also the silver bowl from Kourion discussed in Chapter 3 (Fig. 134). The cover illustration of the November/December 2010 issue of *Archaeology*, showing an Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus from Caere with couple apparently reclining “to the left,” was printed backward: cf. Brigue 1989, pls. 1–2.

30. Mannack 2001, 101. See, e.g., a *kottabos*-player in the tondo attributed to the Clinic Painter in Palermo, B236, and a youth on a red-figure kylix attributed to the Painter of Bologna 417, B309. These interesting representations deserve closer analysis. McNiven’s view (2012) that they provide evidence for outdoor symposia or situations where *klinai* were not always placed against a wall requires an overly literal reading of vase scenes. For the lack of connection between the actual space of a symposion room and the depictions of sympotic activity on vases, see T.J. Smith 2010, 56–57, 66–67.

31. De Marinis 1961, no. 1, pl. 3; Hampe and Simon 1964, 35–40, pls. 12–15.

32. An inlaid wooden *kline* of the same type from the Kera-meikos (see *infra* under “Physical Remains”) was decorated on only one face. But of course the vase-painter may have added such decoration even to the “back” of a couch in order to indicate that these couches are ornate, in the same way that the Geometric artist paints “what he knows to be there” rather than how things would actually look. But what would be the reason for showing the goddesses from behind? For the Late Mannerists, this approach seems to have been driven by a

fascination with the anatomy of the twisting back (or a virtuosic display of representing that anatomy), but these goddesses are completely covered. Perhaps, then, they really are reclining “to the left” (on their right elbows) and are truly exceptional.

33. Small 1971, 50.

34. Hampe and Simon 1964, 35n7. However, a symposium scene with male pairs occupying simple couches in the more conventional orientation occurs on a “Pontic” oinochoe, B133. A satyr reclining toward the left on a couch on another “Pontic” amphora in Copenhagen, B132, is in an odd, twisted position, and it is difficult to tell whether he is meant to be perceived from behind, like the figures noted above (*supra* n. 30). And even a fifth-century Etruscan bronze plaque from Este shows a banqueting figure reclining toward the left: Bonfante 2011, fig. 8.6.

35. B13. The reclining figure is bearded and holds a cup toward a standing man to the right. A table is shown beneath the couch.

36. B104, in a ship sprouting vines. See also Dionysos leaning to the left (on his right elbow) on the Pronomos vase, B347, but the context here is his coupling with Ariadne, so the couch may be conceived more as a nuptial bed than a sympotic *kline* (on the type, with *fulcra*, see below).

37. B146.

38. Poliyiros Museum T1370, attributed to the Albertinum Group: Kaltsas 1998, 47, pl. 35; 2000, pls. 15, 20–22. At first glance all the symposiasts appear to be reclining toward the left, but those on the leftmost and rightmost couches are in fact shown partly from behind, and the man on the right couch clearly leans on his left elbow, in keeping with the normal convention. The man on the middle couch, however, appears to be depicted from the front, leaning on his right elbow, departing from the convention. This could be an attempt to create the spatial illusion of a dining room with couches facing each other; but since this is the only known depiction of a banquet or symposium on a Klazomenian sarcophagus, the unusual features of the scene could also be explained by the artists’ unfamiliarity with conventions of depiction, as most painters of Klazomenian sarcophagi are thought *not* to have been pot-painters: Cook and Dupont 1998, 128. The unconventional direction of reclining is just one of many peculiarities in the scene: a servant ladles wine directly (undiluted?) from the mouth of an amphora; a dove/pigeon drinks wine from a kylix on one of the tables; beneath other tables are a partridge,

a dog, a hen, and a cock (who is busy cleaning his toenails); a pointed amphora rests upright on some sort of stand or stabilizing base; and the food items on the tables are not the usual strips of meat and roundish cakes but only fruit (apples and pomegranates). Figures apparently reclining “to the left” on fragmentary friezes from Samos and Ephesos are also worth noting, though their pictorial contexts are unknown and their identification as banqueters is not secure: Pryce 1928, 84, no. B203, fig. 125; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 226, no. 158, pl. 93; Muss 1983, 149, 157; Muss 1994, 81, 86.

39. Dentzer 1982, as noted also by Mazzarello and Harari 2007, 753. Almost all of the exceptions belong to symmetrically arranged pairs and may be explained by a desire for symmetry (*supra* n. 29); those that cannot be so explained all occur on a Cypro-Phoenician bowl from Salamis, discussed below (see Fig. 135 in Chapter 3).

40. E.g., the lid of an LMIIIB larnax in Rethymnon: Baxevani 1995, figs. 10–11; Immerwahr 1995, 118n7; and an LHIIIC krater from a chamber tomb at Elis: Rutter 2003, fig. 29; and n. 95 in Chapter 3. A possible exception is Tanagra larnax no. 4, where the head of the deceased is at the left, if the scene is read as a *prothesis* in combined perspective (with the bed surface depicted as if seen from above), rather than the placement of the dead person in a chest or larnax, as normally supposed: see Vermeule 1979, 63, fig. 2.20; Demakopoulou and Konsola 1981, 82; Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 55–59; Immerwahr 1995, 111–12; Burke 2008, fig. 4.2. For combined perspective, see Ahlberg 1971, 50, 53; Tölle 1963, figs. 17–18. Exceptions in later Greek art are listed by Mommsen 1997, 18n133. Some of these may be explained by a need for symmetry (*supra* n. 29), as on one of a mirrored-pair of ivory plaques from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary showing the *prothesis* of “Hektor,” perhaps from a pair of fibulae: Dawkins 1929, 210–11; Marangou 1969, 50–53, nos. 23–24, figs. 38–39. A “backward” *prothesis* on a lekythos in Stockholm has been explained by Burns (1994, 39–40) as one of a pair of lekythoi placed on either side of a grave. As with exceptions to the conventional direction for banqueting scenes, on the other hand, some have no such explanation: on the Telephos frieze of the “Great Altar” of Pergamon, for instance, the Amazon Hiera lies on her funeral couch with head toward the left: Dreyfus and Schraudolph 1996, 74–75, no. 12. See also an unusual Phoenician grave stele from Athens: Stager 2005.

41. *Supra* n. 15.

Notes to Chapter 1

42. Just as the winning side in most battle or confrontational scenes in Greek art usually moves toward the right: see Luscheay 2002. On the favorable symbolic associations of “right” (as opposed to “left”), see McManus 2002, 16–40.

43. As the locations of decorative inlays within two tombs in the Kerameikos suggest (see below under “Type B: Physical Remains”). In both cases, the pieces were found along one long side of the shaft grave, on the skeleton’s left side.

44. Supra n. 42.

45. See Topper 2012, 122, fig. 47 and infra n. 52 for notable exceptions. The pattern appears at first glance to be reversed on the Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos (here Fig. 10), but these symposiasts are in fact represented from behind.

46. Kritias fr. 1 Diels and Kranz (Ath. 13.600e); Pl. *Symp.* 175c, 177d, 214b–c; Pl. *Resp.* 420e; Dionysios Khalkos fr. 1W (Ath. 15.668e–69e); Plut. *Mor.* 619b; Ath. 11.463e–64a; Poll. 6.108. See also Goldstein 1978, 319n454; Neils 1995, 441; McManus 2002, 34; Węcowski 2002a, 629; 2002b, 350–52. For the meaning of ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ as “counterclockwise” in other contexts, see Braunlich 1936.

47. See Hdt. 5.18–20; Isaios 3.14; Dem., *Against Neaera* 33; Cic. *Verr.* 1.66; Dentzer 1982, 432; Reinsberg 1989; Kurke 1997; Burton 1998.

48. Kurke 1999, 206. See also Peschel 1987, 70–74, 110–12; Reinsberg 1989, 112–14; Kurke 1997; Topper 2009, 21; 2012, 119–21. Sappho fr. 94 line 21 seems to involve women reclining “on soft bedding” (στρωμνὰ), but the context is uncertain.

49. Both schemes are found on so-called Totenmahl reliefs: Fabricius 1999, 115, 173, 229, 284. Some vase paintings of symposia (especially on late black-figure lekythoi and oinochoai) include seated women, but their identity is unclear. They are variously identified as hetairai, maenads, or Ariadne: see, e.g., B83, 173, 176, 181; Topper 2012, 129–30; and infra n. 50. See also representations of women standing and seated at tables while dining without the company of men, perhaps in a ritual context: B75, 80, 141; Hatzivassiliou 2010, 44, nos. 808–10.

50. See Boardman 1990, 124; Carpenter 1995; Pala 2007; Topper 2012, 114–18. For Ariadne seated on Dionysos’s couch: Figs. 13, 27 (where she is named in an inscribed label), 163; B97, 98, 99, 356. Seated on a stool to the left while Dionysos reclines on the groundline: B82. Reclining on a couch or groundline with Dionysos: B65, 66, and (possibly) B96, 140. But the identification of female figures shown with Dionysos is often uncertain; even the identification of reclining male

figures as Dionysos can be difficult when attributes are not clear, as for instance on B27, which is identified as “Dionysos and Ariadne at symposium” in *LIMC* Dionysos no. 756, even though the scene has no supernatural elements. On *LIMC* Dionysos no. 759 (B138), a satyr playing the aulos supports an identification of the male figure as Dionysos, but the female figure could be a maenad just as easily as Ariadne. When multiple women are shown with Dionysos, they are usually identified as maenads but are indistinguishable from those who are shown singly with him. And when do a reclining bearded man and accompanying woman (whatever her pose) become “Dionysos and Ariadne”? The obvious answer is: when the man holds an attribute of Dionysos, like the kantharos or vine, but these attributes are so intertwined with general sympotic attributes that it is often difficult to say when Dionysos is clearly meant. When satyrs are present, as on B65 and B99, noted above, this identification is more secure, but some compositions without such attributes or obviously supernatural participants are quite similar. The olpe in Geneva catalogued as *LIMC* Dionysos no. 760 (B84), for instance, is one of numerous small, late black-figure vases that have the same basic composition, with minor variations and no overt signs of divinity: a wreathed man reclining on a couch, turning toward a woman seated at the right, also wreathed, with vines or ivy behind, a table in front with hanging strips of meat, and a dog below. See also B135, 174, 175, and 177 (Fig. 163); the vases noted supra n. 49; Carpenter 1995, 155; Pala 2007, 158–59; Lemos 2008, 124, figs. 3, 7. Perhaps, though, we should not worry so much about precise identification, since real couples could “become” Dionysos and Ariadne just as male symposiasts could “play the satyr.” And perhaps the banquet of Dionysos and Ariadne should be understood more as a nuptial celebration than as a symposium, as Carpenter has suggested for B89; on the same vase, Topper (2012, 118) has noted the seemingly “antithetical nature” of wedding and symposium and suggests that the satyrs on the opposite side may indicate that the episode is meant to be perceived as part of a satyr play. See also Hatzivassiliou 2010, 12, where such scenes are described as “generic” rather than related to a specific moment in the couple’s narrative.

51. Fehr 1971, 124, nos. 541–43; M. Bell 1981, nos. 85–94, 478, 483; Vienneis-Schlörb 1997, 316, no. 117, pl. 24; Kilker 2009. For the one with *krotaloi*, see Jantzen 1937, pl. 2.8–9; Fehr 1971, no. 541; Dentzer 1982, 217, no. B25.

52. Arist., *Customs of the Tyrrhenians* fr. 472 (Ath. 1.23d). See Shapiro 2000, 316–17, 330–33, for Attic vases of the Perizoma Group that show men reclining together with relatively modest women, perhaps aimed at Etruscan buyers. The woman may even occupy the superior position at the far right of the couch, as on stamnoi in Los Angeles (B90) and Berlin (B91). Topper (2012, 48), however, has suggested that these scenes may have been meant as depictions of an imagined Athenian past.

53. Cornelius Nepos, *Lives*, praef. 6. On the question of women's posture at Roman convivia, see Roller 2006, 96–156.

54. *IG* XI.2, 144A, lines 65–71; *IDēlos* 1442A, line 18; Tomlinson 1969, 170; Börker 1983, 12.

55. Especially on kylikes attributed to Late Archaic painters like the Brygos Painter, the Foundry Painter, and Makron: e.g., Fig. 57 (tondo); B201, 204, 205, 227, 231. See also a red-figure pyxis in Athens, B298.

56. Kopcke 1967, 131–35, figs. 13–14, Beil. 72–74; Bound 1991a, fig. 63; 1991b, fig. 86; Cristofani 1995, 132. For Roman wooden couches or beds, see Mols 1999, 35–42.

57. Robinson and Graham 1938, 171–85; H.A. Thompson 1968, 49–52; Goldstein 1978, 302, 357, table B; Börker 1983, 12; Camp 1986, 123–24; Cahill 2002, 80, 180; Leypold 2008, 148–50; Andrianou 2009, 35.

58. Bouras 1967, 74–77, figs. 54–57, pl. 16; Börker 1983, 18, fig. 19; Leypold 2008, 48–52, 148, pls. 29–33.

59. Goldstein 1978, 118.

60. Leypold 2008, 154–63, with critical consideration of the use of room measurements as an indicator of dining function, on the assumption that *kline*-lengths were standard. See also Goldstein 1978, 299, 302–4; Richter 1966, 53.

61. E.g., Alkman fr. 19 (Page); Ath. 2.47e–48a; Roebuck 1951, fig. 13; Goldstein 1978, 118; Börker 1983, 13; Bergquist 1990, 37.

62. Goldstein 1978, 304–5; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 399–400.

63. Mau 1897, 370; Richter 1966, 53; Laser 1968, 26–32; Faust 1992, 85; Mols 1999, 36–37, with n. 136; Andrianou 2006a, 233; 2006b, 571–72; 2009, 32; and for *tainiai* in Arr., *Anab.* 6.29.10, see nn. 12 and 17 in Chapter 3. For *tonoi* of leather (?), see Hdt. 9.118, where they are boiled for food in a time of necessity. In the Roman period, interlocking slats of wood could also be used, as carbonized remains at Herculaneum testify: Mols 1999, 36. The “planked” (σανιδωτάς) *klinai* mentioned in a sanctuary inventory from Delos of the second century BCE

(*IDēlos* 1403BbII, lines 29–30; Andrianou 2006b, 571; 2009, 144) could possibly refer to a planked rather than laced bed surface; but these *klinai* also have attached tables that could be pulled out from under them (τραπέζια ὑπόσπαστα) and are thus unique among known evidence for ancient *klinai*. Andrianou (2009, 32) cites Poll. 10.35 for lacings of tortoiseshell, but the text only lists this material (χελώνης) among others used on *klinai* (ivory, boxwood, and maple), not in connection with τόνοι.

64. See, e.g., one of the Mycenaean larnakes from Tanagra: Burke 2008, fig. 4.2 (supra n. 40); a Late Geometric krater, B7; and a seventh-century pinax from Attica: Boston Museum of Fine Arts 27.146 (*BAPD* no. 3748), Vermeule 1979, 19, fig. 13. For Near Eastern examples, see N. Cholidis 1992, pl. 22, no. 20, pl. 24, no. 41; Kubba 2006, fig. 6.21a. Those with herringbone or zigzag patterns may represent another type of bed surface, composed of more tightly woven materials: cf., e.g., N. Cholidis 1992, pl. 23, nos. 28, 36; Kubba 2006, fig. 6.21c–d. Both types are found in Egypt: e.g., Baker 1966, figs. 5, 136, 154, 170.

65. Filow 1934, 119–26, figs. 143–50; Richter 1966, fig. 216; Kopcke 1967, Beil. 74.

66. *Il.* 3.448, 24.720; *Od.* 1.440, 3.399, 7.345, 10.12. The phrase is often therefore translated simply as “corded beds.” See also Hesychios τ1324.1: τοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἀρμογὰς τετρημένοις, ἢ ἱμαντωτοῖς. ἱμάσι γὰρ ἐνετεινοντο αἱ κλῖναι, ὥς καὶ τὰ βάθρα; Apion fr. 137n (S. 154, 16): ἱμάσι γὰρ ἐνετεινοντο αἱ κλῖναι; Laser 1968, 31–32; Macleod 1982, 147–48: “the fibres which criss-cross to make the surface of the bed proper are threaded through the holes in the bedstead.” Liddell and Scott diverge from ancient lexicographers in proposing the meaning “inlaid” for this use of the adjective τρητός, but representational and archaeological evidence suggests that Homeric poets were more likely to have had “corded” than “inlaid” beds in mind.

67. *IDēlos* 1416AI, line 38, 1417BI, line 38. Andrianou 2006b, 571–72; 2009, 113, 145.

68. E.g., Prokrustes’ bed on a cup attributed to the Penthesilea Painter, B286.

69. See also B243, 319, Prokrustes’ bed on B286, and the bands separating the rosettes on the rails of the *klinai* on B23 (Fig. 34). Bands are also represented on the rails of chairs and stools: e.g., on one of the funerary plaques of Exekias, Berlin F1813, *Para.* 60 (*BAPD* no. 350506); also Richter 1966, figs. 200, 223, 227–29. In at least one case (on B32), cords are shown

Notes to Chapter 1

wrapped vertically around the end of a front rail, in the location often occupied by horizontal rays (see below). Traces of red and blue vertical bands painted on the front edge of the bedslab of the *kline* from the Kızılbel Tumulus (Cat. 68) may also replicate this structural feature: see Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 19; p. 129 in Chapter 2.

70. See Figs. 3, 14, 15, 27, 32d, 33, 35a–c, i, 36g; B341. See also the left couch in a symposium scene on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, *supra* n. 38 (Fig. 10).

71. For vertically placed tenons, see Figs. 15, 36a, 55; B201, 298. On the bronze *kline* in the Getty Museum (Fig. 23), the tenons on the long faces are horizontal while those on the short ends are vertical. On a red-figure column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter (B196), the short end of one couch is shown to the right of the long face of another couch, as one might encounter *klinai* in the real space of an andron, and both the front and side tenons are depicted horizontally.

72. Cf. some of the “Branchidai” enthroned statues: Pryce 1928, pls. 12, 14; Tuchelt 1970, pls. 48, 50, 58. See also Kyrieleis 1969, fig. 24, for a schematic drawing of this method of joinery.

73. See especially the bilingual amphora with Herakles feasting (Fig. 3), where the level of the tenon on the black-figure side is well below the level of the rail, which aligns impossibly with the volute capital. Simpson (2002, 312–14) uses this detail, among other differences in the couches depicted on each side, to support the identification of two different painters’ hands on this vase.

74. See also a kylix attributed to Douris (B261). Occasionally, additional horizontal lines create a grid effect: e.g., B89, 130, and (on a vertically placed tenon), B257 (here Fig. 55 tondo).

75. Bound 1991b, 236, fig. 86.

76. On Near Eastern ivory beds and couches, see Amos 3.12, 6.4–7; Kyrieleis 1969, 45–53; Dentzer 1971, 226–27; Karageorghis 1973, pls. 66–67; Barnett 1975, 117–19, 129–30; Mittmann 1976; I.J. Winter 1976, 25–26; Muscarella 1980, 208–9; Barnett 1982, 47, pls. 52b, 55; Dentzer 1982, 54–55; Barnett 1985, 3; King 1989, 102–3; Boardman 1990, 126; Beach 1993; Murray 1994, 48; Carter 1995, 300–305; Stronach 1995, 195n25; Caubet and Yon 1996, 62, 69–71; Karageorghis 2002, fig. 350; Cecchini 2009, 98; and under “Origins of the Reclining Banquet” in Chapter 3. A Near Eastern paternity is often claimed for inlaid couches in the Mediterranean: e.g., Carter 1995, 305; Naso 2007, 20–29. References to ivory-clad furniture in Homer (e.g., *Od.* 23.199–200) are inconclusive, as they may reflect knowledge

of Near Eastern furnishings, as Matthäus (2009, 321–22) suggests, or they could be connected with ivory-carving traditions in Bronze Age Greece.

77. See “Origins of the Type A and B Schemes,” below, and under “Origins of the Reclining Banquet” in Chapter 3. Von Hofsten (2007, 42) suggests that lion imagery on some *klinai* represented in Athenian vase painting was inspired by imported Near Eastern ivory decoration, but the argument is somewhat circular, as the evidence adduced to support the idea that such imported ivories decorated furniture is the inlaid *kline* from the Kerameikos, of standard (Greek) Type B form (see Fig. 43 and under “Type B: Physical Remains,” below). While the use of lions as decorative motifs on couch rails may indeed owe something to Near Eastern models (see *infra* nn. 210–11 and Figs. 29 and 38), this is not a standard element of the Type B scheme.

78. Nicholls 1979; Letta 1984; Béraud and Gébara 1986; Faïta 1989; Faust 1989, 23–26; Bianchi 2000, 95–136; St. Clair 2003, 28, fig. 3.9; Croom 2007, 37–38; Sapelli Ragni 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 429–32; Bianchi 2010; and see below under “Persian Turnings.”

79. Schiering and Mallwitz 1991, 162, pl. 55a; St. Clair 2003, 25, fig. 3.7.

80. Plato *Com. fr.* 208: “ivory-footed *klinai*” are mentioned in connection with “dyed-purple coverings and Sardian-red cloths” and other luxury items.

81. *Dem.* 27.10, 30; Ransom 1905, 39; Andrianou 2009, 33, 42.

82. Kyrieleis 1969, 141. For the gold *kline* said to have been located in the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, see under “Persian Precedent?” in Chapter 3.

83. *Hdt.* 1.50. See also beds of gold and silver in the Book of Esther (1.6), probably from the time of Xerxes: Mitchell 1996, 57.

84. *Hdt.* 9.80.

85. *Hdt.* 9.82. See also Dentzer 1982, 431n14; M.C. Miller 1997, 53–55; p. 255 in Chapter 4.

86. *Xen. An.* 4.4.21; Phainias the Peripatetic, *fr.* 27 Wehrli (*Ath.* 2.48d); Klearchos, *Gergithios fr.* 19 Wehrli (*Ath.* 6.255e). As Mattusch has suggested (1991, 528), it is worth considering whether such costly couches were really as common as written sources suggest, or whether lesser metals may sometimes have been mistaken for gold and silver.

87. D.B. Thompson 1956, 285–89; Harris 1995, 27, 92–93, 136–37; M.C. Miller 1997, 54.

88. For the Macedonian tomb, see Andrianou 2009, 28, no. 5, fig. 6, from Stavroupolis. The furniture leg from Filippovka was found near Barrow 1 in the fall of 2010 and was reported in Treister 2011. See also Mattusch 1991, 528, for a reference to unpublished silver plating fragments in Basel, from a second-century *kline*.

89. Amandry 1939, 103, nos. 53–54, pl. 34; Kyrieleis 1969, 167–68, pl. 20.3; Amandry 1991, 213–18, figs. 33–34; Lapatin 2001, 57–60. The pieces have small holes (and small silver rivets) for attachment to some other material, probably wood. In Amandry's illustrations the two volutes are arranged in an Ionic configuration, with rivets on a central vertical "join" between the two halves. Kyrieleis (1969, pl. 20.3) orients them differently (and more logically), with each straight/riveted edge on the bottom, so that the two halves spring away from each other in Aeolic fashion. Each volute is ca. 0.04 m in diameter, with eyes ca. 0.01 m wide; the palmettes differ slightly in proportions and details, but both are 0.07 m high and 0.08 m wide and were attached with five silver rivets. The volute eyes were probably inlaid with another material, such as glass; cf. the ivory volute capital from Kul Oba (Plate 6, *infra* n. 256). The deposit as a whole seems to represent the contents of a burned treasury, deliberately buried under the paving stones of the Halos ("Threshing Floor") along the Sacred Way.

90. The legs would be only ca. 0.08 m wide, compared with a width of 0.126 m for the legs of the *kline* from the Kerameikos South Mound (see below), and an estimated width of 0.135 m for the presumed *kline* from Kul Oba: Kyrieleis 1969, 167n578 (*infra* n. 256). Amandry (1939, 103; 1991, 218) suggested that they decorated a throne belonging to one of the chryselephantine statues found in association, while Kyrieleis (1969, 167–68n581) argued that they must have adorned a couch, since the palmettes fall stylistically before or around the middle of the sixth century, prior to the time when Type B throne legs began to carry a volute crowning element (see below). Though Kyrieleis admits wanting to see here the "remains of the famous 'Brandopfer' of Kroisos," he acknowledges that the varying dates of the items in the Halos assemblage "go against such a supposition" (168). In fact, Herodotos gives no indication that the sacrificed *klinai* were ever taken to Delphi—he merely states that they were burned in honor of the god.

91. Plin. *HN* 34.4.9; Deonna 1938, 1; Richter 1966, 58; Siebert 1973, 555, 581–87; Nicholls 1979, 18; Faust 1994, 577; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 422. Whether Pliny's description of

couches *Deliaea specie* ("of Delian appearance") alluded to their place of manufacture, the type of bronze used, or some other aspect of design is not clear, as Andrianou (2009, 33; 2010) has recently stressed. For bronze *kline* parts from Delos, see Andrianou 2009, 34–37, nos. 13–15.

92. Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 378–83, figs. 480–83; Richter 1966, figs. 308, 530–49; Nicholls 1979, 18–19; Faust 1992, figs. 9–16; Boucher 1982; Carruba and Manconi 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 421–25; Andrianou 2009, 35–38. For the gold *klinai* of Ptolemy II (surely extraordinary), *infra* n. 313.

93. See below under "Early Fulcra" and "Persian Turnings." On *fulcra*, see also Faust 1989; Mattusch 1991; Faust 1992; Andrianou 2009, 34–38, 161n70.

94. Thuc. 3.68.3; Kyrieleis 1969, 141–42; Andrianou 2009, 34, 115–16. See also Andrianou 2009, 117, on a fourth-century law from Brauron concerning the recasting of old votives as cult furniture.

95. Baughan 2004, 85–88, 566–85, figs. 224–35; Baughan and Özgen 2012; see under "A Bronze *Kline* from Lydia" in Chapter 2.

96. (1) Vatican inv. 15052, from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere: Pareti 1947, pls. 1, 3, 30–31; Richter 1966, 92; Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, Fig. 24. (2) Another, now lost, from Tarquinia: Avvolta 1829, 91–93, pl. B; Leighton 2004, fig. 5; Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 133n7. A bronze bed in the Campana Collection appears to have been a modern creation, inspired by the Regolini-Galassi bed: see Giglioli 1955, 430; Gaultier 1992, 358.

97. From Tomb 650, now in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem: Petrie 1930, 14, pls. XLV–XLVI; Watzinger 1935, 110, pl. 20, fig. 44; Iliffe 1935, 182–83, pl. 89; Kyrieleis 1969, 141–44, pl. 18.2; Baker 1966, 224, figs. 361–62; Moorey 1980a, 133; Amiran 1981, 3022–23; Stern 1982, 75, figs. 236, 241. Iliffe proposed a date between 450 and 333 BCE, but Stern has suggested a somewhat earlier range in the late sixth/early fifth century. Letters (assembly marks?) inscribed on some of the angle reinforcements have been variously identified as Hebrew (Iliffe), Aramaic (Moorey and Amiran), and Phoenician (Stern). Petrie assigned all the fittings to a single couch; both Watzinger and Iliffe recognized the remains of two different pieces of furniture, with angle reinforcements of different sizes, and thus sorted out the major problems with Petrie's reconstruction. Both couch and stool have legs of the Type A turned variety, but with L-shaped bronze reinforcements at the corners,

Notes to Chapter 1

recalling Assyrian and Urartian furniture: e.g., Baker 1966, fig. 327.

98. As exemplified by the bronze fittings from Tomb 3 at Fontevoile near Gubbio, restored on a wooden framework: Carruba and Manconi 2008, figs. 27–34. See also bronze fittings from the Mahdia shipwreck: Faust 1994, pl. 28. For a furniture leg mold from Delos, see Siebert 1973, fig. 31.

99. As suggested by Kyrieleis 1969, 166; Briguet 1989, 111n20; Naso 2007, 32n80.

100. See, e.g., a black-figure pinax in Paris, Musée du Louvre CA255, *ABV* 90.8 (*BAPD* no. 300835); B117, 278, and 249 (Fig. 36f). For volute eyes inlaid with glass, see Vokotopoulou 1990, fig. 43, pls. 18, 19, 51, 52; *infra* n. 256.

101. Leypold 2008, 146–47. See, e.g., the Hellenistic Asklepieion at Troizen, where the slab supports have a single groove in their top surface for insertion of a board onto which cross-planks were nailed: Welter 1941, 32, pl. 18a–c; Goldstein 1978, 266–69.

102. Leypold 2008, 142–43. See, e.g., the couches in the *hēstiatorion* at Perachora and in the Asklepieion at Corinth: Roebuck 1951, 52–53, figs. 13–14, pl. 14.4; Tomlinson 1969, 164–72, fig. 5 (corrected version in Bookidis 1983), pl. 49a–c; Goldstein 1978, 197–99, 225–26; Tomlinson 1990; Leypold 2008, 117–19, pls. 92–94; Andrianou 2009, 35. Both have couches with concave resting surfaces surrounded by raised borders, with half-round moldings on the front and raised headrests at the right end. The lower part of the front face of each block is cut back in the middle to give the sides the appearance of slab-like, rectangular legs.

103. On such “built couches” (not to be confused with the “built *klinai*” catalogued here, where “built” refers to those constructed from stone slabs and is meant to distinguish them from those carved out of living rock), see Goldstein 1978, 299; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 397; Leypold 2008, 143–46. See also Leypold 2008, 15–18, pls. 1–5, 7a, for similar built-in benches in the Aphaia sanctuary on Aigina, dated to the second half of the seventh century and thus possibly some of the earliest archaeological evidence for the reclining banquet in Greece (see Chapter 3).

104. Bookidis 1990, 88; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 395–402, pls. 15, 19a, 29–32; Leypold 2008, 84–89, pls. 64–71. Some rooms had benches rather than couches, distinguished by narrower width and lack of armrests. See also Goldstein 1978, 176–88.

105. Broneer 1973, 34–46, pls. 56–57; Tomlinson 1969, 169; Goldstein 1978, 210–20, 299; Gebhard 2002. These have raised borders on their front edges and raised headrests on their right ends.

106. Goldstein (1978, 315n442) notes two examples: Herakles and Dionysos on a red-figure cup in Oxford, B274, and a satyr and maenad on a red-figure cup in Rome, B285. See also a red-figure cup attributed to Douris in Basel with satyr and maenad, B240. This kind of simple platform couch may have been meant to evoke a cave setting, as in the cult caves at Isthmia, and these scenes may be seen as variants of those with Dionysos and satyrs reclining on rocks in natural environs, on which see Heinrich 2007.

107. Goldstein 1978, 304, 356, table A; Börker 1983, 13n33; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 398; Leypold 2008, 143.

108. Thus Leypold (2008, 152–54) rejects attempts to read dining function in room measurements alone (through multiples of a standard *kline* length).

109. Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 397.

110. Bookidis 1990, 91. If we assume that the rooms with benches were intended for women dining in a seated position, while the rooms with couches were equipped to allow male diners to recline, the resulting ratio of men to women does not fit the picture given by the votive material. Bookidis maintains that both men and women reclined here but perhaps in separate rooms, while the rooms with short seat-benches must have been designed for some other part of the ritual, “distinct from the meal, something involving conversation or explanation.”

111. Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 399.

112. Mentioned in Donati 2005.

113. E.g., Pl. *Symp.* 175a–d.

114. Tomlinson 1969, pl. 49; Goldstein 1978, table A; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 398, table 2.

115. A.M. Bowie 1997, 2 and n. 15; Dunbabin 1998, 83. See also Dentzer 1982, 79–80; Lissarrague 1990a, 19–20, 46; Murray 1990, 7; Bergquist 1990, 39; Schmitt-Pantel 1990; Węcowski 2002b, 349; Kistler 2005; Corner 2010; Topper 2012, 48.

116. Herakleides of Kyme, *FGrH* 689 F2 (Ath. 4.145c).

117. Poseidonios fr. 64, *FGrH* 87 F12 (Ath. 4.153a–b). See also Dentzer 1982, 67–68; Briant 1996, 309.

118. On privileging the central position at Persian banquets, see Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4.3–5; Plut. *Mor.* 619b. Krateros was said to have reclined elevated (μετέωρον) on a golden *kline*, and Philip II

was said to have insisted that Menekrates recline on a high, central couch: Hegesander fr. 5, *FHG* iv.414 (Ath. 7.289e); Demetr. *Eloc.* 289.3–4; Dunbabin 1998, 87; Andrianou 2009, 126, 184n35. See also Plut. *Mor.* 619b.

119. The inequality of the couches can be added to the list of other unusual features that make this vase “unique,” outlined by Padgett 2002.

120. Cf. the hetaira labeled “Palaisto” who reclines with “Smikra” and other women on Euphronios’s psykter, B121. See Neer 2002, 114–16, for other clever details in Euphronios’s rendering of this figure. On the “fantastical nature” of both scenes, see Topper 2012, 147–50.

121. Neer 2002, 116–17.

122. See Grimm 2001; Neer 2002, 89–93. Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 420e; Burnyeat 1999, n. 39.

123. Robertson 1992, 26: “it is clear that the pictures on Smikros’s stamnos are reduced and simplified versions of those on the krater” (by Euphronios). Neer (2002, 112), however, maintains that “we cannot know who is copying whom.” Hedreen (2012) has recently made the interesting suggestion that “Smikros” may have been a fictional artistic persona adopted by Euphronios himself, akin to those adopted by iambic poets.

124. See also B291; cf. B292. Other symposium scenes attributed to this painter show couches of equal height or only one couch.

125. E.g., black-figure funerary plaques in Berlin, New York, and Vienna: Boardman 1955, 61, no. 20, pl. 8a; Vermeule 1979, 13 fig. 7; Mommsen 1997, pl. 1. See also a black-figure phormiskos, B111, and white-ground lekythos, B345. High individual bases for *kline* legs are also seen in monumental form in Macedonia (e.g., Sismanidis 1997, fig. 6), and there is a parallel for a *kline* standing on a long, continuous base/platform in a Macedonian-style chamber tomb at Tarentum: Neutsch 1956, fig. 41; Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 82. See also Mommsen 1997, 28–29.

126. As on a white-ground lekythos in Budapest, B346. On a black-figure loutrophoros in New York, B154, individual bases appear to be connected by a strut-like plank/board, and a similar element may be indicated on a fragmentary black-figure pinax in Athens, Vlasto collection 321 (*BAPD* no. 9017778): Boardman 1955, pl. 7a.

127. Ahlberg 1971, 46, 105–6; Boardman 1990, 122; Shapiro 1991, 634; Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 53. Cf. *Il.* 24.719–24. For exceptional scenes in which this position is held by a man or

is unoccupied, see Burns 1994, 36–38; Baxevani 1995, 19, figs. 10–11.

128. See the black-figure pinax attributed to Exekias in Berlin, Antikensammlung F1811, *ABV* 146.22–23 (*BAPD* no. 350041): Mommsen 1997, 27, pl. 1; and a black-figure pinax in Athens (supra n. 126). See also Ahlberg 1971, 102–4; Garland 2001, 28–29, 141.

129. On the significance of their height, see infra n. 327.

130. Supra n. 58.

131. See also Andrianou 2009, 17.

132. On the structural inaccuracies of some depictions, see Simpson 2002, 314–15, with n. 78; supra n. 73.

133. Richter 1966, 19, 55; Kyrieleis 1969, 98–105; Faust 1989, 22, fig. 1c.

134. Filow 1934, 119–26, 229–30, figs. 143–50; Richter 1966, 56; Kyrieleis 1969, 126–29, fig. 23, pl. 17.3–4; Archibald 1998, 160, 162. The *kline* measures 1.37 m long, 0.50 m wide, and 0.29–0.325 m high. Filow suggested that it was a child’s bed, owing to its short length.

135. Kyrieleis 1969, 126; Filow 1934, fig. 150; Faust 1989, 18–19. The outer edge of this headrest curves out in the middle, where the curved plank also sinks between the two leg-posts, as if to support a head. Nicholls (1979, 20) calls this a “primitive form” of *fulcrum*, but it is in fact very different than the early *fulcra* shown on some late fifth-century vases (discussed below). It is uncertain how common this kind of headrest, connecting the post capitals, was for Type A couches. In the only known depiction of a Type A couch from the side (B206), no connecting piece is shown. But a similar peg, ca. 0.02 m wide, projects from the top of the wooden Type A leg preserved in the Giglio wreck: Fig. 15; Bound 1991b, 235, fig. 86.

136. The tenons apparently projected through to the other sides of the legs, as commonly depicted in vase painting (see Fig. 35i).

137. Filow 1934, fig. 146.

138. Filow 1934, figs. 146–47, lekythos attributed to the Haimon Group; Archibald 1998, 193.

139. See also, e.g., a Middle Corinthian bowl, B14. Extra turnings sometimes appear on the thinnest, lower portion of the leg, especially in Lakonian vase painting during this period: see fragments attributed to the Arkesilas Painter (ca. 560), B43, 46; a cup from Samos, B47; and a cup attributed to the Rider Painter, B45. Two thin, disc-like moldings occur on

Notes to Chapter 1

the lower leg of a Type A *kline* on a Siana Cup in Florence, B38. Multiple turnings are also suggested on the Middle Corinthian bowl noted here, but it is unclear whether the legs are Type A or Type B.

140. E.g., B25. For more concavity in the broad upper and lower sections, see the work of the Ptoon Painter (e.g., B29–31; Fig. 2).

141. See also Boardman 1990, 125; Fehr 1971, 28; Baker 1966, 267–68; and T. Bakır 1974, for a later dating of this krater (to the Middle Corinthian period) on the basis of the animal frieze on its rim. For Middle Corinthian examples, see, e.g., a krater from Tocra, B15, and a plate in New York, B16.

142. Attic black-figure vases attributed to the Ptoon Painter (e.g., B30, 31; Fig. 2); Siana cups attributed to the C Painter (e.g., B33–36); Tyrrhenian amphorae attributed to the Castellani Painter (e.g., B41); and Lakonian cups (e.g., B44, 48). See also a Ransom of Hektor scene on a black-figure amphora in an unspecified private collection (B52). This early type, with broad legs, continues to appear through the sixth century, as, e.g., on a black-figure olpe attributed to the Amasis Painter (B67; Fig. 32d). Early Type A couches without this extra molding are also known (e.g., B22). For an early representation of a Type A couch with thinner legs, see, e.g., B54.

143. G. Bakır 2000, figs. 11–14; Hürmüzlü 2003, 190–91, 256–62, figs. 75–76, pl. 9; 2010, 112–46.

144. *Infra* p. 60.

145. Bound 1991a, fig. 63; 1991b, 235–36, fig. 86; Cristofani 1995, 132; Spivey 1997, 17.

146. Richter 1966, 55. E.g., see the column krater attributed to the Leningrad Painter in Milan, B289 (Fig. 32l).

147. *Supra* n. 95. See also wooden stool (?) legs from Olympia and Egypt, Richter 1966, figs. 217–18. The Getty *kline*, unusually, retains an additional torus molding in the middle of the tapered, lower half of the leg, on one end only (Fig. 23).

148. See also a white-ground lekythos attributed to the Painter of the New York Hypnos, B338, and a volute krater attributed to the Iliouperis Painter, B356.

149. For exceptions, see Fig. 5; a red-figure kantharos fragment near the Brygos Painter in Athens, B217; an Apulian krater fragment, B359; a Lucanian krater fragment, B354; and (on a stool) on a fourth-century pelike, B357. See also Baughan and Özgen 2012, 72.

150. Borchhardt 1975, 136, pls. 75a, 77a, c.

151. As Faust has also noted (1989, 23).

152. Kyrieleis 1969, 116–18. See, e.g., the vases noted *supra* n. 139; also B22, 49, 51. Sometimes the coverings swell slightly at the right end, as if over a raised end or a cushion, but it is hard to distinguish between the two: e.g., B27, 52.

153. Kyrieleis 1969, 124. See also B206, 217, 315.

154. See also B67.

155. *Infra* n. 196.

156. Bound 1991b, 235–36, fig. 86.

157. See also a Middle Corinthian sherd from Miletos, B17.

158. Zigzag: B15. Band of dots: B67 (Fig. 32d), B336. Cross-hatched band: B16. Vertical rays above and/or below the swelling: B50 (Fig. 32c), B347, 359, and (on a stool) B357. Tiny lotus-and-palmette frieze: B339.

159. See the leftmost couch on the Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, *supra* n. 38 (Fig. 10); B327 (Fig. 19); the tondo of B323 (Fig. 164); and B363.

160. As on B128.

161. E.g., on B329, 353; and an animal (lion?) with rosettes on B359.

162. Kyrieleis 1969, 151–77; Richter 1966, 23, 58–59 (“couch with rectangular legs” and “carved-out incisions”); Baker 1966, 268–69; Boardman 1990, 126.

163. E.g., B18, 21, and some of the couches on B20 (Fig. 12)—the others have unique and whimsical leg designs, terminating in upside-down lotus flowers at the bottom; also B23 (Fig. 34). See also the thrones of Zeus and Hera in the Return of Hephaistos on the François Vase, B24; Kyrieleis 1969, 163; Richter 1966, 59. For Etruscan terracotta revetments from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), Fig. 149a, see n. 388 in Chapter 3. The *kline* with kneeling mourners in relief below the rail from a tomb at Cortona (Fig. 148) is another early Etruscan example.

164. E.g., Richter 1966, fig. 562, Roman marble couch legs in Cambridge.

165. Richter 1966, 23.

166. Richter 1966, 23; Kyrieleis 1969, 165; Faust 1989, 22, fig. 1a; *supra* p. 30–32.

167. Kyrieleis 1969, 162. See also B18.

168. Spiraling terminals are found on some (but not all) of the couches in one of the earliest Attic representations of Type B *klinai*, on a cup attributed to the KX Painter, B23 (Fig. 34); crudely incised on a black-figure pinax, ca. 510, Athens, Kerameikos 677 (BAPD no. 43698): Knigge 1991, fig. 26; in fluid added white on a black-figure amphora near the Antimenes Painter, ca. 510, B64; on the white-ground interior of a kylix in

the manner of the Pistoxenos Painter, ca. 450, B299 (Fig. 36h); and on South Italian vases: Richter 1966, figs. 111–13, 327. See also terracotta revetment plaques with banqueting scenes from Larisa on the Hermos: Kjellberg 1940, pl. 28.1 (Fig. 146); Cat. 25 and 32; and Macedonian and later Type B thrones and *klinai*: Richter 1966, figs. 116, 322, 562; Sismanidis 1997, fig. 4.

169. Betancourt 1977, 96. The throne of Zeus on the “Introduction Pediment” from the Athenian Akropolis (Richter 1966, fig. 86) is one of the earliest examples. See also Tuchelt 1970, figs. 15–16, pls. 47–48; Knigge 1976, 73–74, 82–83, pl. 107.

170. See also the *kline* on a fragmentary kylix, B76, and the throne of Kroisos on Myson’s amphora, B184.

171. Kyrieleis 1969, 162. See also B163, 270.

172. In a few cases the indentations are separated into two double volutes on each side, resulting in *four* volute terminals or central protrusions rather than two: see the right leg of the *prothesis-kline* on black-figure pinax Kerameikos 677 (supra n. 168); also Cat. 32.

173. Richter 1966, 59. See also Simpson 2002, 310.

174. See, e.g., B76 and B147, where a dog’s leash is tied around an impossibly thin “stem.”

175. Ransom (1905, 44–46, 73–74) was especially troubled by the illogicality (in fact, the “aesthetic objectionability”) of the cutouts, which in her view undermined the supporting function of the legs and violated one of the fundamental laws of ornament application by breaking “constructional lines” (73). See also Baker 1966, 264.

176. The *prothesis-kline* on a terracotta plaque in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 14.146.3 (Vermeule 1979, 11, fig. 6), is the only early example not covered by a cloth, but it too has a flat top, and it does not fit the canonical Type B scheme: it has wide rectangular legs perforated at the middle by two triangles flanking a central vertical bar. The triangles point outward rather than inward as later Type B crescents do, and the sides of the legs remain solid and continuous, but the basic idea of a side cutout is present, and it is flanked by palmettes above and below, strongly foretelling the Type B leg formula.

177. The couches on Etruscan terracotta revetment plaques from Murlo, supra n. 163 (Fig. 149a), also have one raised end, on the front of which volutes were probably once painted (Small 1971, 31, 38–39), but the raised ends are on the left, and the banqueters recline in the opposite direction from the one customary in Greece (supra n. 28). See also Kyrieleis 1969, 163–64.

178. Kyrieleis 1969, 164; Boardman 1990, 125–26.

179. Kyrieleis 1969, 164. Volute capitals are lacking on Zeus’s throne on the François Vase (B24) as well as on the “Introduction Pediment” (supra n. 169) and the whole series of Branchidai enthroned statues, ca. 570–550 (Tuchelt 1970, 71–93, pls. 40–62).

180. Small 1971, 55, 59.

181. Kyrieleis (1969, 170–71, fig. 27) designates five basic volute types, all essentially “Aeolic.” For Aeolic capitals, see Betancourt 1977. See also Oliver-Smith 1969, 147–48, whose catalogue of architectural elements on Greek vases includes volute capitals on *klinai*.

182. See also B278, 297, and 183 (Fig. 27). Cf. Betancourt 1977, fig. 46 (votive column from Paros), pls. 32–34 (capital from Alâzeytin) and 59 (painted marble capital from the Akropolis of Athens, Athens Ak. 9980); Richter 1961, no. 63, fig. 145 (stele from Koukouvaounes, Athens, National Museum 4477).

183. Kyrieleis 1969, 170–71, fig. 27, Type 4. E.g., on the interiors of kylikes attributed to Douris, B242, 256. For the same type of volute on Type C couches (see below), see kylikes attributed to the Euaion Painter, B306, 307.

184. Kyrieleis 1969, 170, 172. Cf. Buschor 1933, 43, Beil. XV.2–3, XVI; Kjellberg 1940, pl. 32.3. For the Larisa terracottas, see p. 221 in Chapter 4.

185. E.g., B78, 84, 111, 113, 148, 153. See also Cat. 61.

186. See also B283 and two kylikes attributed to Makron, B223 and 235. See also the capitals above plain legs (Type C, infra p. 58) on a krater attributed to the Marlay Painter, B326.

187. For examples that are difficult to classify, see, e.g., Fig. 35a, a black-figure pinax attributed to the Sappho Painter in Paris, Musée du Louvre L4 (BAPD no. 463); a black-figure amphora in Paris, B53; and a stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, B179 (Fig. 4), where the volute scheme is Ionic but the palmette at the top is an Aeolic feature. For volutes spiraling in the same direction, see B105. For inverted volutes, see Fig. 37 and infra n. 228.

188. B109.

189. Hampe and Simon 1964, pl. 13. For this motif, compare East Greek architectural terracottas with central lotus flower flanked by buds or tendrils: Åkerström 1966, pl. 9.3 (from Pergamon) and pl. 57.3–5 (antefixes from Didyma).

190. See also B74 and several kylikes attributed to Douris: B242, 258, and 261. Nearly all Aeolic capitals from Asia Minor and Greece have some form of palmette in this location, if it

Notes to Chapter 1

is preserved: e.g., Betancourt 1977, 120, figs. 20, 25–26, 45, pls. 29–30, 32–33, 41–51, 59, 67; Akurgal 1983, 89, figs. 62, 67–68. Exceptions are Betancourt 1977, pl. 53, a votive column from the Akropolis of Athens, and fig. 43, a capital from Eressos, where some decoration could once have existed in paint; cf. also a stele anthemion from the Athenian Agora: Harrison 1956, pl. 11c–d. For a downturned palmette or rosette in this location, see Başaran 2000, figs. 1–2, late sixth-century capitals from Ainos in Thrace.

191. E.g., B56, 311.

192. See also B152, 157, 161, 182. In some cases, there is a corresponding leaf or tongue hanging below the volutes: e.g., a black-figure pinax attributed to the Sappho Painter, Louvre L4, supra n. 187 (Fig. 35a); and Siana cup B32.

193. See B185–87. But another krater attributed to him (B188) shows the type with two or three leaves. The Lenin-grad Painter, perhaps a pupil or follower of Myson (Robertson 1992, 143), painted couches with similar capitals (with teardrop-shaped leaf): see B290 (Fig. 41) and B291.

194. Both variants occur on B247. For three petals, see B242, 246, 258, 261, and 259 (Fig. 36g). For plain volutes, see B255–56.

195. See also Danae's *kline* on a krater attributed to the Trip- toleamos Painter, B283. For both meander and egg-and-dart, see B235. A maeander band was restored in this location on the *kline*-sarcophagus from Caere in the Louvre but removed in subsequent restoration; compare Briguet 1989, pls. 1b and 2a.

196. For examples with maeander, see also B32, 74, 117, 183 (Fig. 27 right couch), 235, 260, 271, 279, 283, 322; and Cat. 5, 14, 52, and 59. Egg-and-dart: B311, 335, 337. Row of dots: B223, 276, 310, 313, 317. Parallel vertical lines: B148. Vertical lines alternating with X-filled squares: B56.

197. Compare the actual maeander on the interiors of two kylikes attributed to Douris—B249 (Fig. 36f) and B246—with the “shorthand” maeander on one of the couches on the exterior of B249 and another on the interior of B259 (Fig. 36g). Wavy line: B89, 167. For other examples with dots at top and bottom, see B278 and 306.

198. For wineskins used as pillows, see Baughan 2011, 40–41. See also the *kline* from Aktepe, Cat. 52. On depictions of couches from the side, see infra nn. 277, 406.

199. See also B63, 77, 94, 161, 189. See also the raised bosses in this location on some of the stone *klinai* collected here (Cat. 52, 61) and in a tomb at Tarentum: Neutsch 1956, fig. 41.

200. See also a black-figure pinax in Athens, National

Museum 12697: Zschietzschmann 1928, Beil. 11, no. 23; B102, 110, 111, 130, 150, 152.

201. See also B74, 166, and B32, where a bow-tie-shaped design within a low disc-like capital may represent fastenings of some sort (perhaps for the attachment of cords composing the latticed bed surface?). For a flat capital with staggered rows of dots as on the abaci of some volute capitals (supra n. 197), see B283.

202. See also B64.

203. E.g., B107, 351.

204. Kyrieleis 1969, 163. See also B62, 74; Zeus's throne in the “Introduction Pediment” (supra n. 169; Knigge 1976, pl. 111.3); and, in schematic form reduced to two circles (volute eyes), on some of the couches on the terracotta banquet frieze from Larisa on the Hermos: Kjellberg 1940, pls. 24, 27–28, 33; Fig. 146 fragment 1.

205. See also B152, 200, 237. On a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, supra n. 38 (Fig. 10), the two preserved Type B couches have a star and quatrefoil, respectively. For a quatrefoil, see also Fig. 40b (B314). For an ornate quadruple palmette design in this location, see Plate 3.

206. Athens, National Museum, Akr. 1.2203 (BAPD no. 32315): Graef and Langlotz 1909, pl. 93.

207. See also a black-figure pinax in Athens, Kerameikos Museum 690 (BAPD no. 17550): Pedrina 2001, fig. 44; a red-figure fragment in Taranto, B117; and Ransom 1905, fig. 46, which includes a lotus-palmette chain that seems to be based on the frieze restored on the terracotta *kline*-sarcophagus with reclining couple from Caere in the Louvre: Richter 1966, fig. 451; see Briguet 1989, 113n36, pls. 1–2, 9a–b.

208. See also B101 here and the *kline* in Alexandria Tomb B26: Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003b, 368, 373.

209. See also B64, 171, and (with a row of crosses, perhaps schematic rosettes) B139, and the Kerameikos *kline* (Fig. 43).

210. For a lion on a Type B throne rail, see Graef and Langlotz 1933, pl. 74, no. 819.

211. A carved ivory panel from Nimrud showing lion-bull combat groups flanking a central rosette is the right size to belong to a furniture rail or stretcher (ca. 1.07 m long × 0.044 m high), though the length would be somewhat small for a couch (the complete length is preserved): Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, 113, pls. 105–7, nos. 105a–b; for typical *kline* dimensions, supra p. 38. Another set of panels from Nimrud with lion-bull-griffin combat is closer in size to what would be expected

for a couch (ca. 0.85 m high, 1.32 m total preserved length) but lacks the central rosette: Herrmann 1992, 102, pls. 62–63, nos. 308–9. See also Herrmann 1992, 71, no. 137, pl. 29 (“rail” panel with grazing stags, 0.55 m high, 0.52 m long); Simpson 2010, 117nn50–51; supra n. 77.

212. See also B180; red-figure cups attributed to the Brygos Painter such as B200; and a stamnos attributed to the Pan Painter, B270. See also Type B thrones, such as the one on B348; and a painted funerary *kline* at Tarentum: Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 59.

213. See also B161.

214. Vokotopoulou 1990, fig. 43; Sismanidis 1997, fig. 4; Brecolouki 2006, pl. 61.2–3; Ignatiadou 2007, 222, figs. 1–3. See also the throne from the “Tomb of Eurydice” at Vergina: Brecolouki 2006, pl. 4.1; the stone *kline* of a Macedonian-style tomb at Tarentum: Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 80; and a Classifying marble *kline* leg in Rome: Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 21.3.

215. Sismanidis 1997, pl. 32γ. For Macedonian *klinai*, it has been suggested that the grid of rectangles may represent panels that covered tenons or dowels connecting the legs to the upper rail of the *kline*: Gossel 1980, 121–22; Sismanidis 1997, 205–6.

216. Andronikos 1984, 123–24; Kottaridi 1999, fig. 10; Brecolouki 2006, 54–56, 168–69, pls. 4.1, 61.3.

217. For these terms, see Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003b, 368; Brecolouki 2006, 169. See also B161; and painted funerary *klinai* from Alexandria: Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a; 2003b. For thrones, see Zeus’s throne in the “Introduction Pediment” (supra n. 169); an Archaic grave relief in Basel: Berger 1990, 30; Brinkmann 2003, no. 180; and both the front and side rails of the throne in the “Tomb of Eurydice” at Vergina: Brecolouki 2006, pls. 3, 4.1. For more schematic designs that must be intended to recall this motif, see, e.g., the straight bands in added white on the rail ends of *prothesis-klinai* on B110 (Fig. 35c) and on a black-figure pinax, Athens 12697, supra n. 200; the ends of triangles (?) on a black-figure amphora, B56; zigzags on a black-figure amphora in California, B64, and on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, supra n. 38 (here Fig. 10); and dart-like forms on the *klinai* from Potidaia: Sismanidis 1997, pl. 3. See also *kline* inlays from the Kerameikos and Grafenbühl, under “Physical Remains”; and Cat. 25. For later examples on Macedonian and Macedonian-inspired funerary *klinai*, see Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 59; Richter 1966, fig. 328; Guimier-Sorbets and

Nenna 2003b, figs. 2–3 (a couch with turned legs); Brecolouki 2006, pl. 61.3.

218. Knigge 1976, 78: “eine der Zweckform angepaßte Schmuckform”; see also Berger 1990, 34: “vermutlich konstruktive Details.”

219. See, e.g., B59, 116, 301. The motif also occurs on the rail of a Type A couch on B354.

220. Knigge (1976, 77) suggests that the discs represent nailheads.

221. Quatrefoil: B305 (Plate 3), B361. Rosette set off by a vertical band: Plouton’s couch on the interior of the Kodros Painter’s cup, B323 (Fig. 164). Palmette: B279 (Fig. 36b), B332. Paired scrolls: B359, 363. Plain rectangles: B358 (Fig. 14) and 360.

222. See the *kline* from the Bella Tumulul at Vergina: Brecolouki 2006, pl. 61.3. See also painted funerary *klinai* in Tarentum and Alexandria, where the motif is doubled at each end and extends over the tops of the legs, belying any connective function, at least by this period: Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 59; Richter 1966, fig. 328; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003b, figs. 2–3.

223. Richter 1966, 62; Kyrieleis 1969, 177–81.

224. E.g., B69–70, 135, 198, 205, 280, 312, 322, 333. See also Zschietzschmann 1928, Beil. 18, nos. 111, 116. For plain legs with Ionic-type volute capitals: see, e.g., a column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, B197–98; a kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter, B190 (Fig. 57); a bell krater attributed to the Marlay Painter, B326; and a bell krater in Vienna, B351.

225. E.g., B91.

226. Kyrieleis 1969, 177–81.

227. Brygos Painter: B201, 204–5; cf. B202. Makron: B225, 228, 230. Foundry Painter (three of his seven known kylikes with symposion scenes): B190, 193, 195. For other painters, see B267, 298.

228. See also B268. Some of Makron’s couches of this type have simple “inverted Aeolic” double volutes on the capitals: B224, 228. The term “inverted Aeolic” is used by Oliver-Smith (1969) to refer to capitals that look like Ionic double volutes turned upside down, so that the spirals turn inward at the top rather than outward, as in true Aeolics. See also a black-figure pinax, Louvre CA255, supra n. 100; and a red-figure column krater, B337.

229. See also B87.

230. E.g., B158.

Notes to Chapter 1

231. See especially Tyrrhenian amphorae attributed to the Castellani Painter in San Antonio and Stanford (B39–40); Siana cups (Brijder 1983, pls. 9a, 16c–d, 17a, c, 23b–c, 39b–d, 40a–b); and B26, 53, and 106.

232. See under “Style and Decoration” in Chapter 2, and Cat. 25, 52, 61. For a slight concavity in the lower part of the leg, beneath the side cutouts: see, e.g., the *klinai* on a fragmentary black-figure pinax attributed to Exekias, Berlin F1811 (supra n. 128) and on a red-figure stamnos attributed to the Berlin Painter, B179 (Fig. 4); and throne legs on a stele by Aristokles, Kerameikos P1265 (Willemssen 1970, 36–38, pl. 15), and on a relief from Aigina of the first half of the fifth century, Aigina 729 (Walter-Karydi 1987, 80, no. 54, pl. 42). For concavity also in the upper half of the leg, see the Type B throne depicted on a grave relief in Basel (Berger 1990, 30; Brinkmann 2003, no. 180).

233. Supra n. 157. For similar crossover in throne decoration, see the volute krater attributed to the Kleophon Painter from Spina, B320: here the legs have Type B decoration, but their contours resemble Type A legs.

234. B335, 338, 339; infra n. 378. B339 also has palmette decoration on the upper portion of the leg. See also Etruscan examples classified by Steingraber as Type 2a: 1979, pl. 2.

235. Guzzone 2005, 268–69, no. 101; Naso 2007, 26–28, fig. 9. The context is Building B, a circular building with interior hearth and benches: De Miro 1988/89, 27–30.

236. Knigge 1976, 60–83, figs. 21–22, pls. 103–9; 1991, 101, fig. 95.

237. Knigge 1976, fig. 21.

238. Mound G, Shaft Grave 1 (HTR 1): Kübler 1973, 175, figs. 9–10; 1976, 5–6, pl. 4.2–3; Knigge 1991, 105, no. 15; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 155.

239. Mound G, Shaft Graves 2 (HTR 7) and 5 (HTR 4): Kübler 1976, 17–18, 21, pl. 8.3; Kunze-Götte, Tancke, and Vierneisel 1999, 6–8. Amber discs similar to the volute eyes of the South Mound *kline* were found near the left side of the skull in HTR 4. Their number and dimensions are not known, but their location near the head of the deceased is suggestive. Sixteen similar discs were found in HTR 7, ranging from 0.015 to 0.026 m in diameter. These probably belong to several different elements of Type B decoration, perhaps including a volute capital (cf. the many different locations of amber discs on the South Mound *kline*, ranging from 0.018 to 0.030 m in diameter).

240. Landolfi 1992, 630–31; 1995, 330–34; 1997; 2000, 129–30, 134; Shefton 2003, 318; Naso 2007, 20. The tomb also contained a silver phiale with a lotus-bud chain (perhaps of East Greek origin), Etruscan and Picenian bronze vessels, and a good deal of Attic pottery as well as local ceramics.

241. The burial itself, in a separate chamber in the center of the complex, was that of a richly adorned woman, covered by the remains of two wheeled vehicles (a biga and a cart). Another chamber on the opposite side of the main chamber contained the remains of two mules. See Landolfi 1992, 629–30, pls. 112, 113b.

242. Landolfi 1992, 630, pl. 113a; Lefèvre-Novaro 2001, 82–86.

243. Zürn and Herrmann 1966, pl. 14.3–10; Zürn 1970, 14–16, 28–30, pls. 3, 8, 65; P.S. Wells 1980, 35; Fischer 1990; Pare 1992, 244; Krauß 1993, 189–90; Bartoloni 2000, 394–96, figs. 585–87; Kurz and Schiek 2002, 64; Naso 2007, 18, fig. 3. A pair of sphinxes (with inlaid amber faces) in the assemblage have been attributed to a Tarentine workshop with Lakonian influence and dated ca. 600: Zürn 1970, 14, 27–28; Fischer 1990, 121; Mastrocinque 1991, fig. 7; Boardman 1999, fig. 264. Some scholars have associated these, too, with the *kline*, supposing that they were reused as couch decoration: Mastrocinque 1991; Kimmig 1988, 129; Naso 2007, 19–20. Naso (2007, 20) connects them with a tradition of “sphinxes with amber eyes on *kline*-legs” mentioned by a scholiast on Aristophanes and assumed to be depicted in representations of turned throne and couch legs of the Classical and Hellenistic periods (infra n. 313), but this conflates a Type A (turned) leg tradition with the otherwise standard Type B decoration attested at Grafenbühl.

244. Jung 2007, 96–98; Naso 2007, 18n29. See also Witt 1997.

245. Fischer 1990, 117; B277.

246. Jung 2007, 99.

247. Zürn and Herrmann 1966, 78–80; Zürn 1970, 16–24.

248. Zürn and Herrmann 1966, fig. 3, 76–77; Zürn 1970, fig. 4. The majority of the *kline* fragments were found in the southwest portion of the chamber, along with the disturbed skeleton, while the fragments of the other items in the assemblage (i.e., grave goods that would likely be placed directly on the floor of the chamber, next to a funeral couch) were found in the northeast half of the chamber.

249. Naso 2007, 18. See Kurz and Schiek 2002, 64, 96, pl. 9. Along with the Grafenbühl tomb should also be mentioned the unique bronze “*kline*” from the wooden chamber of a

Late Hallstatt tumulus at Hochdorf, dated about a generation earlier (ca. 550): Biel 1985a; 1985b. Here a man was buried atop hemp cushions on a long bronze couch with continuous “backrest,” decorated with a punched scene of warriors mounted in four-wheeled carts and engaging in battle. The couch is supported on eight feet in the form of female figures with upraised arms, atop unicycle-like wheels, connected by horizontal struts. The backrest recalls those of Etruscan round thrones, but the overall form is unique. The closest parallel is the piece of furniture pictured on an Etruscan bronze situla from Certosa: Bartoloni 2000, no. 570. The burial was accompanied by a large bronze krater imported from Greece (filled with mead), a gold cup, and several drinking horns (apparently hung on the wall along with textiles) as well as an assortment of personal items and a four-wheeled cart. While the couch has been called a *kline*, its backrest suggests that it was used at least sometimes, if not primarily, for sitting upright; and though the accompanying drinking assemblage places it in the banqueting sphere, this may well have been a seated rather than reclining banquet: see Jung 2004. Witt (2004) has stressed the lack of certain evidence that Celts ever reclined for banqueting. Krauß (1993) had suggested that the Hochdorf tomb represents an intermediate stage in the adoption of Greek/Mediterranean banqueting customs in Hallstatt Europe, with imported drinking sets and reclining posture used in conjunction with local furniture types, while the Grafenbühl assemblage would represent a more advanced stage, with the couch itself imported, but there is no certain evidence that the Hochdorf “couch” was used for reclined banqueting in the first place.

250. Naso 2007, 22–26, figs. 6–8, 10, 14. For the material from Quinto Fiorentino and Cortona, see Mastrocinque 1991. Mastrocinque first suggested this identification, based on comparison with fragments from Grafenbühl, which he however dated too early (ca. 600) and conflated with the *kline* from the Kerameikos South Mound (see his fig. 6); early dating repeated by St. Clair 2003, 18. For the material from Cortona, see also Esposito 1984, nos. 68, 70; Zamarchi Grassi 1992. On Quinto Fiorentino, see Nicosia and De Marinis 1984; Caputo 1991.

251. Hogarth 1908, 192, pl. 35, n. 23.

252. Hogarth 1908, 196, pl. 40, nos. 2, 9, 10, 13–16. One petal with a flat end (pl. 40, no. 13) has one curved side, as if part of a splaying palmette, and its length (ca. 0.045 m) is

comparable to that of the longest petals of the lower (hanging) palmette on the Kerameikos *kline*: Knigge 1976, fig. 29. Knigge (p. 70) had also noted the similarity of the pointed-bud and triangle pieces with the “Sternblüte” on the Kerameikos *kline* and thereby implied an identification of this motif among the Ephesos inlays.

253. Mangani 1994, 15, 63–64, nos. 244–60, fig. 48.

254. Bound 1991b, 236, fig. 87.

255. Naso 2007, 26.

256. Andronikos 1984, 123; Vokotopoulou 1990, figs. 8, 43, pls. 18–19, 51–53; Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, pls. 24–25, 34–35; Kottaridi 1999, figs. 8, 10; Ignatiadou 2007; Andrianou 2009, 44–46; *infra* p. 269. The ivory volutes with inlaid glass eyes found over a century ago in the fourth-century tomb at Kul Oba near Kertsch (Plate 6) probably belong to a Type B *kline* rather than a sarcophagus, as originally suggested: Reinach 1892, 125, pl. 80, nos. 18–19; Watzinger 1905, 91; Minns 1913, 204–5, figs. 100–104; Vaulina and Wasowicz 1974, 45–51, pl. 10. For the attribution to a *kline*: Kyrieleis 1969, 167n578; Knigge 1976, 82n78; Naso 2007, 32; St. Clair 2003, 200n20.

257. Kyrieleis 1969, 171, fig. 27 (type 5), pl. 21.2–3; Richter 1966, fig. 116; Sismanidis 1997, fig. 4, pls. 12–13, 32a, c; Kottaridi 1999, fig. 10; 2000, fig. 9a; Huguenot 2008, pl. 13. This type of capital is rendered in silhouette form (with no surface detail preserved) on the *kline* from the Naip Tumulus in Thrace: Delemen 2006, fig. 6. This was not a totally “new” approach to volute design, since it is found in earlier Near Eastern stacked volutes and tree-of-life motifs—e.g., on a cutout ivory piece from Megiddo (Feldman 2006, pl. 9)—but its use on Type B *kline* and throne capitals was evidently new. Cf. also a Cypriot limestone stele in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 74.51.2493: Karageorghis 2000, no. 347.

258. Andronikos 1984, 124–36; Sismanidis 1997, pls. 1–7; Kottaridi 1999, figs. 8–9; Brecolaki 2006, 169, pl. 61.3.

259. See also Brecolaki 2006, 169; Huguenot 2008, 1:228.

260. E.g., B100, 138. See also Richter 1966, 54–55, 62, figs. 290–91, 334; Kyrieleis 1969, 177–94.

261. Richter 1966, 39, diphros Type 1; Kyrieleis 1969, 98–100, Geometric Forms I and II; Faust 1989, fig. 1b. See, e.g., *prothesis*-beds on an ivory plaque from Sparta: Marangou 1969, fig. 39; and on a seventh-century pinax in Boston (*supra* n. 64); and the couch being carried on a youth’s back on a pelike attributed to the Pan Painter, B269. See also *infra* p. 75.

262. B241, 248, 253, 264. See also the interior of a kylix

Notes to Chapter 1

attributed to the Foundry Painter, B192, and a kylix attributed to Makron, B222.

263. Boardman 1990, 122. For a modern replica of this type, see Robsjohn-Gibbings and Pullin 1963, 114–15. The type with flared back on one end could also have animal feet: see B275 (Fig. 18).

264. *Klinis*: IG II², 1425, line 278, 1424a, line 342; Ar. *Thesm.* 261; Poll. 6.9.1; Harris 1995, 136; Andrianou 2009, 31. *Klinidion*: IG I³, 423; Ar. *Lys.* 916; Diod. Sic. 18.46.7 (used as a bier); Andrianou 2009, 31. *Klinter*: e.g., Od. 18.190; Kritias fr. 34.11 Diels and Kranz; Theoc. 2.86, 2.113, 2.4.43; IG I³, 422. *Klinterion*: Ar. fr. 266.2; Richter 1966, 52. For *epiklintron*, see infra p. 69.

265. On the force of the *-ion* suffix, see Andrianou 2009, 179n23.

266. SEG 24.361, 30.441, 47.250; Tomlinson 1980, 221–24; Roesch 2007, no. 38. See also Roesch no. 39.

267. Pritchett 1956, 230.

268. Tomlinson 1980, 224. His reasoning is that there are no representational parallels for the lounge-chair type of couch contemporary with this inscription and that “earlier references imply that it is a bed.”

269. Tomlinson 1980, 224.

270. Andrianou 2009, 22, 31, 157n8; see Pritchett 1956, 230.

271. Plut. *Thes.* 11.1.3. The term used in Apollod. Epit. E.1.4 is, however, *kline*. See also B286, 331. Vase-painters often depicted Prokrustes’ bed as simpler than the fashionable Type A and B styles outlined here, perhaps to indicate its primitive nature: e.g., B123, 324. And sometimes Prokrustes is shown falling on a vaguely bed-shaped rock, as if his bed was hewn from rock itself: e.g., B169, 273.

272. Andrianou 2009, 113–14.

273. Supra p. 38.

274. IG XII.6, 1, lines 49–50; Shipley 1987, 105.

275. Richter 1966, 56–58, 107–8, figs. 530–49; Kyrieleis 1969, 129–31; Nicholls 1979, 20; Faust 1989; Doumeyrou 1989, 10; Faust 1992; Andrianou 2009, 34; Sapelli Ragni 2008.

276. Faust 1989, 19. E.g., B68, 72, 73, 79, 86, 126, 127, 286, 331. See also the couches on Side A of a kylix attributed to the Foundry Painter in Cambridge, B190 (Fig. 57), and the couches on both sides of a kylix attributed to the Brygos Painter in London, B199.

277. See also B250; Faust 1989, 19.

278. See also B68, 191 (tondo), 250, 331; and Nicholls 1979, 15. In some representations, it appears that the headpiece/

chairback is in one piece with the head-end leg, but in others it appears separate: e.g., B229.

279. E.g., Dentzer 1982, fig. 81 (relief from the Balawat gates); Kyrieleis 1969, fig. 17 (a bed model from Lachisch).

280. See, e.g., Richter 1966, fig. 288; Baker 1966, figs. 37, 83–85, 132–39, 170–71, 220, color pl. Xa.

281. See also B221, 241, 248, 269.

282. Supra n. 262; Faust 1989, 20.

283. Infra p. 207.

284. E.g., B347, 354, 360. For the rare occurrence of *fulcra* on a Type B *kline*, see Tarentum Tomb 39: Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 84. See Fig. 143 for a similar curved element from an Assyrian couch at Nimrud, an exceptional form in Assyria but possible evidence for a Near Eastern origin of this style of armrest.

285. Hellenistic and Roman *fulcra* were usually paired, but couches with a single *fulcrum* are also known: Faust 1992, fig. 31; Croom 2007, 35–37; Carruba and Manconi 2008, figs. 27–34. On this type, see Faust 1989, 20–22. Dunbabin (2003, 38, 216–17n9) considers how *fulcra* in a Roman triclinium may have impeded comfort and concludes that they were probably located only on the outer edges of the arrangement of three couches, for holding cushions in place rather than for leaning on, as A. Mau had suggested long ago; Wallace-Hadrill (2008, 427–29), however, finds this unlikely, citing supporting passages from Varro. He suggests, instead, that these *klinai* were better suited to a Greek style of reclining; they may have had other uses in the Roman house and therefore must not be automatically associated with Roman triclinia.

286. See also B328 (Fig. 49).

287. Cf. the slight difference in size among the *fulcra* of a Roman bone couch in Cambridge: Nicholls 1979, 14, fig. 6.

288. Andrianou 2006a, 235; 2009, 34. See also Pritchett 1956, 233; Faust 1989, 21; 1992, 86.

289. Pritchett 1953, Stele II, 235–36; 1956, 232–33.

290. Nicholls 1979, 20. See also Pritchett 1956, 232–33. Andrianou (2009, 22, 157n9), however, includes the word in her list of terms for seats rather than couches or couch parts, following an alternative meaning offered by LSJ, based on Ar., fr. 44 (Poll. 9.72). Pritchett (1956, 232) finds this reference “inconclusive,” since all other occurrences of the word in ancient texts suggest that it is a movable arm- or headrest.

291. Hesychios α4041.1; Phot. α1334.1, κ786.1; Pritchett 1953, Stele I, 233 (IG I, 277d; IG I³, 330j); SEG 28.53, 29.146. See also Rodenwaldt 1921, 849; Pritchett 1956, 229; Andrianou 2006a,

233; 2009, 32, 44; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 425, where the type is mistakenly referred to as *kline amphithalamos*.

292. Hesych. α4041.1; Phot. α1334.2, κ786.1; Andrianou 2009, 160n45.

293. Phrynichos fr. 130; Poll. 6.9.3; Pritchett 1956, 232. An *anaklintron* was also thought to be something a chair or stool could have (Schol. BHM'V at *Od.* 1.132; HM at *Od.* 4.123), like a "back."

294. As Nicholls 1979, 14; Faust 1989, 21–22.

295. See, e.g., women preparing cushions on both ends of a *kline* with half-volute capitals (?) in a scene of the wedding of Herakles and Hebe on a black-figure pyxis, B159; couples sharing couches (including one unusually long couch for two couples) on a black-figure amphora in Paris, B53; the couch shared by the babies Herakles and Iphikles on a red-figure hydria attributed to the Nausikaa Painter in New York, B295; couches for *theoxenia* of the Dioskouroi, on a white-ground lekythos in London, B145, and (with plain, Type C legs) on a red-figure hydria in Plovdiv, B333. But not all depictions of *theoxenia* for the Dioskouroi have "amphikephalic" couches: see B155.

296. Nuptial preparations on B327 (Fig. 19); Dionysos and Ariadne on B347, though the right-end *fulcrum* is not shown behind the figure perched on the end of the couch. The left end of the couch on the Eretria Painter's chous in Athens, B328 (Fig. 49), is not preserved, so it is uncertain whether it, too, was "amphikephalic."

297. Kauffmann-Samaras 1990, 188. See also Ransom 1905, 22, 25–26; Dentzer 1982, 349; Faust 1992, 87.

298. As on B19 (Fig. 37), however, with the left capital somewhat lower than the right. A red-figure loutrophoros fragment in Louvain (B278) shows the left end of a *prothesis-kline*, with volute capital.

299. With Dionysos reclining on B107; and a symposion scene on B351.

300. B360. On the relationship of Achilles and Patroklos, see S.G. Miller 1980, 165.

301. It is worth considering, also, what role theatrical stage props may have played in setting pictorial trends for mythical scenes in late fifth- and fourth-century vase painting.

302. *Infra* pp. 77, 169, 269–70, Cat. 14–17, 44, 52–53.

303. Faust 1989, fig. 1d–l.

304. Kyrieleis 1969, 35–41; Baker 1966, 224–26; Jamzadeh 1996; Calmeyer 1996, 225–27; Stronach 2002, 384–86.

305. Jamzadeh 1996, 113–21, 138–41. Also Symington 1996, 132–33, fig. 17; cf. Seidl 1996, figs. 3–6, pl. 57.

306. P. 245 in Chapter 4.

307. Paspalas 2000a; Andrianou 2009, 47, no. 39, fig. 12.

308. Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, 312–14, figs. 11–12; Paspalas 2000a, 538; Huguenot 2008, 1:217n1674.

309. B340 and two lekythoi attributed to the Triglyph Painter, B343–44. Earlier, isolated examples of multiple turnings on couches depicted on Lakonian black-figure vases of the mid-sixth century (*supra* n. 139) may represent a local twist on the "extra disc molding" of the Type A scheme, unrelated to later Achaemenid styles.

310. Kyrieleis 1969, 141, 146–51; Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, 324n20; Huguenot 2008, 1:211, 217.

311. Nicholls 1979, 19; Faust 1989, 24–25, fig. 1e–h; Paspalas 2000a, 543; Huguenot 2008, 1:216–18. E.g., Dyggve, Poulsen, and Rhomaios 1934, fig. 54; Meriçboyu and Atasoy 1969, fig. 9; Atasoy 1974b, ill. 6; Faust 1992, figs. 29–30; Huguenot 2008, pls. 47–52, 60.3. For Hellenistic and Roman couches, see also Venit 1997; 2002; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a; 2003b.

312. Ransom 1905, 111–12; Studniczka 1914, 118–19, figs. 28–29; Rodenwaldt 1921, 849; Richter 1966, 53, figs. 80, 82–83, 302–3; Nicholls 1979, 19; Andrianou 2010, 597–96, figs. 5–6. For a possible early precedent for the incorporation of small sphinx into a larger furniture support, see *infra* n. 315.

313. Kallixeinos fr. 2.62 (Ath. 5.197a), describing the golden couches in the pavilion of Ptolemy II at Alexandria; Delian sanctuary inventories: *IDélos* 1416AI, line 38; 1417BI, line 38; 1442A, line 18 (in the last, they are designated as wooden). See Özgen et al. 1996, 67; Andrianou 2009, 32, 160n52; 2010. A reference to "amber eyes of sphinxes on *kline*-legs" by a scholiast on Aristophanes' *Knights* (at 532a; see also Phot. η110.1) provides further support for their use on couches: Mastrocinque 1991; Naso 2007, 20.

314. Andrianou 2010, 598–99.

315. E.g., Oates and Oates 2001, fig. 147. See Metzger 1985, 259–79, pls. 113–18; Gubel 1987, 49–52. See also the earlier ivory sphinx from Acem Höyük (nineteenth or eighteenth century BCE), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 32.161.146; Barnett 1982, pl. 26d–e. Its small size (0.137 m high) and a hole at the top suggest that it was incorporated into some larger piece, perhaps a furniture leg or armrest support.

316. E.g., B55, 57. Sphinxes also support armrests of thrones in Archaic and Classical Greek art, as on Zeus's throne on the

Notes to Chapter 1

east frieze of the Parthenon, and earlier on the west side of the Harpy Tomb (ca. 470): see Richter 1966, figs. 64, 70–73, 114, 117; Kyrieleis 1969, 197–98.

317. E.g., a terracotta statuette from Cyprus in London, British Museum A261: Richter 1966, 30–31, fig. 145.

318. See the freestanding bronze furniture support in the form of a winged feline, said to be from Phoenician Tartessos (seventh or sixth century) in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AC.140: J. Paul Getty Museum 2002, 11. See also the sphinx throne supports of an Etruscan statue of mother and child from Chianciano: Richter 1966, fig. 433.

319. As Rodenwaldt (1921, 849) also suggests.

320. Pritchett 1956, 228; Harris 1995, 27, 91–92, nos. 25–26; Andrianou 2006a, 233n74; 2009, 132–33.

321. Kritias fr. 35.2–3 Diels and Kranz (Ath. 11.486e): κλίνη Μιλησιουργῆς καὶ δίφρος Μιλησιουργῆς, κλίνη Χιουργῆς καὶ τράπεζα Ῥηναιοεργῆς; Pritchett 1956, 228; Andrianou 2009, 32–33.

322. Kritias fr. B2.5–6 West (Ath. 1.28b): εὐναίου δὲ λέχους ἡκάλλος ἔχει / Μίλητος τε Χίος τ' ἑναλός πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος. See also Pritchett 1956, 228.

323. Pritchett 1956, 228; Andrianou 2006a, 233n74; 2009, 32; *infra* n. 368.

324. Knigge 1976, 82.

325. Richter (1966, 52), however, suggests that the terms distinguished the quality rather than the appearance of the couches. See also *infra* n. 372.

326. Richter 1966, 19, 55.

327. Boardman 1990, 122–25. Kyrieleis (1969, 98–113) also refers to Geometric beds as *klinai* but argues that they were *not* precursors of Type A couches (see below). He also stresses (pp. 105–6) that the Geometric bed type did not derive from Near Eastern forms. The notable height of Geometric *prothesis*-beds has led some scholars to question whether they were regular pieces of household furniture or items specially made for use in funerary ritual and has featured in recent discussions of the origins of *klinai* and the reclining banquet in Greece. In Boardman's view (1990, 122), “the stylizations of Greek art cannot conceal the fact that it [the Geometric bier] is high-legged” and therefore is “no ordinary bed” but an ostentatious luxury item; see also Zschietzschmann 1928, 28; Laser 1968, 16; Ahlberg 1971, 47. Boardman imagines that contemporary household beds were low, stowable furnishings or simply skins laid on benches or the ground, and he attributes the height

of funerary beds to their display function and Near Eastern inspiration. Carter (1995, 304–5) builds upon Boardman's inferences to suggest that Greeks adopted “high-legged” couches from the Near East for use as funerary biers, prior to their adoption of the custom of the reclining banquet: see under “Origins of the Reclining Banquet” in Chapter 3. But there is no solid evidence that Near Eastern couches were in fact “high-legged.” Assurbanipal's couch in the famous “Garden Party” relief from Nineveh (see Fig. 133 and discussion in Chapter 3) is, as Boardman and others have pointed out, the only Near Eastern couch shown being used as a banquet couch, and Assurbanipal, as king, is usually depicted on a larger scale than the other figures that surround him, with his head normally occupying the highest point of a relief composition. So the height of his couch in this scene, almost as tall as his fan-bearers, should not necessarily be taken literally. In other Assyrian representations, such as earlier camp scenes, the couches/beds appear much smaller in relation to human figures (with the flat bed surface reaching about the level of the knees of the attendants preparing them: see Figs. 139–40 in Chapter 3). With the exception of relative height, there are no formal similarities between Geometric *prothesis*-beds and Near Eastern couches. The occurrence of very similar bed forms in earlier Mycenaean art (e.g., Rutter 2003, fig. 29) also makes it likely that Geometric beds developed locally in Greece rather than under external inspiration from the east.

328. Ahlberg 1971, 46; Boardman 1990, 125.

329. Kyrieleis 1969, 102. See, e.g., Zschietzschmann 1928, Beil. 8; Tölle 1963, figs. 16–18, 20–21; Ahlberg 1971, figs. 8, 14, 24, 25, 51.

330. See the discussion by M. Ricketts in Kenyon 1960, 527. Also see Baker 1966, 303; Richter 1966, 124; Hodges 1970, 160–61; Killen 1996, 19; Svarth 1998, 135; Simpson 1999; Cartwright 2005, 107, fig. 5; Simpson 2010, 38n30, 197; 2012, 163.

331. *Il.* 3.391; *Od.* 19.56. The adjective is also applied to a shield in *Il.* 13.407, where it may have a more general meaning of “rounded.” When describing furniture it is sometimes taken to mean “inlaid” or “adorned with circles and spirals”: Leaf 1886, 110; van Wees 1995, 151. See also Heuzey 1873, 305; Ransom 1905, 39; Mau 1897, 371; Rodenwaldt 1921, 852; Laser 1968, 17–25.

332. Kopcke 1967, 131–35, figs. 13–14, Beil. 72–74; Simpson 2002, 314n74. For Kyrieleis's Form I, see Kyrieleis 1969, 98–99, fig. 19, pl. 15.1.

333. See especially, B6, 8. Also Ahlberg 1971, figs. 8, 14, 21, 23, 29, 31–33, 36–37, 41–43, 45–47.

334. Kyrieleis 1969, 102. See, e.g., Richter 1966, 19–20, 41–42, figs. 199, 222–27; *supra* nn. 261–62. This type may stem from prototypes in the Late Bronze Age, since a bed depicted in a *prothesis* scene on an LHIIC krater from a chamber tomb near Elis has legs of this type: see Rutter 2003, fig. 29.

335. Kyrieleis 1969, 116, 118–23.

336. See also B10.

337. Kyrieleis 1969, 118–23, fig. 22.

338. Olympia B4900: Kunze 1967, pls. 102–3. It is interesting that this bell-shaped element did not occur on other early Type A couches but was later reintroduced to the scheme, probably inspired by Persian furniture forms; see above under “Persian Turnings.”

339. For Assyrian couches with curved headboards, see Baker 1966, figs. 334–35; Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 6; Dentzer 1982, 51, figs. 77–79; Reade 1995, figs. 14, 16; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, pls. 35, 138, 142, 346, 402, 504; Kubba 2006, figs. 9.36, 9.5.9–11; Figs 133, 139–41. See also *supra* p. 68.

340. Cf. Seidl 1996, fig. 1.

341. An indentation just above the foot is also a standard feature of wooden furniture legs from Late Bronze Age tombs at Baghouz in Syria: Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, pls. 46, 48, 51, 55.

342. Simpson 2010, 111–12, fig. 76, pls. 100–102, 105B. For the date of the tomb, see n. 8 in Chapter 2. These legs were probably not, however, shaped with a lathe, but rather with an adze: Simpson 2010, 197n3, 199. Cf. also the legs of the bed depicted on the Hittite “Inandik Vase”: Symington 1996, fig. 14.

343. E.g., Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, pls. 46, 48, 51, 55. See also Simpson 2010, 115–16.

344. Kyrieleis 1969, 165. See also Boardman 1990, 126.

345. Cf., e.g., Barnett 1982, pls. 47d (from Arslan Tash), 48f (palmette tree from Samaria).

346. E.g., Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938, pl. 17.

347. Gachet-Bizollon 2007, pls. 36, 79–80, 85; Feldman 2009, fig. 17. Cf. also some of the struts of the inlaid table from Tumulus MM at Gordion, which bear a formal similarity to both the Near Eastern “sacred tree” motif and the Type B cutouts, with a thin central “stem” flanked by opposed volute-like forms above and below: Simpson 2010, 43–44, figs. 5–8, pls. 4g–h, 12c–d, g–h, 16c–d, g–h, 20g–h.

348. Though opposed double volutes of equal size do sometimes occur at the tops of “sacred tree” motifs: e.g., Kepinski 1982, 54, 57, nos. 289, 308, 448.

349. Ransom 1905, 73–74; Kyrieleis 1969, 165, 173–75. Cf. Kunze 1931, 118–23, pl. 21; van Loon 1966, 100, 138; Baker 1966, figs. 291–93; Kyrieleis 1969, pls. 1, 4.2; Merhav 1991, 250–51, 260–61, 349–50; Jamzadeh 1996, 118–21; Seidl 1996, fig. 3.

350. Kyrieleis 1969, 173–75; Simpson 2002, 310. See, especially, a terracotta house model from Argos (Dinsmoor 1950, fig. 15); “Melian” pottery (e.g., Boardman and Hayes 1966, pl. 52, no. 902); and an Archaic painted hydria from Samos ca. 590–580 (A.E. Furtwängler 1980, pl. 54). Cf. also Kunze 1958, 175–76, fig. 118, pls. 73–74; Kreuzer 1992, no. 13; LIMC Athena nos. 366–68.

351. Knigge 1976, 70–71. E.g., Åkerström 1966, pl. 45.1.

352. Betancourt 1977, 120.

353. The map that appears as Naso 2007, fig. 14, showing the diffusion of inlaid *klinai* in the Archaic period, is somewhat misleading because it includes finds not certainly attributable to *klinai*.

354. Naso 2007, 32.

355. Knigge 1976, 83; Philipp 1981, 160; de la Genière 1982, 164–67; Knigge 1991, 101; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 159; Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.3.2; Stroszeck 2003, 84; Naso 2007, 31.

356. See Chapter 3; Boardman 1990, 129.

357. Rayet 1884, Tombeau de Xanthos 4, in his description of the different throne types on the Harpy Tomb. For a summary of other early attempts to relate these terms to the material evidence, without definitive results, see Rodenwaldt 1921, 848.

358. Ransom 1905, 22–23.

359. Ransom 1905, 22–23, 54n5; Pritchett 1956, 229; Knigge 1976, 83.

360. Watzinger 1905, 91; *supra* n. 256.

361. Vulina and Wasowicz 1974, 51.

362. Knigge 1976, 82–83. See also Fischer 1990, 115n7.

363. Spekke (1957, 59–61) finds evidence that this route was known at least by the Classical period in Hdt. 4.17, 18, and 53. On sources of amber see also Hdt. 3.115; Strong 1966, 7. Bouzek (1993) stresses that while other routes may have been more prominent, this eastern route was always active to some degree. It is also worth noting that there may have been an East Greek/Ionian school of amber carving: see Causey 1993. Mastrocinque (1991) has proposed a Tarentine workshop for luxury *klinai* with amber inlays, but this suggestion is based on

Notes to Chapter 1

erroneous identification of amber pieces from Etruscan tombs as *kline* decoration (supra n. 250) and does not take into account the wealth of evidence associating such *klinai* with the East Greek world. Also see Strong 1966, 4–5, for the unlikelihood of the exploitation of Italian and Sicilian amber sources in ancient times.

364. Naso 2007, 32.

365. Kritias fr. 35.2–3 Diels and Kranz, supra n. 321; Andrianou 2009, 32–33. Andrianou reasons that by the time of Athenaios this adjective was “used rather vaguely as an echo of its original nuance that came to incorporate other types of furniture . . . that were never part of the same qualitative group,” but the quoted passage should belong to the fifth century, contemporary with epigraphic attestations of the term.

366. E.g., B301.

367. B160. See also Type B seats without backs indicated on a cup signed by Douris, B239, and variations on Zeus’s throne with Type B legs and animal protomes in place of a back: Richter 1966, figs. 92–96.

368. *IG I³*, 421, line 206; Pritchett 1956, 229; Dentzer 1982, 349; Andrianou 2006a, 233n68; supra n. 323.

369. Faust 1989, 21–22.

370. Studniczka 1914, 119. See also Rayet 1884, Tombeau de Xanthos 4; Knigge 1976, 83; Naso 2007, 20, though Naso’s suggestion that the Grafenbühl sphinx ornament be connected with such a couch (with turned legs) is difficult to reconcile with the other amber and ivory decoration from the tomb, which conforms with the Type B style of furniture leg.

371. Naso 2007, 17.

372. Andrianou 2009, 32. In an earlier article (2006b), she had raised the possibility that the terms in sanctuary inventories could refer “to the ethnicity of the dedicants” (p. 572), but the same adjectives are found in nonvotive contexts (such as the Attic Stelai, supra n. 323), and the suffix *-ourges* implies manufacture.

373. Supra n. 38; Dentzer 1982, 240, fig. 185.

374. Girard in Daremberg–Saglio 3.2 s.v. *lectus*, 1017; Ransom 1905, 24–25.

375. Ransom 1905, 25.

376. Archaic *prothesis* scenes on Type A *klinai* are rare: one that occurs on an Etruscan black-figure kyathos, B134, seems to be more in line with contemporary Etruscan funerary art (tomb paintings and relief cippi), where Type A couches are the norm, than with Attic *prothesis* iconography; see also

Shapiro 2000, 335n68. Couches of uncertain classification (Type B or early Type A) occur on a black-figure pinax fragment in Chicago (*BAPD* no. 14726); Johnson 1943, fig. 21; and on a fragmentary black-figure oon, B156.

377. Knigge 1976, 83. For the Keos inscription, supra pp. 18–19.

378. Supra n. 234 (B338–39). A *kline* with volute capital, the legs of which are not preserved, supports a deceased young man before or inside a tomb on a lekythos attributed to the Tymbos Painter, B304, supra n. 15 (Fig. 7b).

379. See also B237, 276, 278, 313, 321.

380. Buitron-Oliver 1995, 33.

381. B238, 241, 248, 251, 253, 264.

382. B242, 247, 249 (exterior), 255, 256, 261 (exterior).

383. B252, 261 (interior).

384. B244, 245, 249, 258, 259, 260.

385. B250.

386. B240.

387. B257 (Fig. 55 exterior), 262, 266. Cf. also a fragment from Kalapodi, B265.

388. B243, 250, 262. This approach is also found on works by other painters and is especially frequent in depictions from behind of reclining youths on red-figure kylix interiors (supra n. 30): e.g., on B233, attributed to Makron, and B288, attributed to the Painter of Bologna 417.

389. The only exception is a cup fragment in New York, B262.

390. B266. Cf. also a fragment from Kalapodi, B265.

391. For the Brygos Painter, see, e.g., B210, 212, 213. See also B282, attributed to the Syriskos Painter; B284, attributed to the Triptolemos Painter; supra n. 387. Interestingly, this is true even when other furnishings are shown, such as a table on B281, attributed to the Syriskos Painter. For the significance of groundline reclining, see Topper 2009; 2012, 23–52; Baughan 2011, 38–40. Topper (2009, 14; 2012, 24–26) argues that the lack of *klinai* on the Triptolemos Painter’s rhyton is in keeping with the setting of the scene in the distant past (with Kekrops, Theseus, and other legendary Athenians), but it seems more connected, in fact, with the shape of the vase and its pictorial space.

392. Satyr and maenad: B240; Herakles and Dionysos: B243.

393. B165, 168.

394. B163, 166 (Fig. 36c), 167. Another *prothesis* scene attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, on a black-figure plaque in Copenhagen (*BAPD* no. 303070; Zschietzschmann 1928, Beil.

12, no. 35), has no *kline* preserved. A Type B *kline* does occur, however, on a black-figure amphora attributed to the painter in Cambridge, B137. For a Type A *kline* in a symposium scene attributed to the painter, see the fragmentary red-figure krater B164 (Fig. 32i).

395. The Ransom of Hektor has also been identified on unpublished kantharos fragments attributed to the painter, B218.

396. B200 (interior), 215.

397. B204, 205. Cf. B202.

398. B206.

399. B199.

400. B200, 203, 207, 208. Cf. also B216, 220.

401. B209, 210, 211, 212, 213.

402. B224, 225, 228, 230, 232, 234.

403. B221.

404. B229.

405. B223, 235.

406. This illusionistic arrangement of *klinai* is found in several other red-figure symposium scenes, by a number of different painters, and was a trend set by the Pioneers. See, e.g., kylikes by Epiktetos and Douris (Figs. 46–47); a column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, B196; and a fragmentary cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, B206. Cf. also an Attic red-figure stamnos in Paris, B308, and a Campanian krater, B362. On this convention, see Goldstein 1978, 319n455; Dentzer 1982, 398n311; Hurschmann 1985, 32–33; Buitron-Oliver 1995, 33; Burnyeat 1999, 263–64; Steiner 2007, 239–40. For a different approach, see a red-figure column krater attributed to the Nausicaa Painter, B294, where an attempt at spatial illusion is created by depicting the rightmost of two couches (and its occupant) from behind, and its accompanying table behind it, to indicate that the two symposiasts lie across the room from each other, with their tables in between. The aulist standing between them should be understood as occupying the central space of that room, though the tips of her pipes illogically overlap the corner of the right couch, and the left hand of the leftmost symposiast, even more impossibly, overlaps her shoulder.

407. Steiner 2007.

408. B191.

409. Osborne 2007, 32–34. Cf. Douris's presentation of the whole "spectrum" of kylix uses on a cup in London: Steiner 2007, 305n52.

410. Cf. B193, 194, 195. The other two tondi show the type

with raised armrest and turned leg favored by Douris and the type with everted headpiece resembling a chairback: B191, 192.

411. B219.

412. See also B25, 42, 270, 359–60; Visconti 2008/9.

413. *Il.* 24.472–642. At *Il.* 24.597, Achilles' seat is described as a κλισμός πολυδαίδαλος. For the lack of reclining at banquets in Homeric poetry, see van Wees 1995, 151; Visconti 2008/9, 40; pp. 214–15 in Chapter 3. Perhaps artists' conceptions of Achilles as symposiast refer to his eventual commensality with Priam or his resemblance, as "monoposiast," to an eastern monarch. For "monoposiasts," see Senff 1992; A.M. Bowie 1997, 7; Steinhart and Slater 1997, 204–8; Tofi 2006, 830; Fearn 2007, 58–61.

414. B299. On the interior, the hind legs, front paws, and nose of a dog sniffing for scraps are depicted behind the cloth and couch leg. One of the couch legs on the exterior has narrow indentations on the lower portion, suggesting the Type B design in only very schematic form, while the side cutouts of the couch on the interior are fully and lavishly conceived as spiraling volutes.

415. Graef and Langlotz 1933, 40, no. 445. See Mertens 1975, 36, on the monumental "display" function of large cups with combined techniques dedicated in sanctuaries.

416. See Richter 1966, fig. 284; Trendall 1989, fig. 195; Sismanidis 1997.

417. *Pl. Resp.* 10.596b–598a, transl. Shorey 1969.

418. Burnyeat 1999, 263.

419. *Pl. Resp.* 10.598a; Burnyeat 1999, 263–64.

CHAPTER 2. FUNERARY *KLINAI* IN ANATOLIA

1. For preserved wooden furnishings from domestic contexts in Greece, see Andrianou 2009. See the inscription from Keos (pp. 18–19 in Chapter 1) for evidence that some *klinai* used in funerary rituals were regular items of household furniture; but the same inscription implies that others may have been much more lavish and possibly made for funerary purpose.

2. Baughan 2008a.

3. A rectangular stone block was placed beneath a wooden *kline* with ivory and glass ornament in a Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, figs. 21, 25, pl. 48), and a brick platform was found beneath a burial in a Seleukid-era tomb near Uruk, along with the silver leg-casings of a decayed wooden *kline* (Pedde 1991, 522, fig. 1, pl. 58b). Sismanidis (1997, 230) has argued that the pattern of inhumations on stone *klinai* and cremations (placed in

Notes to Chapter 2

small cists) on wooden *klinai* in Macedonian tombs may reflect a concern that a corpse interred on a wooden *kline* would fall irregularly, and rather unrestfully, when the couch eventually decayed. Cf. also two ceremonial stone beds from Kerma that are exact replicas of contemporary wooden funerary beds, with real replication of carpentry joins: Reisner 1923, 220–22. Unlike their wooden counterparts, which show signs of use and wear before burial, these were apparently made expressly for a funerary function and were “used only for the final ceremony” (Reisner 1923, 222). It has also been suggested that the legs of wooden coffins at Abusir were cut off in order “to allow the sarcophagus to remain intact as long as possible so as to guarantee the undisturbed eternal rest of the deceased”: Weber-Lehmann 2007, 144. Weber-Lehmann suggests that a similar desire may explain the floor cuttings in some Etruscan tombs, since they could have held the feet of coffins and would have allowed the chests to rest directly on the ground, but it is just as likely that these cuttings held the feet of wooden *klinai*. For a Macedonian cist grave with *kline* leg sockets so deep (0.40 m) that “the stretchers of the kline would have rested on the floor of the tomb,” see Paspalas 2000a, n. 24; Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, 75, fig. 3. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of burial beds in Nubia, Egypt, and Etruria.

4. See Cat. 52, 54, 59 (?), and 69.

5. On the size and transport of the largest *kline* bedslabs in Lydia, see Baughan 2008a, 52nn16–17. Huguenot (2008, 1:112) has suggested that in Macedonia stone *klinai* were “probablement plus coûteux que les modèles en bois” (probably more costly than the models in wood) and “n’étaient accessibles qu’à une certaine élite” (were accessible only to a certain elite)—those that could also afford vaulted tombs.

6. See under “Materials and Construction” in Chapter 1.

7. See Baughan and Özgen 2012, 84–85.

8. Young 1981, 100–102, 187–90; Simpson 1990, 69–76; 2010, 22–27, 119–25. On the dating of the tomb, see Manning et al. 2001; DeVries et al. 2003; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009, 142; Kuniholm, Newton, and Liebhart 2011, 82–84, 92–94. See Simpson 2010, 132–34, for the possibility that it could still have been *built* for Midas and the reminder that “in either case, Midas was the proprietor of the wooden furniture.”

9. Simpson 1990, 77–79.

10. Simpson 1990, 78–79n13; Kohler 1995, 183–84; Gordion Tumulus B and probably Tumuli C, K-II, K-IV/S-2, and S1. Cf.

Rudenko 1970, 28–29 (Scythia); Parker Pearson 2000, fig. 4.4 (Middle Bronze Age Denmark).

11. Young 1981, 9, 70, fig. 71; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999, 63–64. Simpson’s reanalysis of the surviving fragments is still underway, but her research indicates that they probably belong to a bed resembling Young’s original reconstruction: see Simpson 2010, 113n11, 114–15; 2012, 159. For cautions about the accuracy of the plan reproduced here, see Simpson 1996, 197–98, 202. For the date of the tumulus, see Sams and Voigt 2011, 166.

12. Young 1981, 197; Kohler 1995, 183, 193. These tombs are now dated from the mid-ninth to late seventh century: Sams and Voigt 2011, 166.

13. Mellink 1968, 135–36; Alkim 1969–70, 42–43; Mellink 1969, 214.

14. Buluç 1979; Tuna 2001a; 2001b; Mellink 2006, 1.

15. Tuna 2001b.

16. Kohler 1995, 184n8.

17. Özgen and Özgen 1988, 191–94; Dörtlük 1988a, 173; 1988b, 23–24; 1990, 45 (with photo); Mellink 1990, 140; Özgen et al. 1996, 27; Şare 2010, 54 (“*kline*”). Şare (2010, 54) has tentatively connected the ivory plaques found “scattered around the body” with “*kline*” decoration, though their forms are not comparable to known *kline* design schemes: see Özgen and Özgen 1988, 48, 194, nos. 56–57. One plaque has an Aeolic-style double volute with palmette springing from the juncture, but at only 0.041 m wide, it is too small to have functioned as a *kline* leg capital and is of Syro-Phoenician type: see Börker-Klähn 2003, 103, fig. 18. It probably represents rather the kind of inlaid ornament that inspired the Type B decorative vocabulary: see under “Origins of the Type A and B Schemes: Milesian and Chian?” in Chapter 1.

18. Simpson 1990, 77–79n13. Simpson also notes that the so-called bench in Anittepe 1 (excavated in preparation for the construction of the Atatürk Mausoleum, Ankara), composed of half of a split log, probably belongs to the end of a similar log coffin, not otherwise preserved: see Özgüç and Akok 1947, pl. 4.

19. DeVries (1983) identified “at least two ivory-inlaid *klinai*” among the finds from Gordion, in the abstract of an unpublished paper; see also Greenewalt 2012, 275 n. 18.22.

20. Sheftel 1974, 470. On chronology, see Kohler 1995, 103.

21. Five pointed petals in Gordion inv. BI73, 0.022 m long and 0.010 m wide; four pointed petals in Gordion inv. BI78,

0.024 m long and 0.010–0.011 m wide. Kohler 1958, 121, 126, fig. 6a–b; Sheftel 1974, 112, Inlay nos. 69–70. Cf. Knigge 1976, 70, 77, fig. 33, pl. 103.

22. Knigge 1976, fig. 33; Zürn 1970, 19, pl. 8.39; Fischer 1990, 116.

23. Gordion inv. BI76, at least twenty pieces. Kohler 1958, 124–25, fig. 6b; Sheftel 1974, 111, Inlay no. 67.

24. Zürn 1970, pl. 3.24.

25. Gordion inv. BI77, plus three pieces catalogued as triangles, BI76. Kohler 1958, 124–25, fig. 6b; Sheftel 1974, 110–11, Inlay no. 63. Cf. Zürn 1970, 16, pls. 3.1–9, 65.7–10.

26. For the cylinders, cf. Knigge 1976, pl. 110, nos. 4–7. See also the ivory palmettes and rosettes included in BI83, Kohler 1958, 131, fig. 6b; Sheftel 1974, 117, Inlay no. 89.

27. Sams and Voigt 2011, 166; Kohler's unfinished manuscript on the cremation tumuli (see Kohler 1995, 7n3) will be completed by E.R.M. Dusingberre.

28. Gordion inv. BI107. Kohler 1958, 98, fig. 3; Sheftel 1974, 111, Inlay no. 68, pl. 18c. For the date of Tumulus F, provided by a Corinthian alabastron, see Kohler 1980, 66; 1995, 64; Sams and Voigt 2011, 164–66. The petals from Tumulus F come in two sizes (0.044 m and 0.051 m long) and have squared ends. These are comparable in shape to the petals of the rosettes inlaid on the rail of the South Mound *kline* but are over twice as large, since the Kerameikos petals are only ca. 0.02 m long and the rosettes were only ca. 0.05 m in total diameter: see Knigge 1976, 75, fig. 31b. The Tumulus F petals could have made up a larger rosette or, with intervening elongated triangles, a Sternblüten motif. Both designs sometimes occur at the tops of Type B legs, and the presence of two petal sizes could be explained by variation from one end to the other, in keeping with a tendency toward greater height and decoration on the head-end legs of Type B *klinai*. But with an estimated total length of 0.042 m, the elongate triangles are somewhat longer than those that occur in the Sternblüten motif at the tops of the Kerameikos *kline* legs (0.032 m): Knigge 1976, fig. 33. Another possible location for elongated triangles on a *kline* is at the ends of the front rail, where they often appeared stacked horizontally in a kind of zigzag motif, but the Tumulus F triangles are not quite as elongated and narrow as those that occurred in this location on the Kerameikos *kline*. Three other sizes of triangles and four different sizes of diamond-shaped pieces are also represented among the Tumulus F remains, along with small fragments of plaques scored with diamond shapes,

Gordion inv. BI106, BI109–110, BI112, BI113; Kohler 1958, 97–103, figs. 3–4. The scored plaques have parallels among the Grafenbühl remains (cf. Zürn 1970, 18–19, pl. 7), and the diamonds are particularly similar to the amber “rhombi” assigned to the top of the Grafenbühl leg, though some are larger (the Tumulus F diamonds are 0.015, 0.018, 0.032, and 0.035 m long, while those from Grafenbühl are 0.019–0.023 m long). A series (eight pairs) of iron ring-handles and a bifurcated iron rod found in the Tumulus F deposit along with remains of charred wood have been understood as remnants of a “palanquin-like bier,” and it is difficult to visualize a combination of all these elements in one bier or couch: see Kohler 1958, 90–92, figs. 2–3; Sheftel 1974, 25, 109–11, 465, Inlay nos. 60–62, 64–65, 68, pl. 18c; McLellan 1975, 668, 672; Kohler 1980, 65–66, fig. 5; cf. the rods and rings found in Tumulus E and assigned to a funerary wagon: McLellan 1975, 423. Kohler (1980, 66) thus assigned the “tiny pieces of ivory for inlay and appliqué” to the “decoration of a small wooden chest or pyxis.” The large size of the petals and long triangles, however, suggest a more substantial piece of furniture.

29. See under “Physical Remains” in Chapter 1.

30. Körte and Körte 1904, 43–53, figs. 6, 9–10. For the dating of this tomb, see Kohler 1995, 191–92; Sams and Voigt 2011, 164–66.

31. Simpson 1996, 189. See also Simpson 2010, 41, 75, 130n33 (for the identification of some of the wood remains they found as parts of a serving stand similar to those from Tumuli P and MM), and 123 (on the “sarcophagus”).

32. Körte and Körte 1904, 49, no. 1.

33. Körte and Körte 1901, 9–10; Ransom 1902, 139; Körte and Körte 1904, 109–29; Watzinger 1905, 92; Kohler 1995, 184, 195; Naso 2007, 31. The date of the tomb is established by imported Milesian pottery: e.g., Körte and Körte 1904, fig. 97; see also Sams and Voigt 2011, 164–66.

34. Körte and Körte 1904, 110–14, figs. 87–94.

35. Knigge 1976, 70.

36. Additional lotus buds are listed but not illustrated in Körte and Körte 1904, 112–14: five lotus buds 0.03 m long, belonging to at least one more lotus star, and sixteen similar lotus-bud petals, 0.043 m long, with curved rather than pointed tips, placed on a disc with tips facing inward. Other ivory pieces found in the tomb include small bands with meander, guilloche, and zigzag motifs, square plaques with round holes in their centers, and small discs with incised rays.

Notes to Chapter 2

37. Körte and Körte 1904, 111–12. The chamber measured 3.30×2.25 m.

38. Körte and Körte 1904, 112. Kohler (1995, 185n12) suggests that the remains along the north wall may belong to the lid of a sarcophagus and those along the south wall to its box/chest. She also proposes that “iron bands” and “angled rods of lead” found elsewhere in the chamber belong to an additional coffin, composed of a carved-out log like the coffin from Tumulus MM (supra n. 8). But she cautions (p. 189n41) that the tomb had likely been disturbed and that findspots may therefore be deceiving.

39. See p. 55 in Chapter 1.

40. Körte and Körte 1904, 111, fig. 89.

41. Watzinger 1905, 92. For vessels of Milesian fabric, see Körte and Körte 1904, 117–18, nos. 26–27, fig. 97.

42. See n. 256 in Chapter 1.

43. Vollmoeller 1901a, 15. For the wood remains, von Olfers 1858, 549–50. See also Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 56–57.

44. Choisy 1876, 75–76, 78, figs. 5–11; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T 3 and 4, 175–77; Roosevelt 2003, nos. 23–24.

45. Hanfmann 1967, 47; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 233n1; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T 14, 190–91; Roosevelt 2003, 410–11, no. 44; 2009, 207, no. 1.5. Fragments of wood and bone found in a pile of rubble above the chamber ceiling may confirm this account. The tomb is referred to as Çambaz Tepe in early reports.

46. For Gözde, see Roosevelt 2003, 507–8, no. 258. For Tomb 61.2, see Hanfmann 1962, 24–27; Greenewalt 1972, 125, no. 20, 126, no. 24, 139–40; Baughan 2010a, 286; Cahill 2010, nos. 147–54. The wood remains from Tomb 61.2 measured ca. $0.08 \times 0.08 \times 0.15$ m and so were not planks but perhaps legs akin to the one from BT63.2, Cat. 10.

47. Hanfmann 1964, 55, fig. 35; McLauchlin 1985, BC/T 10, 147–48, 182–84; Ratté 1989, 88, 176–79, no. 4, figs. 52–56. The cuttings measured 0.09×0.11 m and were ca. 0.055 m deep, spaced 0.90 and 1.90 m apart.

48. Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138–40, figs. 8–10; Waldbaum 1983, 78–79, no. 422, pl. 26. The two largest plate fragments measured 0.08–0.09 m square. According to the excavation fieldbook (BT63 II, p. 165), one of the metal plates was found 0.65 m from the W wall and 0.30 m from the S wall—thus just beyond the SW floor cutting. In addition to the plate fragments, at least fifteen nail-like pieces of iron were found, some still inserted in holes in the plate

fragments. The longest preserved nail fragment measures 0.065 m long.

49. Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 59.

50. Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138–40, fig. 7.

51. Thuc. 2.34. McLauchlin 1985, 368n16.

52. Depressions ca. 0.03 m wide and 0.02 m deep in the top and bottom edges of the boards, about 0.10 m in from the edges that joined the leg, may be what Majewski saw as cuttings to receive the dowels “approximately 0.10 m. by 0.035 m. by 0.004 m.” (Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138). No intact dowels are currently preserved, and it is unclear whether the suggested measurements are based on pieces that had survived to that point or are inferred from the size of the depressions apparent on the board edges. It should be noted that these depressions are, however, only ca. 0.02 m deep and very irregular (clear on one side of the board but not the other). And while Majewski claimed that the dowels would have been 0.004 m thick, the depressions apparent today in some cases span the full thickness of the board, ca. 0.02 m.

53. Schiefer 1985, fig. 1; Gaitzsch et al. 1985, pls. 34–35, 37. Similar dowels were used to connect the planks making up the chamber walls of the METU II tumulus in Ankara: Buluç 1979; Tuna 2001b.

54. Filow 1934, 119–26, 229–30; Kyrieleis 1969, 126–27, fig. 23.

55. See under “Materials and Construction” in Chapter 1.

56. Cf. the Getty *kline* (Baughan and Özgen 2012, 69) and representations of *klinai* with long overhanging cloths (see under “Banqueting in Anatolian-Persian Funerary Art: Furniture and Accessories” in Chapter 4).

57. Hanfmann 1964, 55.

58. Greenewalt and Majewski 1980, 138n39.

59. This is an approximate calibration, calculated by the CalPal-2007 online tool: U. Danzeglocke, O. Jöris, and B. Weninger, <http://www.calpal-online.de/> (accessed February 3, 2011).

60. Ratté 1989, 88, figs. 55–56; 2011, 49, 81, figs. 91–93.

61. Roosevelt 2003, 192; 2009, 145–46. Another tumulus at Bin Tepe recently recorded by the Central Lydia Archaeology Survey has a similar small, doorless chamber but holds a bathtub-shaped sarcophagus: see Roosevelt and Luke 2010a, 10–11, fig. 14, where the date is given as “Lydian–Late Lydian (Achaemenid)–Hellenistic.”

62. Roosevelt 2003, 190; 2009, 150.

63. Forbeck and Heres 1997.
64. Forbeck and Heres 1997, 32.
65. Forbeck and Heres 1997, 7–8, 26, 33, figs. 7–8, with some uncertainty, however, about whether the recorded findspots of the phialai reflect their original locations.
66. Cf. the bronze plates that created a sort of baseboard in an Etruscan tomb at Fonterotella: Helbig 1874, 205.
67. Forbeck and Heres 1997, 31–32, fig. 28; Naso 2007, 15–16, fig. 1. The most diagnostic piece is a bone rosette with amber center, 0.07 m in diameter, slightly larger than the size of the rosettes on the rail of the Kerameikos *kline* (ca. 0.05 m): Knigge 1976, fig. 31.
68. Mellink 1977, 302; Blakolmer 1988, 130–31, fig. 13d; Borchhardt et al. 1988, 94, figs. 14 (right) and 15 (right); Borchhardt 1993, fig. 14; İşkan and Çevik 1999, fig. 5; Çevik 2003, 108, 110; Mühlbauer 2007, 43, fig. 41; Seyer 2009, 67, figs. 12, 16. Some of these wall sockets could, however, have held stone bedslabs.
69. Lockwood 2011, 35–36, figs. 12–15.
70. Butler 1922, 159; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 58.
71. Butler 1922, 56, 158–59, 56; McLauchlin 1985, 147. For sarcophagi, see Cat. 70, 71, 86, 88.
72. Limyra, Nekropolis II, Tomb of Pizzi, Borchhardt et al. 1988, 150, figs. 14 (left), 15 (left), 44–46. The cuttings are located on each side portion of a continuous Π-shaped bench, and their placement indicates that the side burials occupied almost the entire length of the tomb, making the rear couch of the Π-shaped bench more like an offering table/bench between the two side couches than another burial place itself. Similar cuttings are found on the surfaces of some rock-cut funerary beds or couches in Etruria: Weber-Lehmann 2007, 145–47; supra n. 3.
73. TL 110, Houwink ten Cate 1961, 97.
74. Houwink ten Cate 1961, 97. See also TL 88 and 124: Houwink ten Cate 1961, 95, 97; Bryce 1986, 71–88; Blakolmer 1993, 152.
75. Kaunos B10, Roos 1972, 107–8n157; cf. also the “low shelf around the chamber of E15” and low shelves in E11, E3, and Delikkaya. Fragments of wood and nails have also been found atop benches in rock-cut tombs of the West Nekropolis of Samos (Tsakos 1977, 416–17), and on the side couches. But these remains need not have come from burial receptacles. Wood and nails found on the side couches in a rock-cut tomb at Derincedere near Aphrodisias (ca. 100 BCE–100 CE) seem to belong to wooden plank constructions that held grave offerings, while the burial was located on a separate, higher rock-cut platform at the rear of the chamber: Ayabakan et al. 1997, 300–301, fig. 1.
76. Cf. Özgen et al. 1996, nos. 24–26; Cahill 2010, 549, no. 191.
77. Nayır 1980, 75; 1981, 128–29.
78. J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AC.94. McLauchlin 1985, 365n5; Baughan 2004, 85–88, 566–85, figs. 224–35; Scott and Maish 2010; Baughan and Özgen, 2012.
79. Baughan and Özgen 2012, 73–78.
80. Unfortunately, the loss of the bronze and textile fragments recovered in the Manisa Museum’s rescue operations makes it impossible to match these fragments scientifically, but published photographs of the linen pieces (Nayır 1981, fig. 29) are visually identical to those adhering to the Getty *kline*.
81. See n. 97 in Chapter 1.
82. Baughan and Özgen 2012, 69–70, 84–85.
83. The following section focuses on Lydia, where the evidence is best known and where firsthand examination was carried out. Examples from neighboring regions are presented and discussed when relevant, but the depth of analysis depends on availability of published information. The results of the Aphrodisias survey in Caria were published after the catalogue was prepared (Ratté 2012), and so are not included in Appendix A. It is likely that similar surveys in future years will bring to light further examples from neighboring regions.
84. Roosevelt 2009, 148–49.
85. Ratté 1993, 5; Roosevelt 2009, 144–47. The inward appearance of tumulus chambers seems to have been more closely linked with the local rock-cut tomb tradition: McLauchlin 1985, 160–61; Roosevelt 2009, 146.
86. Hdt. 1.93; Strabo 13.4.7; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 56–58; Roosevelt 2003, 190; 2009, 142–48.
87. Roosevelt 2009, 148.
88. Greenewalt 1972, 141–45; Dusingberre 2003, 131. It is hoped that continued excavations in Lydian levels at Sardis will help refine our understanding of Lydian pottery styles.
89. On the difficulties of assigning objects found in Lydia to the “Lydian” or “Persian” period, see Greenewalt 1995, 125; Dusingberre 2003, 131; Roosevelt 2003, 188–89.
90. Roosevelt 2003, 199; Aydın 2007. For other tombs with clear signs of later reuse, see Cat. 1, 2, 11.
91. Ratté 1989, 85–86; 2011, 24, 48; Roosevelt 2003, 189.

Notes to Chapter 2

92. Ratté 1989, 86–87; 1992, 153–54. On the emergence of the claw chisel in general, see Nylander 1970, 53–56; 1991; Palagia and Bianchi 1994; Sams 1994, 212. It appears to have been applied to Lydian sculpture as early as 560–550 but is not attested in architecture at Sardis until the end of the sixth century: Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 7–9; Ratté 1989, 86–87; 2011, 48.

93. E.g., in BT62.4 (Cat. 9), Ratté (1989, 89) suggests that the restriction of claw chiseling to certain areas may indicate “that the tool was still a novelty at the time of construction.” At Lale Tepe (Cat. 25), claw chiseling is restricted to the lower courses of masonry. At the same time, claw chiseling limited to the lowest wall courses, which would have been covered by *klinai*, may also represent an intermediate stage of finish, traces of which have elsewhere been erased by subsequent flat chiseling. Palagia and Bianchi (1994), on the basis of seventh-century evidence from Egypt, suggest that the claw chisel, good for dressing large horizontal areas, was used primarily for the “intermediate stage between blocking out with a point and modelling with a flat chisel” and that its traces were often thus erased by subsequent dressing on a finer scale: “it may well be that evidence for the use of the claw chisel in seventh century Greece is lurking unnoticed” (see esp. pp. 185, 189–90). They point out that the earliest occurrences in Attica are restricted to the *backs* of sculptures. Perhaps the issue is not so much when the tool begins to be used, but when traces of its use cease to be erased.

94. Cat. 4, 11, 36, 50, 56, 67. The east and west tombs of Üç Tümlüsler in the Kibyratis (see Cat. 65) had couches socketed into grooves in the chamber walls. I thank H. Ali Ekinici and Âlime Çankaya of the Burdur Museum for showing me photographs of these unpublished tombs. Several tumuli with Lydian affinities in Caria also have this feature: Karabay 1995, 230, fig. 11; Ratté 2006, 24, figs. 20–21; 2009, figs. 4–5; 2012, 39, 46, 48, 54, 58–59, figs. 6–10, 12–13, 21, 28.

95. The correlation of slots/grooves with transitions in masonry courses may indicate their integration with original tomb design: see Cat. 11, 13, 50. At Tekçam (Cat. 50), a massive bedslab with each end socketed into deep slots in the rear portions of the side walls must have been incorporated during the construction of the chamber. And in Sardis Tomb 89.11 (Cat. 4), the slab making up one of the side beds is actually an extension of a block built into the chamber doorway.

96. Roosevelt 2003, 194.

97. Claw chiseling confined to lower portions of walls and anathyrosis treatment of surfaces abutting *kline*: Cat. 9, 25. Area of generally rougher tooling and/or point chiseling: Cat. 18, 26, 32, 45. See also Ratté 2011, 37.

98. At Lale Tepe (Cat. 25), the floorbed depressions would have been very difficult to cut after the built *klinai* were in place, and the unusual depth or thickness of the floorslabs suggests that these cavities were intended from the start: Baughan 2008a, 55. In Sardis Tomb 89.11 (Cat. 4), the unusual height of the beds and their interlocking, shelf-like design, which removed the need for vertical supports, may have been intended to accommodate interments below, in a U-shaped depression in the plaster floor: Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1993, 33.

99. As is certainly the case for the monolithic *klinai* from İkitztepe (Cat. 54) and Karaburun II (Cat. 69). See Özgen et al. 1996, 49.

100. Cat. 17, 25.

101. See also, Karaburun II (Cat. 69), where the *kline* is carved in relief on a single massive block, and (possibly) the Koru Tumulus near Daskyleion (Cat. 59), where only the lower third of the *kline* legs appear to be separated from the rest of the block.

102. In addition to the tombs listed supra n. 94, see Cat. 25 (Lale Tepe) and 58 (Daskyleion, an unusual arrangement, with the head end of a *kline* incorporated into a recessed niche).

103. For fragmentary couches, dimensions cannot be determined unless there are areas of special preparation or differential weathering on chamber walls or floors, as in Cat. 9, 32, 36, 41. For couches of exceptional dimensions, see Cat. 25 and 4, the latter perhaps as late as the fourth century. Rock-cut benches in tumuli are of more variable size: see especially Cat. 23, 37, 47. See also Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1993, 35.

104. See Cat. 25, 26, 30, 33, 36, 42, 43, 45, 63. The rear *kline* from Bekçitepe (Cat. 32) is of single width (ca. 0.74 m) but may have been intended for two occupants, since its concave depression terminates at the right end in a scalloped contour, shaped roughly like the number “3,” as if describing two “head-hollows” side by side (see Fig. 70).

105. Cat. 42, 43.

106. Cat. 5, 6, 14, 44, 65. See also Perrot and Chipiez 1892, 271–72.

107. Cat. 7, 15, 16, 17, 19, 35.

108. Cat. 18, 25, 42, 43, 30, 31, 33, and possibly 49.

109. Cat. 25, left floorbed: Stinson 2008, fig. 1; Baughan

2008a, 57. Cf. the anthropoid interior of a stone sarcophagus on Samos: Boehlau 1898, 15, figs. 9–10; Philipp 1981, 154.

110. See also Cat. 44.

111. Rear and right: Cat. 23 (?), 56, and 66. Rear and left: Cat. 32, 39, 40, 61.

112. Cat. 1, 2, 26, 57, 60.

113. See also Cat. 4, 27, 30, 62, 65, and possibly 18.

114. Cat. 47, 37, 38, 55.

115. See also Cat. 33, 36, 42, 43.

116. See also Cat. 18 and 44; and a *kline* from near Alaşehir, *infra* p. 127.

117. Cf. also the carved supports from Yabızlar (Cat. 42, Fig. 78).

118. Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 211. Close examination of the fragments in 2002 yielded no certain results. Tiny bits of red pigment were visible on the front of the raised left end of the bedslab, along with very faint incised (?) lines suggesting a bow-tie shape. Similar uncertain traces of bow-tie-shaped elements are visible in some of C.H. Roosevelt's photographs of the intact couch at Bahçetepe (Cat. 27), but it is impossible to exclude the possibility that these are natural geological formations within the stone. A possible parallel for this shape on a furniture rail, however, does exist: on Zeus's throne on an Attic black-figure amphora in Oxford, B60.

119. Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 221–22.

120. Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 216–21.

121. Bilgin, Dinç, and Önder 1996, 222. For the Alahıdır lekythos, see Nayır 1980, pl. 24, fig. 5; 1981, pl. 9, fig. 27. If the association of the bronze *kline* in the Getty Museum with the Alahıdır tumulus is correct, however, that tomb could be dated as late as ca. 500, based on comparanda for the Type A scheme of the *kline* and radiocarbon dating of linen fragments adhering to the couch: Scott and Maish 2010; Baughan and Özgen, 2012. But such stylistic dating for Type A *klinai* is hampered by the dearth of physical evidence for the type prior to this time, and it is possible that representations of Type A *klinai* from the first half of the sixth century give an inaccurate impression of their early form: see under “Type A” in Chapter 1.

122. Ratté 2011, 25–26, 37–38, 70–72; Roosevelt 2003, 409–10.

123. As Roosevelt 2003, 190.

124. Kyrieleis 1969, 170, fig. 27.2.

125. The bottom parts of these legs are not visible in unpublished photographs of the fragments, but they presumably

had the lower portions of the side cutouts, with corresponding palmettes below.

126. Kyrieleis 1969, 169–70, fig. 27.1.

127. See *infra* n. 180.

128. Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, pl. 83 no. 124 (fragment of a *kline*?). See also Type B thrones on an Archaic grave relief in Basel and the Harpy Monument: Berger 1990, 30; Brinkmann 2003, nos. 180, 277.

129. E.g., Greenewalt 1973, pl. 12.2–3; Kreuzer 1992, 78, no. 80; Cook and Dupont 1998, fig. 13.3; Baughan 2008a, 66n89. See also Cat. 32, 61. The same effect is achieved in three-dimensional form by alternation of convex and concave petals on a Type B leg fragment from Ephesos (Bammer 1982, fig. 14), and on palmette anthemias from Samos and Sardis (Buschor 1933, Beil. 17.2; Hanfmann 1976, fig. 10; Ratté 1994, 604, fig. 2). See also a lotus-palmette frieze on a marble basin from the Samian Heraion (Buschor 1957, Beil. 7.1), and a terracotta geison from Medma (van Buren 1923, 117, pl. X, fig. 43). Ignatiadou (2007, 225) attributes this alternation in painted *klinai* to an attempt to replicate the real color alternation of amber and ivory petals of inlaid palmettes on real wooden *klinai*.

130. I thank Christopher H. Roosevelt for sharing his photographs of the tomb chamber.

131. The only parallel known is the right leg of the *kline* on a black-figure pinax from Athens, Kerameikos 677, ca. 510 (BAPD no. 43698): Knigge 1991, fig. 26.

132. Cf. the star between volutes on stele anthemias from Samos and Amorgos: Buschor 1930, Beil. 24 1933, fig. 3; Marangou 1986, pl. 51.2.

133. *Supra* pp. 55, 61.

134. Cf. the hanging lotus frieze restored to this location on the Kerameikos *kline*, Fig. 43.

135. Cf. Hacı A (Cat. 46, Fig. 69).

136. These are close to Kyrieleis's “Type 2” volute capital, where the volutes are separated at the bottom yet still begin from the base rather than from the outer corners: see Kyrieleis 1969, 169–70, figs. 26, 27.2. Cf. also the *kline* on an unattributed Attic black-figure hydria of the second half of the sixth century, B107 (Fig. 35h).

137. Cf. the capital of a prothesis-*kline* on a black-figure pinax from Attica, Athens, Vlasto collection (BAPD no. 9017778): Boardman 1955, pl. 7a.

138. B32. See also a “Classicizing” *kline* or throne leg from Rome: Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 21.3.

Notes to Chapter 2

139. Roosevelt 2003, 485.
140. The only known parallel for this arrangement, with the rear couch overlapping the sides, is found in a built house-tomb at Limyra in Lycia (Tomb I/4), where the rear couch is composed of a shelf projecting out and over the low (ca. 0.40 m high) side couches, at a height of about 1.15 m: Mühlbauer 2007, 41, figs. 32–34; Kuban 2012, 135–36.
141. Supra n. 98.
142. Baughan 2008a, 62. For a lotus flower in this location on a later Macedonian stone *kline* in a tomb at Derveni, see Tzanavari 2002, fig. 4.
143. Baughan 2008a, 63. See Cat. 6 (Fig. 72) and infra under “Style and Decoration.”
144. E.g., Buschor 1933, Beil. 13.2–15.1, 16.1–2; Hanfmann 1976, fig. 11; Baughan 2008a, 62n62.
145. Baughan 2008a, 63–64.
146. Baughan 2008a, 61. Cf. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, figs. 155–56; Ratté 1994, figs. 1, 9. It is possible that the *kline* from BT89.1 (Cat. 14) had similar palmettes in this location. Unpublished photos of the couch *in situ*, before the painted decoration disappeared, show vague traces of similar small palmettes hanging below the volute capital of the right leg. These are not, however, included in the published drawings and were not visible on the fragments in the Manisa Museum as of 2002. I am very grateful to Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr. for sharing photographs of the tomb chamber.
147. Richter 1966, fig. 451; see Briguet 1989, 113n36, pls. 1–2, 9a–b.
148. Baughan and Özgen, 2012.
149. Baughan 2008a, 65–70, 78. For an additional local, Lydian parallel for the specific type of wing seen here (with feathers running parallel to each other rather than fanning out toward the tip), see the painted sherd pictured in Greenewalt 2010, 106, center.
150. In addition to published drawings, Choisy 1876, pl. 13b–c and fig. 13, a sketch made by Francis H. Bacon in the Sart train station in April 1882 and included in letters to MIT Professor William R. Ware (1 June 1882) and to Harvard Professor Charles Eliot Norton (18 September 1882) seems to show one of the supports drawn by Choisy, though it is oriented upside down (and identified as an “antefix”). Many thanks to Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr. for providing copies of these unpublished letters, and to Lenore O. Keene Congdon for permission to quote them here.
151. Choisy 1876, 80. One support was drawn to scale at 0.40 m high, while the other was drawn as 0.44 m tall. For matching *klinai* of slightly different sizes in the same tumulus, see Cat. 32 (Fig. 70).
152. Supra n. 150. Bacon admits having been rushed for time (“I made the last strokes as the train approached!”), and it is unclear whether his remark that “the edges of the ‘honey suckle’ were very sharp” refers to the crispness of the carved petals in general or to their pointed edges.
153. See Åkerström 1966, pls. 32.4 (from Larisa), 54.2 (from Miletos). The petals of the palmette on the Aktepe *kline* (Cat. 52) are drawn as very angular in the reconstruction published in Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 77–78, but the actual painted remains on surviving fragments are much more rounded.
154. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, no. 52, figs. 162–63.
155. De la Coste Messelière 1936, pl. XXII; Baughan 2008a, 61n59; Stinson 2008, fig. 19.
156. Choisy 1876, 79, fig. 13. Cf. paterae decorating some Macedonian funerary *klinai*: Sismanidis 1997, 112, 216, fig. 4, pl. 32; Delemen 2006, 256.
157. Choisy 1876, 80.
158. Choisy 1876, 80.
159. Supra n. 116.
160. Tapering on both planes is also seen in representations of Type C *klinai* in profile view, such as on an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Harrow Painter, B196, and is most common, at least in vase representations, in the fifth century.
161. The central (thinnest) part of the legs, at the center of the C-shaped cutouts, is not preserved on either side, so the fanning red lines and projecting elements in this location in the computer model of this *kline* (published in Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 77–78; reproduced here as Fig. 119) are therefore hypothetical.
162. Baughan 2010b, 32. For couchant animals in Lydian art, see Greenewalt 1968, 143; Özgen et al. 1996, 59, 197, nos. 151–58, 189–91; Greenewalt 2010, figs. 12, 18.
163. See under “Type B” in Chapter 1.
164. Baughan 2010b, 59–60.
165. Baughan 2010b, 31–32.
166. Baughan 2010b, 25–31. For the theme of animal combat on a *kline* rail, see nn. 210–11 in Chapter 1.
167. Baughan 2010b, 31. In addition to the Macedonian funerary *kline* from Dion (Sotiriadis 1932a, 42–45, figs. 3–5;

1932b, 11–15, pl. 2; von Graeve 1970, 65, pls. 76.2, 77.3; Sismanidis 1997, 91–95), see also the *kline* depicted on an Apulian krater in Palermo (Richter 1966, fig. 333), and a throne rail on a red-figure bell krater in Rome, B348.

168. Roosevelt 2003, 578; 2009, 172; Baughan 2010b, 30.

169. Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, 311. See under “Persian Turnings” in Chapter 1 and “*Kline*-Tombs with Achaemenid Elements: Furniture” in Chapter 4 for discussion of wooden furniture legs and an Achaemenid-style ivory protome from the tomb.

170. The areas that appear gray now were once blue: Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, 321.

171. See under “Type B” in Chapter 1.

172. E.g., on “Melian” amphoras such as Boardman and Hayes 1966, pl. 52, no. 902.

173. See n. 349 in Chapter 1.

174. For a similar juxtaposition of turned wooden legs and marble Type B *klinai*, see the Koru Tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 59).

175. Mellink 1974a, 358.

176. B163, 166, 167.

177. B178, 296.

178. On the significance of the paintings, see under “*Kline*-Tombs with Achaemenid Elements: Tomb Decoration” in Chapter 4.

179. Dedeoğlu 1991, 129–30; Roosevelt 2003, 407.

180. Cf. votive columns from Delos (Betancourt 1977, fig. 45; Barletta 2001, fig. 58) and a fragmentary ivory inlay from Kul Oba (Reinach 1892, pl. 80, no. 19; Kyrieleis 1969, pl. 21.2). See also the *kline* from Hacılı A: Cat. 46, Fig. 69.

181. Hanfmann 1976, figs. 1–2, 5–6; Radt 1983, 63, pl. 9; Ratté 1994, figs. 1, 3–5.

182. Nayır 1982, 201. See infra p. 127 for a carved egg-and-dart in this location on another Lydian *kline*. Another possible parallel occurs on the uppermost layer of textile represented beneath the corpse in a *prothesis* scene on a black-figure skyphos in Basel (B136), but is uncertain whether a cushion or bier cloth is shown, and the motif could also be a schematic guilloche.

183. Roosevelt 2003, 484, 509.

184. Supra p. 61. There is no mention of volute capitals in existing publications, so the ends of the bedslab face, atop the supports, were apparently plain. Fragments from the front of the front bedslab (two were placed side by side) were not

apparent in the tomb in 2001, when it was surveyed by Roosevelt: see Roosevelt 2003, 508–9.

185. No support fragments have been recovered from the mound, and the chamber has not been located, so it is uncertain whether the *kline* also had Type B supports.

186. Ratté 1989, 88; 2011, 49; based on the lack of evidence for the use of clamps or claw chisel, and lack of anathyrosis.

187. Roosevelt 2003, 585.

188. The tenon at the top of the rear right “leg,” in relief on the right side support, seems to have been added as a separate piece of stone, since there is a hole in the expected location.

189. Knudsen 1964, 68; Özgen et al. 1996, 50. See, e.g., the “window” terracotta revetment plaques from Pazarlı (Özgen et al. 1996, fig. 25); projections above the niche/“door” of the rock-cut façade monument known as Maltaş (Haspels 1971, figs. 519–20); and bolster fragments from Kerkenes Dağı (Draycott and Summers 2008, pls. 62–64, 66). A similarly shaped element in wood, ca. 0.06 m long, was recovered from the Etruscan shipwreck at Giglio: Bound 1991a, fig. 70; 1991b, 235, fig. 85. Cf. also the shape of the tenon on a *kline* depicted on a black-figure lekythos, B142 (Fig. 35i).

190. Taslıkoğlu 1963; Sevinç and Treister 2003, 217, 220.

191. Cf. a limestone *kline* from a fourth-century tomb at Corinth: Carpenter and Bon 1936, 297–301; n. 17 in Chapter 1.

192. Separately made headrests also occur on the marble *kline* from the fourth-century Naip Tumulus in Turkish Thrace: Delemen 2006, 256, figs. 5–6. Built stone *klinai* in the cella of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (ca. 380), above the burial chamber, may also have been supported at each corner, as indicated by traces on the wall masonry, but the form and appearance of the supporting elements are uncertain, since no leg fragments have yet been certainly identified: Coupel and Demargne 1969, 134; Childs 1978, 13; Childs and Demargne 1989, 395–404. Coupel and Demargne 1969, pl. LXXVIb, shows a hypothetical reconstruction with solid masonry-constructed supports on each end, but another reconstruction (pl. LXXVIc) shows sculpted blocks supporting the front corners of two adjacent couches, apparently based on a block from Xanthos in the British Museum (London, inv. B308) with two Type B *kline* legs sculpted side by side (Pryce 1928, 141, fig. 185; Coupel and Demargne 1969, 134, pl. 55). This block is, however, too high (0.70 m) for the couch dimensions suggested by the traces on the cella wall blocks (1.75 m long, 0.71 m wide, ca. 0.55 m high, with supports 0.36–0.38 m high).

Notes to Chapter 2

193. Baughan 2008a, 70–73. See Greenewalt, Dedeoğlu, et al. 1990, 163–64, for Type A legs in plaster relief on a Π -shaped bench made of stone, brick, and mortar, for the placement of cinerary urns in a Roman-period tomb at Sardis (Tomb 86.1).

194. Roosevelt 2003, no. 154.

195. This is estimated, since the floor of the chamber and the bottom of the support were not exposed.

196. See under “Persian Turnings” in Chapter 1. A possible parallel may exist among the wooden furniture remains from the Koru Tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 59), if they can be assigned surely to a *kline*. Cf. frit casings from *kline* legs of similar form in a fourth- or third-century cist grave at Pella: Lilibake-Akamate 1995; Paspalas 2000a, 534–35, fig. 1.

197. The height would have been dictated by the grooves in the side and rear walls for the insertion of the side and rear edges of the bedslab. The extreme tops of the wings on the smaller sphinx are not preserved, but it appears that these, too, may have been cut off.

198. Langlotz 1975, 134–35; Özgen et al. 1996, 39; Draycott 2007, 185–86. A radiocarbon date of 365 BCE $\pm$ 70, based on a sample from the charcoal layer over the porch, may have been affected by some twenty years of “outdoor exposure”: see Özgen et al. 1996, 39.

199. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 4031; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 160–61, no. 239, figs. 416–18; Dusinberre 2003, 226.

200. The backs of the Harta sphinxes are not preserved.

201. Sphinxes with turned heads are, however, also found singly: Holtzmann 1991, 151.

202. The slab is 0.64 m high, 0.52 m deep, and 0.18 m wide. Slab supports of Lydian couches normally range from ca. 0.38–0.55 m high, ca. 0.70–0.88 m deep, and ca. 0.15–0.25 m wide. The Harta sphinxes are 0.645 and 0.71 m high (the flat surface at the top of each is 0.59 m high). The depth of the Istanbul sphinx slab would be low for a Lydian *kline* support, but such a narrow couch width is paralleled in other regions and media (see under “Rock-Cut Chamber Tombs with Burial Couches,” below in this chapter).

203. A tradition of so-called double-sided reliefs perhaps used as furniture supports seems to have been especially strong at Sardis, where an Archaic lion and a Hellenistic sphinx of this type are also known: Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, nos. 23, 41.

204. See under “*Sphingopodes Klinai*” in Chapter 1.

205. The catalogue here in Appendix A had already been completed when I learned of the existence of this *kline*, thanks to N. Cahill and N. Soyer, whom I thank for providing photographs. It should be noted that the bedslab is currently displayed upside down.

206. Boardman 1959, 193–95. A particular parallel for the horizontal ridge at the knuckle can be found on an anta base at Erythrae, seen by the author on site in 2001. For lion anta bases, see also a rock-cut tomb at Turgutreis in Caria (probably of the fourth century): Carstens 2009, 388–89, fig. 19.

207. Stinson 2008, 45; cf. the moldings on Ionic capitals from the Polykratean temple on Samos and the Archaic Artemision at Ephesos, Lawrence 1983, fig. 129; Schmidt-Colinet and Plattner 2004, 40–43, nos. 37–38, 40.

208. London, inv. B269, B270: Pryce 1928, 99–101, figs. 164–65; Akurgal 1961, 156; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 15, 19, 156, nos. 230–31, figs. 400–401; McLauchlin 1985, 151, 370–71n24; Baughan 2004, 78–81, figs. 58–59; Draycott 2007, 161–64, nos. 25–26. The only report of Dennis’s work occurs in a letter of F.H. Bacon, parts of which were published by Butler (1922, 7, 10). Perrot and Chipiez (1892, 398) suggested that the two together formed “part of a hunting scene” decorating the walls of a tomb chamber.

209. For many years, they were encased in a plaster display setting that allowed viewing of only the front and side faces of each slab and the top edge of the deer slab. Pryce (1928, 99, 101) had recorded that the bottom edges of the slabs were “broken”; see also Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 156. In recent years the reliefs have been freed from the plaster casing and mounted individually on the wall. It is now clear that the bottom edges of the slabs are not broken, only their front “corners”; beyond these broken corners are smooth, flat-chiseled surfaces. The bottom edge of the rider slab is angled up toward the back, in the direction opposite the beveled bottom edges of many *kline* bedslabs. Photographs taken of the backs of the slabs during the remounting process reveal roughly worked yet finished surfaces that offer no discernible clues as to the original placement of the reliefs, according to C.H. Greenewalt Jr. (pers. comm.).

210. Cf. also Cat. 1.

211. Cat. 50, 65, and possibly 31.

212. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 19. See p. 30 in Chapter 1.

213. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 5–6, 19, pls. 31, IVa–c, VII; below under “Symbolic Function.”
214. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 17.
215. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 19, guide-sheets A and B.
216. Özgen et al. 1996, 52.
217. See also Gâvur Fırını B (Cat. 23), which has a similar bench against the rear wall and possible traces of another against the right wall.
218. See also BT66.2 (Cat. 12), which had a rock-cut bench with a raised border at the front of the bed surface and cuttings of uncertain function on the lower corners of the front face.
219. Cat. 47, 55.
220. McLauchlin 1985, 145–46; Roosevelt 2003, 141, 193–96. For other built-in couches, see Cat. 4, 13, 36, 66, and 56, though two of these (Cat. 4 and 56, Sardis Tomb 89.11 and Selçikler 2) may be fourth-century or later. Selçikler 2 has been dated by comparison with İkiztepe (Cat. 54) to the fifth century, but its shelf-like couches, possibly bordered at their front edges by raised lips, are similar to those in Tomb 89.11 (Cat. 4) and in fourth-century and even later (Roman-period) tombs in Caria and Cilicia: see Paton 1900, 66–67, fig. 3; Machatschek 1967, pls. 21, 34; Henry 2003, pls. 3–4; Çörtük 2008; Carstens 2009, 381–82; Henry 2009, 94–96, figs. 28, 95; Ratté 2012, 44–48, figs. 3–10.
221. Kasper 1970; Mellink 1971a, 177; Karageorghis 1978, 366; Eckert 1998, sec. 3.2.1.3.
222. Kasper 1970, 72–85; Albert 1970; Mellink 1971a, 177; Roosevelt 2003, 607–9.
223. Eckert 1998, sec. 3.2.1.3. Kasper looks further afield toward Etruria for parallels in the overall design of the tombs (krepis walls and chamber details) and finds strong evidence here for direct cultural contact. For a similar descent in a Phrygian rock-cut tomb, see Karakaya (Cat. 160).
224. See the wheels from the Üçpınar tumulus (Cat. 57), n. 90 in Chapter 4. For a fifth-century inscription from Uyuçuk in Mysia with both Phrygian and Lydian elements, see Woudhuizen 1993; Cox and Cameron 1932. For Phrygian-Lydian interrelations, see under “A Late Archaic West Anatolian *Koine*?” in Chapter 4.
225. Haspels 1971.
226. Haspels 1971, 112, 126, 136, 143.
227. For the Gordion redating, see DeVries et al. 2003; 2005; DeVries 2007; Voigt 2009; Kuniholm, Newton, and Liebhart 2011; Manning and Kromer 2011; Sams and Voigt 2011; Rose 2012, 2, 5. On the “Kimmerian invasion,” see Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 89–90, 115; 2008, 21–29. For criticism of the accuracy of the new dating, see Muscarella 2003; Keenan 2004; Muscarella 2008; and for criticism of Muscarella’s arguments, see Strobel 2004, 275–79. See also Simpson 2010, 134n69.
228. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 90.
229. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 89–142. See also Summers 2006a, 685. Akurgal had long argued for a later dating of Phrygian rock-cut monuments on stylistic grounds: Akurgal 1955, 66; 1961, 106–9. Young (1972) was critical of Akurgal’s view but also questioned Haspels’ assumption that the “best” monuments must be the earliest and wondered how many of them were really “Early Phrygian.”
230. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 98. Excavations uncovered only a Late Phrygian (late fifth- through fourth-century) occupation stratum above the bedrock of the citadel, but ceramic finds and a few scattered architectural and sculptural fragments attest to earlier settlement here: Lydian and East Greek pottery finds as well as fragments of an “Aeolic” capital, a corner volute akroterion, two Archaic korai, and painted architectural terracottas with decorative motifs paralleled elsewhere in Phrygia as well as in Lydia and East Greece: see Haspels 1951, e.g., pls. 8, 40, 45e–f, 47. Recognizably Lydian sherds were visible on the surface of the citadel in June 2002. A few finds of Phrygian grayware pottery types (such as black-glazed globular jugs with sieve spouts) comparable with those from the earliest tumuli at Gordion provide glimpses of an earlier, eighth-century Phrygian phase: see Haspels 1951, 81–85; 1971, 142.
231. Hemelrijk and Berndt 1999, 15–16, figs. 27–29.
232. Haspels 1971, 137: the column’s “squat top . . . looks typically eastern, akin to the Assyrian palmettes.”
233. Prayon 1987, 91–94; Haspels 1971, 129–33, figs. 141–56, 544.
234. Akurgal 1961, 306, fig. 19; Haspels 1971, 132, text fig. 5. Only the head of the left lion and the touching paws remain visible today.
235. Akurgal 1961, 95; 1965, 473; Haspels 1971, 137; Jacobs 1987, 23; Işık 1987b, 169n49; Prayon 1987, 92–94; von Gall 2001; Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 115; Draycott 2007, 36.
236. Akurgal 1961, 86, fig. 51; Haspels 1971, 118–19, 134–35, figs. 130–34, 534; Draycott 2007, 32–35.
237. Beneath the rampant lions are smaller recumbent lions,

Notes to Chapter 2

with heads facing out, recognizable today only in favorable lighting conditions; on the left side of the monument is a third couchant or striding lion, barely visible: see Haspels 1971, 118, figs. 132–33; Prayon 1987, 89–91. For the competitive relationship between the Broken Lion Tomb and Arslan Taş, see Draycott 2007, 32–40.

238. Haspels 1971, 119.

239. For an early dating and comparisons with Neo-Hittite art, see Haspels 1971, 135; Prayon 1987, 89; Işık 1987b, 165. For a later dating, on the basis of Ionian or other later features: Akurgal 1955, 60–61; 1961, 86; Prayon 1987, 90; Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 115; Draycott 2007, 33–35. As Young pointed out (1972, 446), the other two Phrygian rock-cut monuments decorated with massive lions (Arslan Kaya and Yılan Taş, Cat. 126) are both dated to the sixth or fifth century by stylistic or compositional details, and it does not necessarily follow that the “best” and “greatest monument of its class” must be the earliest. For recent discussions of the problems involved in dating this tomb and other Phrygian rock-cut monuments, see Johnson 2010, 226n641; Simpson 2010, 94n193.

240. The “Tomb of Solon” at Kümbet (Cat. 149) is exceptional, with benches (in which cists were later cut) measuring 3.00–3.55 m long.

241. E.g., Cat. 111, 112, 122, 153.

242. Cat. 158, 164, 166.

243. Cat. 159. Tüfekçi Sivas 2005, 220–21.

244. See also Cat. 163.

245. See also Cat. 125.

246. E.g., in tombs at Fındık and Zıngırlı Inler (Cat. 136, 137), all couches are plain, but the one in the rear location is slightly higher; cf. also the tomb at Düver in Pisidia (Cat. 169). In Köhnüş 22 (Cat. 120), all have a raised border on the front edge of the bed surface, but the one on the rear couch is higher than the others.

247. This feature is also sometimes limited to one couch, usually the rear. See also Cat. 126 (right couch).

248. Rail only: Cat. 122. Rail and legs: Cat. 117, 139, 142, 150, 157, 160. Legs only: Cat. 126 (right couch), 143, 163.

249. Cat. 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 157, 160.

250. Toward door: Cat. 136, 139 (main chamber), 143; see also later tombs at Etenna, Çevik 2003, 105, figs. 5, 11, 14. Toward rear wall: Cat. 139 (side chamber), 140, 142, 157, and probably 164.

251. See also Cat. 141.

252. See under “Other Couch Types and Related Furnishings” in Chapter 1. Although the Köhnüş Valley is now called the Göynüş Valley, Haspels’ term will be used here.

253. For the Phoenician bowl, see n. 199 in Chapter 3. Krater attributed to Lydos: B28.

254. Haspels 1971, 127, 136, figs. 37, 39–40; Prayon 1987, 97; Berndt 2002, 59; Draycott 2007, 43–44. Haspels believed that only the weathered lion to the left of the entrance is original, and the rest (animals, riders, and a scalloped ridgepole carved on the exterior of the left side wall) are later additions.

255. Özgüç 1969, pl. 22.1; Azarpay 1968, fig. 16; van Loon 1966, pls. 19, 21; Baker 1966, figs. 1–10, 64, 220, 256, 338; and Richter 1966, figs. 246–49, 290–91.

256. Van Loon 1966, 97; Kyrieleis 1969, figs. 3–4.

257. Kyrieleis 1969, fig. 5; Kubba 2006, figs. 9.7–8, 10.9–10.

258. Baker 1966, figs. 329–30; Kyrieleis 1969, pls. 1, 4; Kubba 2006, figs. 9.11, 9.16, 9.34.

259. Supra n. 205.

260. Myra Tomb 59; Borchhardt 1975, 111–12, pl. 62a.

261. Cat. 171, 172; G. Fiedler (pers. comm.). See Fiedler and Taşlıalan 2002 for the publication of another rock-cut monument in the region.

262. Waelkens et al. 2000, 184.

263. Kahya 2012, 24.

264. Coulton 2012, 161–62; Hüliden 2012, 70; Hüliden, forthcoming.

265. Coulton 2012, 433, fig. E26, Tomb EB7.

266. Coulton 2012, 162. See also “Afterword,” p. 281.

267. On the paintings and their recent destruction, see Stinson 2008; Roosevelt and Luke 2010b, 348.

268. Greenewalt 1972, 115n5; McLauchlin 1985, 8, 57; Dusinberre 2003, 131. Butler published plans of several tombs in the first volume of the Sardis excavation reports (1922). Field sketches indicating the plans of about forty others survive in unpublished excavation notes in Princeton, copies of which are housed at the Sardis excavation compound.

269. Cat. 81, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91. These are known as the “Chase cards,” composed by G.H. Chase in 1914. In many cases, these inventory cards are the only surviving record for tomb finds, since most of the items inventoried by the Princeton expedition were lost to wartime pillaging and destruction in 1919; Butler 1922, ix–x. Some material had already been taken to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the coins and jewelry were

published, but most finds were lost and the Chase cards contain few illustrations. See Greenewalt 1972, 115n5; McLauchlin 1985, 340n76; Dusinger 2003, 131.

270. Roosevelt 2009, 176, Tombs 813 and 03.1 (Cat. 72).

271. Butler 1922, 159, figs. 75, 125–26; Shear 1922b, 399–400; McLauchlin 1985, 65–66. The unexpected discovery of a Lydian occupation level in the Nekropolis area in 2010 (N. Cahill, pers. comm.), however, raises the possibility that some of these finds may stem from Lydian domestic contexts rather than from tombs.

272. Tombs 23A, 43, and 720: Butler 1922, 79, 119–21, 159, figs. 75, 125–26; McLauchlin 1985, 215–16, 221–25; Roosevelt 2009, 273n13. See also Hanfmann 1976, 36n5. Tomb 720 held a sarcophagus.

273. Roosevelt 2009, 177.

274. Dusinger 2003, 132, 135–38.

275. Shear 1922a; 1922b, 396–400, figs. 7–8; McLauchlin 1985, CC1, 147, 213; Cahill 2010, 431, no. 28; Kroll 2010, 150. The chamber had been almost entirely eroded away at the time of discovery, but “parts of benches, cut in the clay for holding the dead in the usual Lydian fashion” were noted: Shear 1922b, 399.

276. For a summary of past views, see Ramage and Craddock 2000, 18, 97n15; Nimchuk 2000, 20, 28n61; 2002, 58. The grayware vessel itself could belong to the seventh or sixth century; cf. Nimchuk 2000, 19.

277. Cahill and Kroll 2005; Cahill 2010, 430, no. 27; Kroll 2010, 148, fig. 8.

278. Nimchuk 2000, 11, 20–22.

279. Kroll 2010, 150.

280. For projecting niches, see Cat. 77, 78, 96, 98, 99.

281. Cat. 76, 77, 78, 95, 101, 105.

282. Cat. 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, and 104 (Tomb P¹).

283. Cat. 100, 101.

284. McLauchlin (1985, 146) notes that the lack of any decoration “giving the benches even a remotely *kline*-like appearance” is surprising in relation to the Phrygian evidence.

285. As Seyer (2009, 66) has suggested also for Lycian tombs. An example in Phrygia is Köhnüş 18 (Cat. 118).

286. Butler 1922, 119–21; McLauchlin 1985, 223–25, dated ca. 550.

287. For cists, see Cat. 93, 95, 103; Butler 1922, 158. For later cists in Phrygian, Lycian, and Carian rock-cut couches, see *supra* n. 240 and *infra* nn. 305 and 389.

288. Cat. 71, 79.

289. Cat. 104 (Tombs M, P¹). A parallel for this occurs in Hellenistic- or Roman-period rock-cut tombs at Etenna in southeastern Pisidia: Çevik 2003, 105, fig. 10.

290. Cat. 75, 87, 96, and 104 (Tombs 9, B, and M). See also Cat. 77 and 78, each with one side couch and a double couch at rear.

291. Cat. 76, 95, and 104 (Tombs 8, A, A⁴, H¹, V³).

292. *Supra* n. 61 (on BT63.2, Cat. 10). Tomb 23A, dated ca. 625–550, is the only tomb of the Nekropolis that had no doorway, and Butler assumed that it had been entered from above: McLauchlin 1985, 221–23.

293. Cat. 70, 71, 86, 88. Butler 1922, 158–59; McLauchlin 1985, 146–47.

294. For Xanthos, see Demargne 1974; for Myra, Borchhardt 1975; for Limyra, Blakolmer 1988; 1993; Kuban 1997; 2012; for Tlos, İşkan and Çevik 1999; for Dereagzı, Bridges 1993; for the Yavu region, Hüllden 2006; for the Kibyrtis, Dörtlük 1977, figs. 8–9, pls. 5–8; Gay and Corsten 2006; and for the Elmalı plain, Lockwood 2011, 26–62. For general syntheses, Kuban 2005; Mühlbauer 2007; Seyer 2009. See also *supra* p. 97 (for wood remains).

295. The first study devoted to the interiors of Lycian tombs is Seyer 2009; see also, Kuban 2012, 50–55; Yıldırım 2012.

296. Petersen and von Luschan 1889, 30; Borchhardt 1975, 110–12; Blakolmer 1993, 152.

297. See Schweyer 2002, 14–16, for a summary of interpretations. For the view that they represent houses, see Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 98–101; Waelkens 1986, 25. See Marksteiner 1997, 90–94, for the view that these façades represent cultic buildings. There is little archaeological evidence for contemporary Lycian domestic architecture: see, e.g., Seyer 1991–92; Schwaiger 2012. It is worth noting that the modern wooden buildings in the region that share some characteristics with the structures depicted in the façades serve as granaries: see Benndorf and Niemann 1884, 100; Mellink 1964, 271, 275. For a review of previous theories and a suggestion that the architectural forms could represent mobile huts used for seasonal mobility, see Kuban 2012, 24–29.

298. Martin 1971, 334.

299. Borchhardt (1990, 122) draws a connection with the andrones at Labraunda; see also, Borchhardt 2000, 82–83. For the same suggestion for Carian rock-cut tombs, see Pederesen 2009, 138; Henry 2009, 159–60. It is worth noting here that in the temple-style podium tomb known as the Nereid

Notes to Chapter 2

Monument at Xanthos (ca. 380), the cella above the burial chamber held four *klinai*, two placed end to end on each long side, as indicated by traces on the interior faces of orthostate blocks: Coupel and Demargne 1969, 106, 134, pl. LXXVIC; supra n. 192. A temple façade was thus not necessarily incompatible with a banquet hall, and in the Nereid Monument (as also in some Lycian rock-cut tombs with exterior reliefs) the *klinai* resonate with the theme of banqueting in the figural decoration of the tomb. See Childs and Demargne 1989, 208–9, pls. LVII–LXI; Ebbinghaus 2000; Tofi 2006; Landskron 212; Lockwood, forthcoming.

300. Bryce 1980, 168; 1986, 72–88, 116–20. See also Hüllden 2006, 285–86. The family relationships may have extended beyond individual tombs at Lycian nekropoleis, where rock-cut access walkways and ledges were shared by multiple tombs. Çevik (2003, 99) has suggested that tombs with shared “porches” may have belonged to the same family.

301. E.g., Xanthos Tombs R3, R7–9, R12, R15–19; Demargne 1974, 33, 37, 40, 42, pls. XI–XXI. See also Borchhardt 1975, 107–10; Blakolmer 1988, figs. 9, 12, 13; Bridges 1993, figs. 29, 31, 33; Seyer 2009, 56–64; Kuban 2012, 51–52, figs. 24–26, Types 1–3.

302. Kuban 2012, 53–54, figs. 27–28, Types 4–5. E.g., Borchhardt 1975, 107–10; Borchhardt 1993, 15–17; Mühlbauer 2007, figs. 48–49, 55, 60.

303. One of the tombs at Pınara (above an unfinished tomb) has a couch of double width. For husbands and wives on the same couch, e.g., TL 75: Houwink ten Cate 1961, 95; Bryce 1980, 170; 1986, 77. See also TL 84: Bryce 1986, 77–78, 117–18; Schweyer 2002, 28.

304. Borchhardt 1975, 107–10 (Myra Tombs 9–10, 17, 35, 42, 64, 69, 100); Seyer 2009, 66–76.

305. E.g., Limyra Tomb CH V/46 and a tomb at Hoyran: Mühlbauer 2007, 51, figs. 55, 63.

306. Borchhardt 1975, 110–12; Bridges 1993, 112; supra n. 68.

307. E.g., Mühlbauer 2007, 52, 79–80, figs. 59, 128, 283–86; Kuban 2012, 51–55, Type 3, figs. 26, 29, 33–35. See also the tombs at Etenna: Çevik 2003, 165; supra nn. 250, 289. This approach is found in some Lydian tumuli (Cat. 4, 25) but has not been documented in Lydian rock-cut tombs.

308. Borchhardt 1975, 112, fig. 25, pl. 62b.

309. Texier 1849, 229, pls. 191, 197–98; Vollmoeller 1901a, 21–22; Fedak 1990, 78–79; Mühlbauer 2007, 79, fig. 125. This tomb is also known as the “Tomb of the Dancing Women,” after the frieze of dancing women at the top of the chamber

wall. Only the rail frieze is now preserved on the left-hand couch, and the rear couch is totally destroyed.

310. Myra Tomb 35: Borchhardt 1975, pl. 59.

311. Myra Tomb 59: Borchhardt 1975, 111–12, pl. 62a. The overhanging cover terminates in a ball-like tassel at the corner.

312. Mühlbauer 2007, 58, fig. 76 (Phellos, House-tomb 1).

313. For rare raised borders, see Demargne 1974, pls. XII, XIV, XIX; İşkan and Çevik 1999, fig. 4.

314. E.g., Xanthos Tombs R7–8, R16–17, and R20, Demargne 1974, 34–36, 41–42, 43–44. See also Schweyer 2002, 39; Mühlbauer 2007, figs. 32–33, 45 (with armrests as well as pillows); Seyer 2009, 65.

315. Both nearest the tomb entrance: Demargne 1974, pl. XIX (Xanthos Tombs R16–17). Both toward the rear: Mühlbauer 2007, figs. 48–49 (Limyra Tomb I/8); Kuban 2012, 53, 133–34, 138–39, fig. 27 (Limyra Tombs I/2 and I/7); Corsten 2007, 51–52, fig. 3 (Lycian-style tomb in the Kibyrtis). But see Kuban 2012, 187 (Limyra Tomb II/60) for an arrangement with the raised headrest on the left couch oriented toward the door and that of the right couch toward the rear. And in Limyra Tomb I/4 (supra n. 140), the right couch has *both* ends raised while the left couch has a headrest only at the rear.

316. Mühlbauer 2007, 58, fig. 76.

317. TL 49, transl. Bryce 1986, 75, 117; see also Houwink ten Cate 1961, 92. For the meaning of *isbazi*, see also Schweyer 2002, 19–20, 28–29. For other inscriptions expressing this concern, see TL 57, 75, 84, 91, 102, 113, 118, 139, 149, 150, Bryce 1985, 76–87.

318. Supra n. 307.

319. Borchhardt 1993, esp. 15–17, on the Tomb of Piñteusi at Çağman, a two-story “house-tomb.” See also Bryce 1986, 87; Seyer 2009, 65.

320. Bryce 1986, 71–88, 116–19; Blakolmer 1993, 152; Schweyer 2002, 199.

321. Limyra, Nekropolis V, Tomb 113: Blakolmer 1993, 152; Schweyer 2002, 39–40.

322. Roos 1972; 1985; 1989. See also Bean and Cook 1955; Carstens 1999; Henry 2009, 55–79.

323. Roos 1972, 96; 1985, 50–51.

324. Roos 1972, 88; Henry 2009, 67, fig. 20. These are most common in the region of Kaunos, less so on the Halikarnassos peninsula, according to Bean and Cook 1955, 167.

325. Roos 1972, 88.

326. Roos 1972, 89, 107n156.
327. Roos 1972, 96, Kaunos Tomb B1.
328. Roos 1972, 26.
329. The relief profile at Kaunos Tomb B8 (Fig. 111.3) may represent turned legs. See also Henry 2009, 67–68.
330. See Huguenot 2008, pls. 18–23, for burial *klinai* in tombs at Eretria, Corinth, and Philippiopolis (?) as well as the Carian examples, from Kaunos Tombs B1, B6, F7 (?), and Çamköy. In reference to the Corinth *kline*, Simpson (2002, 311) suggests that this is a form of the Ionic-volute foot seen on earlier Type B *klinai*, but it is in fact a distinct type, and the volute designs may once have been completed in paint: see Vollmoeller 1901b, pl. 13.3; Richter 1966, 61; n. 17 in Chapter 1. Cf. also the couch represented on a fourth-century hydria (B355) in London.
331. See also Kaunos Tomb B6: Roos 1972, 88, pl. 27. Pillows are also found in tombs at Arymaxa and (perhaps) Krya: Roos 1985, 34, pl. 60.1–2.
332. Roos 1985, pl. 60.1.
333. Bittel and Naumann 1965, 72–76; von Gall 1966, 13–57, with earlier references; Summerer and von Kienlin 2010, 214–15, for a date early in the range of ca. 425–375; Johnson 2010, 331–34.
334. Summerer and von Kienlin (2010, 197) argue that the right-hand chamber was unfinished, since the bench is only “very roughly carved.”
335. Von Gall 1966, 82–88, fig. 10; Summerer and von Kienlin 2010, 200, 214–15, figs. 12–13; Johnson 2010, 276, 279–81, 307–9.
336. Perrot-Chipiez 1892, 200–204, fig. 143; von Gall 1966, 93–94.
337. See Johnson 2010, 380–81.
338. Summerer and von Kienlin 2010, 199, 214–15, figs. 7–11; Johnson 2010, 281–83, 316–18.
339. Summerer and von Kienlin 2010, 209–10, 216.
340. For later (Hellenistic- and Roman-era) Anatolian tombs with burial *klinai* of stone or wood or rock-cut couches, in addition to those discussed here, see, e.g.: Conze 1913, 234–35, figs. 63–64; Fıratlı 1960; Meriçboyu and Atasoy 1969; Machatschek 1967; Atasoy 1974a, 352–53, 354–56, figs. 3–6, 12–17; Atalay 1987, 301–2; Eskioğlu 1989, 191; Greenewalt, Dedeoğlu, et al. 1990, 162–64; Selçuk Başer 1991; Ayabakan et al. 1997; Evren 1997; Boysal and Kadioğlu 1999, 217–20, plans 2–3; Abadie-Reynal and Ergeç 1999, 407, figs. 16–17; Åkerstedt 2000–2001; Çevik 2003; Carstens 2009; Johnson 2010, 305–418.
341. Black-figure vase-painters sometimes used a similar shorthand for canonical Type B couches, with incisions delineating C-shaped cutouts on an otherwise plain, rectangular leg: e.g., a black-figure Siana cup, B37.
342. Baughan 2008a; 2010a.
343. Richter 1966, 60; Sismanidis 1997, figs. 4–5. Cf. also the relief sarcophagus from the Belevi mausoleum (Richter 1966, fig. 325) and Myra Tomb 6 (Borchhardt 1975, pl. 62b).
344. See also Prayon 1975a, 58, pl. 67.2; Steingraber 1979, pl. 43.3, no. 743; and under “Excursus: Etruscan Tombs and the Reclining Banquet in Etruria” in Chapter 3.
345. For bulging disc terminals but straight leg profiles above and below the cutouts, see, e.g., a black-figure pinax attributed to the Sappho Painter, Louvre L4 (n. 187 in Chapter 1; Fig. 35a), and B93 (Fig. 35e).
346. Cf. also Cat. 18 (Belenovası B), which also has a beveled lower front edge but with a different treatment of the sides.
347. It is unclear whether Choisy *Kline* A was Type B, since no supports were found and Choisy did not record any evidence of volute capitals on the ends. A rounded form included in the drawing at the top of the leg, just above where the bed-slab would have rested on the slab support, may have been a rosette, star, or other round motif of the kind often seen in this location on Type B legs. The edge of the headrest was painted with a maeander design, and the rail was also painted, with a row of star or rosette motifs, each enclosed in a round outline and with rays painted alternately red and green: Choisy 1876, 80.
348. Kuban 2012, 53, 138–39 (Tomb I/7). The headrests of the *klinai* included in the Nereid Monument at Xanthos (supra n. 192) combine the angled raised pillow form more common for Lycia with a semi-oval depression comparable to those on Lydian couches: see Coupel and Demargne 1969, 134, pls. 55, LXXVIc.
349. These features include the dromos-chamber plan, plug-type door, and triangular gable block. For the last, cf. Cat. 4, 41, and 50; Roosevelt 2003, app. 3, nos. 138, 415, 519–20, 527, and 539. Some of these tombs may be fourth-century or Hellenistic, so it is possible that Üç Tümlüsler 1 is also relatively late.
350. Single petal: Cat. 7, 15. Palmette: Cat. 17; only one corner of the headrest is preserved, but the published drawing shows part of a spiraling volute, outlined in relief, and a three- or

Notes to Chapter 2

four-petaled palmette filling the “angle” between the volute and the curving band that bordered the headrest and would have terminated in another volute on the opposite corner.

351. The painted decoration is better preserved in this area, on a trapezoidal “dutchman” of white marble that replaced a damaged area. See Baughan 2008a, 64–65, fig. 19.

352. Only the front part of the headrest is preserved, and the right rear post of the couch is also not preserved, but there is no reason to doubt that the piece originally joined with it, as it does with the broken front post.

353. This post is not shown in the computer reconstruction of the *kline* published in Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 78, 82, and it was not displayed on the *kline* in the Uşak Museum as of June 1998. By June 2002, however, the post fragment had been joined to the left rear corner of the couch.

354. Cf. Dedetepe (Cat. 61, Fig. 74); see n. 199 in Chapter 1.

355. From photographs published in preliminary reports, the *klinai* in both tombs appear to have headrests with curved outer contour and flaring ends, possibly with additional surface decoration (volute?) articulated. For the best photos of the headrests in the Kuru Tumulus (Cat. 59), see İren and Erdal 2012. Full publication of these tombs is eagerly anticipated.

356. See also Berggren and Berggren 1972, fig. 53; Steingräber 1979, 9, figs. 1–6; Linington 1980, figs. 49–50; Brocato 1996, fig. 2; Magness 2001, figs. 4–5. The piece restored as a headrest on the bronze bed from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere is also similar, but it may not in fact belong to the bed. It has now been identified as part of the biga from the same tomb: Emiliozzi 1992, 106, fig. 23; Mols 1999, 36n136.

357. Prayon 1975a, pl. 73.

358. Magness 2001, 85–90.

359. Magness 2001, fig. 1.

360. Magness 2001, 86, fig. 1; Barkay and Kloner 1986, 36.

361. Magness 2001, 89–90.

362. On the similarities between Hathor-style hair and volutes, see Rykwert 1996, 314–15.

363. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 58, figs. 80, 115; Summers 2006c, 650–51, pl. 1; Summers, Summers, and Branting 2006; Simpson 2010, 88, 92. The examples from the Phrygian highlands are all double idols, with two figures side by side, while those from Kerkenes are single figures. Cf. Hathor-style hair on female figures in Phoenician and North Syrian art: e.g., Gunter 2009, fig. 42.

364. Cf. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, figs. 65, 81–82, 87–90, 106, 113.

365. Çevik 2003, 113, fig. 11. Some of the Silwan headrests are, however, doubled, and one is sunken rather than raised: see Ussishkin 1970, 38; 1993, 80–84, figs. 62–65; 1994, figs. 62–65 (Silwan Tomb 10).

366. The dead buried in the tumuli of Bin Tepe may have lived at Sardis or in smaller settlements found around the Gygean Lake, currently the subject of surface investigation by the Central Lydia Archaeology Survey.

367. See Cat. 14, 43, 53, 57, 59, 61, 62, 68, 69, 72. George Dennis also reported finding skeletal remains atop the couch in one of the Bin Tepe tumuli, Cat. 8. In other cases, the skeletal remains are clearly associated with later reuse of the tomb, as in BT66.1 (Cat. 11).

368. Supra nn. 104, 243, 290–91.

369. E.g., Cat. 61 (Dedetepe).

370. See also Çevik 2003, fig. 11, for a later example in Lycia.

371. Cat. 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 16, 44, 46, 52, 53, 57, 59, and 61. For Lycia, see Limyra Tomb I/4 (supra n. 140); for later examples, Çevik 2003, figs. 5, 11, 14. Fragmentary couches with pillows preserved on the left end, as in Kendirlik 2 (Cat. 17), were probably also amphikephalic.

372. See under “*Klinai Amphikephaloi*” in Chapter 1.

373. In Mysia and Lycia, they occur in tombs with two or more couches: see Cat. 57 and 61; Mühlbauer 2007, 41, fig. 32 (Limyra). See also Çevik 2003, 113, fig. 11 (Etenna, in south-eastern Pisidia). The rear couch at Lale Tepe (Cat. 25) is the only known example of a double *kline* that also has two raised volute capitals, but they are not of equal height, and the right end is clearly marked as the “head” end by the anthropoid burial hollows in the bed surface.

374. Supra pp. 152–54. See also Greenewalt, Dedeoğlu, et al. 1990, 164, for a Roman-period tomb at Sardis with brick couches that held cinerary urns and chests with inscriptions indicating family relationships.

375. Tomb of Pizzi in Nekropolis II: Borchhardt et al. 1988, 150, fig. 14 (left); supra n. 72; also Seyer 2009, 63. Cf. the most common arrangements of funerary beds in Etruscan tombs, see under “Excursus: Etruscan Tombs and the Reclining Banquet in Etruria” in Chapter 3. Similar use of Π -shaped benches for two side burials with offerings between is seen in the fifth-century nekropolis of Aleria on Corsica, where many tombs have been found intact: Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, pls. 8, 10, 12, 14.

376. Perhaps only Sardis Tomb 03.1 (Cat. 72), where a single

burial occupied each side couch and disturbed skeletal remains found on the rear couch may belong to a single individual.

377. In the latter, fragments of two horizontal slabs were found broken up above shallow (ca. 0.08 m deep) hollows in the bedrock floor before the side walls. The hollows may have been floorbeds carved beneath built *klinai*, or the bedslabs may have been placed directly on the chamber floor, as seems to have been the case for some of the burials in a tumulus at Bin Tepe (Belenovası B, Cat. 18). See also Sardis Tomb 68 (Cat. 98), where additional hollows were carved in the floor before rock-cut couches; Sardis, Butler Tomb P¹ (Cat. 104), where a “wood bier” was indicated on the floor of the chamber in a sketch plan; and the Koru Tumulus near Daskyleion (Cat. 59), where the remains of one individual were found beneath one of the *klinai*.

378. Cf. the situation in the Kordon Tumulus (Cat. 43, Figs. 64–65). None of the multiple-occupancy couch-tombs collected in this study appear to have been single-period mass burials, such as Tomb 59 in the Cellarka nekropolis of Salamis, Cyprus: Karageorghis 1970, 94, pl. LV. The mass burial in BT66.1 (Cat. 11) apparently dates to the Late Roman era.

379. See Taslıkoğlu 1963; Sevinç and Treister 2003, 243–44.

380. Roosevelt 2003, 195–97; 2009, 139, 150. See also Butler 1922, 11, for the relationship between dromoi and multiple burial. A similar progression from single to multiple burial is found in Macedonia: Andrianou 2009, 39.

381. Supra under “The Rules of Reclining” in Chapter 1. The orientation of the burial on the rear couch of the Koru Tumulus (Fig. 59) is not mentioned in existing reports, but the high level of preservation (İren and Erdal, 2012) suggests that it may also be known.

382. Forbeck and Heres 1997, fig. 8.

383. Both toward the door: Cat. 25, 65, 139, 143. Both toward the rear: Roos 1985, pl. 60.1 (Carian). For Lycian examples, supra n. 315.

384. Ussishkin 1970, 38; 1993, fig. 189; Karageorghis 1970, figs. 24, 26, 29, 30–31, 37, 40; Sismanidis 1997, 231. The same orientation is evident in tombs at Salamis without built-in pillows, when burials are relatively intact: Karageorghis 1970, figs. 32, 35, 55; for exceptions, some of which may be explained by small chamber dimensions and the need for overlapping burials, see Karageorghis's figs. 65, 75, and 78.

385. Baughan 2008a, 58.

386. Baughan 2008a, 55.

387. “Doric Tomb” at Kaş (supra n. 309); Kaunos Tombs B6 and B8, Roos 1972, pls. 27, 29; House-tomb 1 at Phellos, Mühlbauer 2007, 58, fig. 76. Huguenot (2008, 1:112) also notes the rarity of this arrangement in Anatolian tombs. See also the tomb at Zahren Deresi in the Phrygian highlands, dated by Haspels to the Hellenistic period: Haspels 1971, 161–62, fig. 550.3.

388. Huguenot 2008, 1:113.

389. For Lycian and Carian examples, see Xanthos Tombs R7–8, Demargne 1974, pls. XII, XIV; Myra Tomb 72, Borchhardt 1975, 109; Limyra Tombs I/4 (with right couch amphikephalic) and II/150, Kuban 2012, 135–36, 241–42; Kaunos Tombs B6 and B8, Roos 1972, pl. 27.2, 29.2. See also a Lycian-style tomb in the Kibyrtis (Kozagacı Tomb 1), Gay and Corsten 2006, fig. 18. For Carian tombs with burial cists arranged in an interlocking (“triclinium”) arrangement, see Roos 1972, pls. 23, 33–34, 36, 38, 43, 45–46 (Kaunos Tombs B1, B7, C2, C12, C50, F10, F16, F30). Later addition of side couches could explain the lack of interlocking arrangements, but these almost invariably seem to have been part of the original tomb design: either they are cut from bedrock and therefore could not have been added later or they are incorporated into the masonry construction or the rear couch.

390. Ratté 2012, 44–46, figs. 3–4.

391. Pontrandolfo 1995, 186–87, figs. 5–6. Cf. also Via Cristallini Tomb C at Naples: Steingraber 2000, pl. 34.1–2.

392. Dunbabin 1998, 87; Hellström 2011, 153. The function of the raised niche in the center of the rear wall is not certain, but it may have held statuary, as reconstructed in Hellström 2007, 91; see also Hellström 1989, 101–2; 1996, 167–68; Nielsen 1994, 65. On dining at Labraunda, see also Carstens 2011. More “egalitarian,” Greek-style dining rooms were provided in Labraunda's East Stoa: Hellström 2007, 99; 2011, 153.

393. Hellström 1996, 168. His supposition, however, that “all banqueters were reclining with their feet toward the entrance” requires that some leaned on their right elbows, in the direction opposite the normal convention. See also Hellström 2011, 153.

394. Cat. 25, 100, 101, 120, 122, 125, 136, and 137. Cf. two Late Geometric chamber tombs in Caria with Π-shaped burial platforms, each with the rear position higher than the two sides: Diler 2009, 363–68, figs. 2–3. These platforms are much larger than the couches considered here (deep enough for burials to be laid across their width) and have upper portions built from

Notes to Chapter 2

earth and stone; thus they seem to represent a different burial tradition that also placed extra emphasis on the central, rear position and so offer support for the idea that axiality may help to explain the prominence of the rear position in many *kline*-tombs.

395. Notable exceptions (single-couch tombs in which the couch is located on a side wall) include Cat. 3 and 44.

396. See under “Size and Placement” in Chapter 1.

397. See also Baughan 2008a, 76–77. Although Herodotos (1.71) implies that Persians adopted luxurious dining practices from Lydians, it is often suggested that they drew greater inspiration from Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian models: Gunter 1988, 16–17; Granger 2002, 120.

398. Dentzer 1982, 536.

399. Buhl 1959, 16–19; Frede 2000; Lembke 2001; Baughan 2008a, 57–58. Cf. also the shape of some headrests on Etruscan funerary beds: Steingraber 1979, figs. 1–6.

400. Boehlau 1898, 15, figs. 9–10; Philipp 1981, 154. Cf. Kleemann 1958, 36–43, pls. 26–28. For Lydian sarcophagi, see Butler 1922, fig. 177; McLauchlin 1985, 148–50, 163; Greenewalt, Ratté, and Rautman 1993, 35; Roosevelt 2003, 131–33. For Late Antique sarcophagi from Istanbul with anthropoid interiors, see Asgari and Firatlı 1978, 16, figs. 9–11.

401. Cat. 70, 71, 77, 86; Butler 1922, 56, 158–59; McLauchlin 1985, 147.

402. Cf. a Hellenistic grave stele from Tyre, with a Phoenician-style anthropoid sarcophagus lying atop a couch or bier: Parlasca 1982, pl. 5.4.

403. The same can be said for wooden beds or biers found within sarcophagi, such as the *kline* from Duvanli discussed in Chapter 1 (Fig. 31). See also Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 75.

404. Özgen et al. 1996; Özgen 2010.

405. For incense-burners at banquets, cf. Fig. 133 (relief with Assurbanipal banqueting): Özgen et al. 1996, 117. On the “rattles” from Töptepe and other Lydian burials, see Özgen et al. 1996, 168; Baughan 2010a, 291; Özgen 2010, 323.

406. Fragments of wood were also noted: Tezcan 1979, 395; Özgen et al. 1996, 51.

407. Dedeoğlu 1992, 69, fig. 14. A table may also have stood in the chamber of BK71.1 (Cat. 3), as suggested by joints in the floor slabs next to the *kline*: Ratté 1989, 192.

408. Cf. the finds from the Dardanos Tumulus, Cat. 62. The many wooden pieces found on the floor of the Koru Tumulus

at Daskyleion (Cat. 59) could belong to tables or to a third *kline* made of wood.

409. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 19–20, pls. 8, 26. Similar impressions were noted on the wall above, in connection with nail holes (pp. 5–6, pls. 31, IVa–c). It appears that round-based vessels such as oinochoai stood on the table, while bowls were suspended on nails above. For the table at Karaburun, “a low rectangular block with offset beveled edges,” 0.59 × 0.72 × 0.20 m, see Mellink 1974a, 358. Its top was painted red and the front was blue, matching the floor.

410. See also Dardanos (Cat. 62; Sevinç and Treister 2003) and Alahıdır 1 (Cat. 24), from which several silver and bronze vessels and a bronze ladle were reportedly stolen. Metal vessels were also said to have been looted from BT66.4 and Mitrilyöztepe (Cat. 13, 31), and Butler’s team recorded the presence of metal vessels in Sardis Tombs 70 and 103 (Cat. 99, 103).

411. McLauchlin 1985, 153–54. E.g., Cat. 9, 12, 14, 17, 29.

412. Baughan 2010a, 291–92.

413. For further discussion of these paintings as well as the Harta and Aktepe paintings, see under “*Kline*-Tombs with Achaemenid Elements: Tomb Decoration” in Chapter 4.

414. Özgen et al. 1996, 46, 68–69.

415. Özgen et al. 1996, 42–45, 71–73; Baughan 2010b, 32.

416. Draycott 2007, 182; Baughan 2010b, 32. On “monoposiasts,” see n. 413 in Chapter 1 and Draycott, forthcoming.

417. Özgen et al. 1996, 43; Baughan 2010b, 32. For the symbolic associations of myrtle, see Özgen et al. 1996, 73; Baughan 2008a, 64n78.

418. Hanfmann 1974, 297–99; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981, 89. For further discussion of this motif in Anatolian funerary art, see Chapter 4.

419. Hanfmann and Erhart 1981, 89.

420. Cf. Fabricius, forthcoming, and other papers in the same volume. Huguenot (2008, 1:113) suggests an additional possible reading: representing the dead person as a participant in a symposium expresses “une attitude de défi face à la mort” (an attitude of defiance in the face of death).

421. Roosevelt 2009, 181–82, with particular reference to drinking vessels found in porches, dromoi, and mound fill (not obviously part of original grave offerings); to cooking vessels occasionally found in the same extra-chamber contexts but never in chambers themselves; and to occasional finds of animal bones and knives or blades. He does, however, admit the possibility that these could reflect meals prepared

by tomb-builders during construction. See also Aydin 2007, 15n53.

422. Roosevelt 2009, 181. See also Özgen et al. 1996, 32.

423. One of the names recently recognized on a roofbeam of the chamber in Tumulus MM matches one of those inscribed in wax on bowls found inside the chamber. These names are thought to identify participants in the feast: Sams 2009, 142–43; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009. On the feast, see under “The ‘Funerary Banquet’ in Anatolia” in Chapter 3.

424. Roosevelt 2009, 181.

425. Huguenot 2008, 1:114–15. See also Andrianou 2009, 128–29, for the idea that Macedonian tombs were modeled more upon sacred spaces or heroa than on domestic dining rooms, as well as Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3. ORIGINS OF THE *KLINE*-TOMB

1. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 284; Von Gall 1989b, 150; Dusinberre 2003, 130–54.

2. Dusinberre 2003, 130–54. The practice of elevating the corpse on a platform or couch in Sogdian tombs of northwest China has also been connected with Zoroastrian beliefs: see Feng 2001, 243; Lerner 2001, 226–27; see under “Analogues in South and East Asia” in Chapter 5.

3. Stronach 1964, 23–28; Nylander 1970, 91–102; Stronach 1978, 2–3, 24–25; von Gall 1979, 271; Boardman 2000, 53–60; Stronach 1985, 838–41.

4. Arr. *Anab.*, 6.29.5–10; Strabo 15.3.7.

5. The most common and enduring meaning of *puelos* is “bathtub” (e.g., Ar. *Pax* 843, *Eq.* 1060; Hippoc. *Acut.* 65), but it can also refer to a trough for feeding animals (*Od.* 19.553) or a kitchen vat (Ar. *Vesp.* 141). Its use as “sarcophagus/coffin” does not seem to emerge until the late fourth century, around the time of Aristoboulos (Theophr. *De lapidibus* 6, and numerous inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods; LSJ s.v. *πύελος*). For bathtub-shaped sarcophagi from the Near East and Anatolia, see Butler 1922, fig. 177; J. Curtis 1983; Alizadeh 1985; McLauchlin 1985, 148–50. Curtis (1983, 87) argues that the modern term used for such coffins, “bathtub sarcophagus,” is inaccurate, but the dual meaning of *puelos* confirms a close connection between the two forms even in ancient times. Vermeule (1979, 13) suggests that this connection may have arisen from the importance of bathing in funerary ritual.

6. Arr. *Anab.*, 6.29.5.

7. On the *kandys* and *anaxyrides*, see under “Banqueting

in Anatolian-Persian Funerary Art: Language and Dress” in Chapter 4.

8. Lacuna restored by Polak, accepted by Brunt; see Bosworth 1988, 54n51; see also *infra* nn. 14, 18.

9. Arr., *Anab.*, 6.29.9–10.

10. Strabo 15.3.7.

11. Bosworth 1988, 52–53: Arrian makes no mention of an eyewitness viewing of the tomb in its pristine state, as one would expect had Aristoboulos made that claim.

12. In the passage following the one excerpted above (6.29.10), the restoration is described: Aristoboulos was to repair the coffin and replace the corpse and lid, to stretch taut the *tainiai* on the *kline* (the bands stretched over the frame to provide a bed surface, *infra* n. 17), to restore all the other decorations to their original locations, and to wall up and seal the door.

13. Stronach 2000, 693–94.

14. Since the manuscripts’ ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης contradicts the παρά earlier in Arrian’s account, it appears to be corrupt (and would be an odd way of expressing “on top of” anyway). With the emendation, the text would read: ἐν μέσῳ δὲ [τῆς τραπέζης] τῆς κλίνης; *supra* n. 8.

15. As Boardman 1990, 128.

16. Stronach 1978, 25. These dimensions led some early scholars to reject the identification of this monument as the tomb of Cyrus—e.g., M. Dieulafoy, *L’Art antique de la Perse*, vol. 1 (Paris 1884) 24, referenced in Bosworth 1988, 54.

17. Stronach 1978, 25, 41, noting that a lightweight coffin, either gold-plated or entirely of gold, would not have posed a problem for a sturdy *kline*. We are told that this *kline* had feet of gold, but it was probably largely of wood, and its bed surface was composed of bands or straps of cloth or leather (the *tainiai* that Aristoboulos was to “stretch tight” over the *kline* in his restoration of the tomb: καὶ τὴν κλίνην ἐντείνειν ταῖναις, Arr. *Anab.* 6.29.10. See also Dusinberre 2003, 137.

18. Von Gall 1979, 272; 1989b, 150, 162n49. Following A. Demandt (“Studien zur Kaab-I-Zerdoscht,” AA 1968:537), he reasons that the first sentence (with παρά) probably reflects the state of the tomb after plundering, as reported by Aristoboulos, while the second is an interpolation, offering an editorial attempt at reconstructing the original arrangement of the tomb furnishings. He then inverts the meaning of the phrase ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῆς κλίνης, and visualizes the *kline* inside the sarcophagus, drawing a parallel with the burial at Duvanli

Notes to Chapter 3

(Fig. 31) and noting E.F. Schmidt's suggestion (1970, 88) that the rock-cut cists in the royal tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam originally held wooden items (i.e., coffins). Arrian's detailed description of the items arranged on the couch would, however, seem to argue against von Gall's interpretation: if the first sentence is based on Aristoboulos's description of the tomb *after* it was plundered, how do we explain the orderly array of luxury garments and jewels? And while there may be parallels, indeed, for the placement of a couch within a sarcophagus, all involve stone or rock-cut coffins. A coffin of gold or gold-plate was probably, as Stronach points out, relatively lightweight (supra n. 17). And if it were bathtub-shaped, as the Greek word Aristoboulos apparently used to describe it suggests (supra n. 5), it may not have held a couch gracefully. It is also hard to imagine how all the textiles, garments, and jewelry would have been arranged on the couch if it was also occupied by the body of Cyrus—if he was wearing the garments and jewelry, we would expect some mention of that fact rather than the clear separation that occurs in Arrian's account.

19. As Briant 1996, 106.

20. Bosworth 1988, 54. D. Smith (1982, 43n33) also wonders whether Arrian "Hellenized" the image of Cyrus's tomb chamber by making the *kline* the burial location instead of a grave offering. See also Dussinberre 2003, 137.

21. Bosworth (1988, 54) argues that if the items had been placed separately, "the tomb would have been so compressed that there was no room for an observer to enter."

22. Since sarcophagi and *klinai* are naturally roughly the same size (about the length of an average human body), we can compare this hypothetical arrangement with contemporary two-couch tombs. The dimensions chosen for couch and coffin in this hypothetical reconstruction are based on the size of an average *kline* (see Table 1). The size chosen to represent an average table (0.75 × 0.46 m) is based on the average of the dimensions of two stone tables found in tombs in northern Lycia, not long after the time of Cyrus's death: one from the Kızılbel Tumulus (Cat. 68), measuring 0.72 × 0.34 m; the other from Karaburun Tumulus II (Cat. 69), which measured 0.79 × 0.59 m. Of course, the table in Cyrus's tomb was said to be golden, but these stone examples probably replicated tables in other media (wood or metal) and so provide reasonable models.

23. Arrian (6.29.9) tells us that the robbers had removed the lid but "left the sarcophagus where it was." They tried

to reduce its size ("chipping some parts away and crushing others") in order to carry it off but were unsuccessful. Strabo (15.3.7), too, reasons that the robbers "left behind only what they could not easily carry off."

24. Though the doorway was narrow (0.78 m wide, 1.39 m high), its width would not have hindered removal of a typical sarcophagus—sarcophagi of "bathtub" shape and more rectangular coffins normally range from 0.50 to 0.75 m in width: e.g., Alizadeh 1985; McLauchlin 1985, 232, 246–49. As Stronach (1978, 25n14) points out, however, the robbers' efforts to chip away parts of the sarcophagus may indicate its "intrinsic value" (it was, after all, made of gold) rather than trouble with its weight or size.

25. For Mesopotamian precedents for the display of garments in royal graves, see McGinnis 1987, 4–5, 9. For display couches in Macedonian royal banquets and tombs, see Andrianou 2009, 89, 126, on Tomb II at Vergina and the pavilion of Ptolemy II at Alexandria; and under "Macedonian Funerary *Klinai*" in Chapter 5.

26. McGinnis 1987.

27. For another reading of the assemblage, as a re-creation of the chamber atop the ziggurat at Babylon, which reportedly held a golden table and bed for the sacred marriage of the god and a priestess (Hdt. 1.181–83), see Trummer 1986, 70. Though some Babylonian texts confirm the existence of a shrine atop the ziggurat and perhaps even the presence of a bed within, evidence for a "sacred marriage" rite in Neo-Babylonian times is lacking, and the accuracy of Herodotus's description of Babylon is a matter of intense debate: see, e.g., McGinnis 1986, 72–73; Rollinger 1993. See also Stronach 2008, 157, for a refutation of the supposed connection between the stepped podium of Cyrus's tomb and the Babylonian ziggurat.

28. Stronach 2000, 693–94.

29. Plut. *Artax.* 3.1; Badian 1996; Stronach 2000, 694. These ceremonies apparently involved the new ruler donning Cyrus's own cloak.

30. Features such as the *cyma reversa*, and possible Ionian influence even in metrology and proportions: Nylander 1970, 95–96; Stronach 1978, 42–43; Ratté 1992, 158; Stronach 2008, 157–59; Ratté 2011, 65–66.

31. These include a ceiling composed of stone slabs, projecting bands at the tops of the walls, and even the dimensions of the chamber, as Rawlinson (1858, 180) was the first to observe,

in a note on Hdt. 1.93: Ratté 1992, 158; 2011, 65–66. See also Hanfmann 1963, 55n60; Stronach 1978, 40.

32. Stronach 1978, 41; cf. Karaburun II (Cat. 69) and Gordion, Tumulus MM; Young 1981.

33. Ratté 1992; Kleiss 1996; Boardman 2000, 53–55; Dusinberre 2003, 139–41; Roosevelt 2009, 139, fig. 6.4; Ratté 2011, 94–99, figs. 151–60. Hanfmann (1961, 31n45) had suggested that the Pyramid Tomb could have been the tomb known by the time of Xenophon as that of Abradatas, friend and lieutenant of Cyrus, and his wife, Panthea (*Cyr.* 7.3); Ratté (1992, 160) reasons that such a story could have emerged to explain the overt Persianisms of this prominent tomb.

34. Cahill 1988. The method of burial—in a carved cist rather than on a couch or in a sarcophagus, as was the norm for monumental tombs in the region—has also been seen as a possible indicator of Persian identity, but the false door itself seems to be more rooted in local funerary traditions: see Roosevelt 2006a; Tuplin 2011, 166. A tomb cut in a bedrock outcropping at Gelenbe in northwestern Lydia may once have been of similar form, and the so-called Tomb of Tantalus at Manisa, with stepped façade, may have been part of the same tradition: see Roosevelt 2009, 140, cat. nos. 9.3A and 4.4A. Similar stepped tombs in Persia (Gour-i Dokhtar and Takhti-i Gohar) were later, modeled on Cyrus's tomb: see Stronach 1978, 300–302; Razmjou 2005, 155.

35. See also Stronach 1978, 41; Ratté 1992, 158, 160; Boardman 2000, 55–56. It is often assumed that the Tomb of Cyrus served as the inspiration for elevated podium or pillar tombs in Asia Minor (especially Lycia): e.g., Cormack 2004, 18; but some of the earliest Lycian pillar tombs may predate the Persian conquest: see Işık 2001.

36. Cahill 1988, 499. See also Ratté 1992, 160; 2011, 49.

37. As Stronach (1978, 41) first suggested, and as implied by Venit (2002, 18).

38. Moorey 1980a, 128–37; Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989, 337–38; Briant 1996, 106–7, 538–39, 923, 985; L'vov-Basirov 2001; Razmjou 2005, 154–56. On Achaemenid rock-cut tombs and their origins, see Calmeyer 1975; von Gall 1989a; Seidl 1994, 115. On the so-called Median rock-cut tombs, now recognized as Achaemenid: von Gall 1974; Stronach 1978, 304; von Gall 1989a, 506; Nylander 1991, 1045.

39. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, 75–80; Moorey 1980a, 128–37; Stern 1982, 85, 91; Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, 242–43. On the question of primary versus secondary

burial and Zoroastrian beliefs: Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989, 337–38; Briant 1996, 106; L'vov-Basirov 2001; Schwartz 1985, 696–97.

40. E.F. Schmidt 1970: e.g., figs. 31, 33–36, 38, pls. 39, 46, 54–55.

41. E.F. Schmidt 1970, 88; von Gall 1989b, 150, 162n49.

42. Jamzadeh 1996, 102–10; Paspalas 2000a, 541–42 and n. 72. The only representations of couches with similar leg design seem to come from Anatolia: the Bahçetepe *klinai* (Cat. 27, Fig. 84), the banquet scene in Karaburun II (Fig. 118), and an ivory relief from Demetrias, of probable Anatolian manufacture: Dentzer 1982, 288–90; Calmeyer 1996, 225, fig. 1; Boardman 2000, 196, fig. 5.83b.

43. Von Gall 1989b, 150. See also Kyrieleis 1969, 19, 148; Gallo and Masson 1993, 273, pl. 4.10; Calmeyer 1996, 226, pl. 73a; Boardman 2000, 179; on the questionable authenticity of this piece, see Bruns-Özgan 2008, 222n33. The couch recalls Assurbanipal's (Fig. 133), with curved head-/armrest, but the legs appear to be turned legs of Achaemenid type, with four superposed torus-like elements over a rectangular base; the downward cone-like tapering of the tori also recalls the inverted cone-shaped feet of Assyrian couches.

44. Infra under “Beds in Funerary Contexts.”

45. See n. 97 in Chapter 1. Kyrieleis (1969, 143–44) argues that the pieces should belong to a throne rather than a couch, on the basis of holes at the tops of the legs, which may have supported a raised back. But the holes could have served in the attachment of some decoration in another material (cf. the rosette medallions incised on the Getty *kline*: Baughan and Özgen 2012, figs. 4, 7, pls. 3–5), or for a “freestanding” raised arm- or headrest (cf. the Duvanli bed, Fig. 31).

46. According to Petrie 1930, 14, the chamber measured 181 × 58 inches (ca. 4.60 × 1.47 m) and was “divided by a cross-wall near the middle.” In the published excavation photos, esp. Petrie 1930, pl. XLVI.2–3, it is clear that at least two of the couch legs were found near the brick-sealed doorway, and therefore in the “front” part of the chamber, before the dividing wall.

47. Stronach 2008, 159.

48. See, e.g., Parrot 1937; Wiesner 1938, 127–63; Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Andronikos 1968, 93–97; Rudenko 1970, 35; Dentzer 1982, 23–30, 44–45, 529–58; A.J. Spencer 1982, 48–50, 54–56; Georgieva 1995; 1998, 62–63; Fabricius 1999; Parker Pearson 2000, 10–11; Taylor 2001, 92–94.

49. See De Marinis 1961, 119; Dentzer 1982, 1–20; Jacobs

Notes to Chapter 3

1987, 56; Murray 1988, 242; Nollé 1992, 85. A Roman epitaph accompanying a banquet relief reveals, however, the level of dissonance that could exist between one's life and one's representation after death: C. Rubrius Urbanus tells passersby that he wanted to be shown relaxing at a banquet—as he had never been able to do in life: Dunbabin 2003, 1–2, fig. 1; Koortbojian 2005, 299.

50. D'Agostino 1989, 2; Fabricius, forthcoming.

51. D'Agostino 1989, 1.

52. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 48–50, for inscriptions identifying the banqueter as a “hero,” pp. 56–58 on the snake as an attribute; Dentzer 1982, 11–14; Fabricius 1999, 63–68; Shapiro 2009, 181.

53. Özgüç 1948, 57–58; Simpson 1990, 85. For the argument that the remains reflect the deposition of hides, see Piggott 1962, 112. Since the rest of the animal was presumably not wasted, we can surmise that it provided a feast; but how long before the burial that took place is uncertain—hides could have been kept for some time after slaughter.

54. Otten 1940, 7–8; Otten 1958; Borchhardt 1968, 183–84, 188–89; Gurney 1977, 60; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981, 89; Simpson 1990, 85–86; van den Hout 1994, 56–70; Haas 2000; Kassian, Korolov, and Sidel'tsev 2002. Cf. textual evidence for funerary rituals in Late Bronze Age Ugarit: Bonatz 2000c, 201, with references.

55. Bittel 1958, 16, 24, 60–73; Piggott 1962, 115; van den Hout 1994, 55. Macqueen (1975, 137) thinks the cattle, sheep, and pig bones, at least, probably “represent the remains of some sort of funeral feast.” Cf. Georgieva 1995 on animal bones in Thracian burials, with a distinction between those that probably were intended to “feed” the dead and those that “accompanied the deceased in the afterlife” (p. 115).

56. Carstens 2001. Her study focuses on the nekropolis of Müsgebi on the Halikarnassos peninsula (LHIIIA1–LHIIIC), where a few questionable “cremations” had previously been attributed to Hittites in the midst of more common “Mycenaean” inhumations; she rejects the identification of these burials as cremations and therefore Hittites, but nonetheless finds similarities in the types of ceramics offered in these graves (largely drinking vessels, often a pouring vessel paired with a cup) and those from contemporary pithos burials (both inhumation and cremation) in central Anatolia. See, however, van den Hout 1994, 54, on the meagerness of offerings in Hittite graves.

57. Bonatz 2000b; 2000c; Schachner and Bucak 2005; Bonatz, forthcoming; Strubel, forthcoming.

58. Bonatz (2000c, 191) suggests that the smaller attendant figure in such scenes may not be a servant but rather the son/heir of the deceased, “taking care of the offerings.”

59. Orthmann 1971, 366–80; Mallowan and Hermann 1974, 11–12; Hawkins 1980, 215–16; Dentzer 1982, 36–45; Bonatz 2000c.

60. Bonatz 2000c, 191–96. Possible early traces of *kispu* cult have recently been identified in mid-second-millennium tombs at Tel Qatna in Syria: Lange 2005; Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, 241–43.

61. Struble and Herrmann 2009; Struble, forthcoming.

62. For an annotated bibliography on Urartian burial customs, see Zimansky 1998, 95–99. See also Burney 1995; Çevik 1997.

63. Burney 1966, 107.

64. Ögün 1978, 645; Sevin 1980, 161; Forbes 1983, 114; Merhav 1991, 7. See Işık 1987a, 504–10, figs. 6, 9, 12, esp. pp. 509–10 for the possibility that depressions of different sizes served different functions.

65. Derin 1996, 136–40.

66. Burney 1966, 108–11, pl. 25.

67. Özgüç 1961, 270–71; 1969, 68–70, fig. 18, pl. 20; Merhav 1991, 252, fig. 4.1, for a drawing of the table leg, after Kyrielis 1969, fig. 3. Cuneiform inscriptions on two bronze vessels from the tomb name King Arğišti II, who reigned from 713 to 679. The wooden table had metal casings at the corners, and the legs were largely sheathed in silver, with characteristic Urartian decorative elements: a lion's paw perched on a torus of hanging leaves, over a concave scotia-like element, over a downward-tapering conical foot: cf. Van Loon 1966, 100. The legs of the table were supported by cross-rails placed at the level of the transition between the lion's-paw and torus elements.

68. DeVries 1980, 37–38; Young 1981, 7–10, 101–2, 197–98; Simpson 1990, 85; Kohler 1995, 185–86, 234.

69. DeVries 1980, 37; also Eckert 1998, sec. 3.1.1.2, n. 29.

70. DeVries 1980, 37–38: in Tumulus W, two large cauldrons, two ladles, two small cauldrons, 14 shallow bowls; in Tumulus K-III, two large cauldrons, a ladle, four small cauldrons, 28 bowls; in Tumulus P, two large cauldrons, two ladles, three small cauldrons, 23 bowls (one of them made of glass); and in MM, three large cauldrons, two ladles, ten small cauldrons,

and 115 bowls. For the function of the small cauldrons, whose numbers vary more than the others, see *infra* n. 76.

71. DeVries 1980, 38.

72. Even if the deceased was a young child, as in Tumulus P. As Murray (1994, 47) suggests for the Late Geometric grave on Ischia in which “Nestor’s cup” was found, drinking sets placed in children’s graves could reflect not the lifestyle of the deceased himself but the “life-style which he would have been expected to enjoy if he had reached maturity: they symbolize the expectations and the grief of the parents in relation to their own social customs.” Cf. Pader 1982, 57.

73. For the date, see n. 8 in Chapter 2.

74. Young 1981, 100–187; Simpson 1990, 69–70; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999, 35–49; Simpson 2010; McGovern 2000, 22.

75. McGovern 2000, 24–27; 2010. Cf. the mixed beverages of Homeric poetry: *Il.* 11.628–43; *Od.* 10.229–43.

76. McGovern 2000, 22–27, fig. 7: samples taken from the situlae, smaller cauldrons, and bowls identify the beverage mixture; no samples were taken from the large cauldrons, but their function as mixing bowls is presumed on the basis of contemporary and later representations; the beverage would have been transferred to the smaller cauldrons with animal-headed situlae (as seen on a relief from the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad) and other jugs and juglets (including the sieve-spouted variety), and then ladled from these (set in wooden serving stands with round holders) to individual bowls (of omphalos- or two-handled-type) for individual consumption.

77. Simpson 1990, 84–86; 2010, 119–22.

78. Simpson 2010, 127–30. Cf. possible food remains reported in Tumuli W and P: see Young 1981, 9, for a substance “thinly caked” onto the interiors of black polished dinoi found beneath the Tumulus P bed, and 198, for some possibly organic matter in several amphoras lined against one of the chamber walls of Tumulus W.

79. Liebhart and Brixhe 2009; Sams 2009, 142–43.

80. Macridy 1926, with 2001 transl.; von der Osten 1928, 46–49, figs. 76–77; Schede 1930, 479–80; Özgüç 1946, 615; Mellink 1968, 135–36; 1969, 214; Alkim 1969–70, 43; Buluç 1979; Dentzer 1982, 536n91; Eckert 1998, sec. 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.3; Tuna 2001a.

81. Tuna 2001a: some items were probably also suspended from nails in the wall above.

82. Tuna 2001a.

83. Tekkaya 1988; Mellink 2006, 1.

84. Alkim 1969–70, 42–43, no. 40. See also Mellink 1968, 136; Buluç 1979; Eckert 1998, sec. 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.3; Tuna 2001b.

85. Özgüç and Akok 1947.

86. Dörtlük 1988a; 1988b, 22–23; 1990; Özgen and Özgen 1988, 32–33; Özgen et al. 1996, 27; Eckert 1998, sec. 3.1.1.3. In the fossa (1.50 × 0.83 m, 0.30 m deep) were found the remains of carbonized figs, almonds, grapes, and other fruits along with pieces of burnt wood, fragments of at least six ceramic vessels, two iron tripods, two spear points, 46 arrow points, an iron dagger, elements of a horse harness, bronze griffin protomes, omphalos cups, two standards with phallic terminals, and several small items of personal ornament. For a survey of Phrygian cremations with evidence for feasting, see Buluç 1993.

87. Dörtlük 1988a; 1988b, 23–24; 1990; Özgen and Özgen 1988, 32–33; Özgen et al. 1996, 27; Şare 2010, 73. On the identification of the wood and iron remains in and on which the skeletal remains were found as a log coffin rather than a bed, as suggested in the sources listed above, see Simpson 1990, 77–78n13; 2010, 124; and p. 88 in Chapter 2.

88. Parker Pearson 2000, 54. See *Gilgamesh* X.vi.33: “The sleeping (?) and the dead, how alike [they are]” (transl. Heidel). See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 193; Scholten 1996; Taylor 2001, 148; Matthews 2003, 167; Huguenot 2008, 1:112.

89. Mitchell 1996, 56–57.

90. *Il.* 14.231, 16.672; B120. See also *Il.* 11.241; Soph. *OC* 1578; Vermeule 1979, 150; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 19; Garland 2001, 59, 155.

91. E.g., Soph. *Ant.* 804; Eur. *Supp.* 1022; Vermeule 1979, 48, 54. For the metaphor of tomb as house, see Waelkens 1980; Pader 1982, 43–44; Waelkens 1982; Novák 2000; Parker Pearson 2000, 195; Taylor 2001, 136; Gallou 2004; 2005, 71; Koortbojian 2005, 291.

92. E.g., Soph. *Ant.* 891. See R. Rehm 1994.

93. E.g., Taylor 2001, figs. 10, 14, 20, 52, 67, 138, 174.

94. Zschietzschmann 1928; Boardman 1955; Andronikos 1968, 7–9, 43–50; Kübler 1970, 34–35; Ahlberg 1971; Vermeule 1979, 12–18; M. Alexiou 1974, 5–6; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 26–29; Sheedy 1990; Shapiro 1991; Burns 1994; Mommsen 1997, 14–26; Sismanidis 1997, 235–39.

95. On larnakes and a fragmentary krater, see n. 40 in Chapter 1. On the lid of the larnax from Rethymnon, a corpse wrapped tightly in a shroud is shown lying on a bed/bier, attended by a standing figure on the right (at the head end)

Notes to Chapter 3

while another figure approaches from the left. The scene on the krater shows the *prothesis* of a “helmeted warrior” on a bed/bier remarkably similar to those depicted in Greek Geometric art, with club-shaped terminals set off at the tops of the legs and a zigzag bed surface.

96. *Il.* 18.352–55, 24.719–24; *Od.* 24.43–64; Ahlberg 1971; Sheedy 1990. An Egyptian inspiration for such scenes has sometimes been supposed, but the Greek examples resemble their Egyptian counterparts only in basic composition: figures are shown standing around a corpse on a bed; there is no correspondence in the form of the bed.

97. Zschietzschmann 1928, 31; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 213; Kurtz 1984; Mommsen 1997, 14–15, with nn. 78–79. Mommsen lists several exceptions, but notes that, of these, three white-ground lekythoi from Eretria (Burns 1994, nos. 2, 7, 18) may belong to the grave of an Attic cleruch.

98. For the Chiusi reliefs: Paribeni 1938; Jannot 1984, 368–80. For the Paestum tombs, mostly of the fourth century: Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992, 48–50; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 310. Mommsen (1997, 15) has argued that both of these traditions were inspired by Attic models, but most Attic *prothesis* representations were produced for use locally and so could not easily have served as formal models.

99. See also Ahlberg 1971, figs. 53, 55; Andronikos 1968, 50; Mommsen 1997, 53.

100. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 78, pl. 16; Vermeule 1979, fig. 12; Boardman 1990, 128; Mommsen 1997, 53. Only a few later Attic representations of *ekphora* survive, all on one-handed kantharoi (kyathoi) of Etruscan type (possibly produced with an Etruscan market in mind) and all with a plank-like bier that lacks supporting legs (i.e., not a bed): B143, 144. In one case, the bier rests on the frame of a two-wheeled cart; in the other two cases it is carried on the shoulders of men. See Kurtz 1984, 321; Shapiro 1991, 633; Mommsen 1997, 53. *Ekphora* scenes in Etruscan art are, however, very different: see Jannot 1984, 370, figs. 224–27, with one scene featuring a four-wheeled cart pulled by men walking in procession and another with men pulling a rope, presumably attached to a funeral cart. A series of pinakes from the Kerameikos by Exekias “may have shown up to four chariots being readied for the *ekphora*,” but no surviving fragments show the transport of the dead person: Shapiro 1991, 633; Mommsen 1997, 53. The absence of the *prothesis*-bed in these black-figure *ekphora* scenes and the rarity of the *ekphora* in Athenian art after the seventh century,

especially in relation to the continued prominence of *prothesis* scenes in the funerary art of the Archaic and Classical periods, may reflect a general shift in focus (perhaps inspired or compelled by the Solonian legislation) away from the public display of the *ekphora* to the more intimate *prothesis*.

101. M.-H. Gates 1997, 287; G. Bakır 2000, figs. 11–14; Hürmüzli 2003, 190–91, 256–62, figs. 75–76, pl. 9; 2010, 112–46; n. 143 in Chapter 1.

102. See Hürmüzli 2010, 144, for fragments of other *ekphora* and *prothesis* scenes from Ionia, including a Samian Late Geometric kantharos fragment, B11 (Fig. 17d).

103. Bruns-Özgan 2008.

104. Bruns-Özgan 2008, 218.

105. Bruns-Özgan 2008, 226–27.

106. Mosul Museum, inv. FWW 994; Bouzek 1997, 150n71; see also Bouzek 1980, 393. Subsidiary figures include a woman with a flag (or fan?) and a figure leading a bull.

107. (1) From Abusir, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 19553, ca. 500; Zschietzschmann 1928, 32, no. 94; Masson 1978, pl. 30; Gallo and Masson 1993, fig. 6; Boardman 1999, 136–37, fig. 159; Höckmann 2001, pl. 40. (2) Saqqara H5–1228: Masson 1978, 79–83, no. 5, pls. 5.1, 33.2; Gallo and Masson 1993, fig. 4. (3) Saqqara H5–1223, Cairo Museum JdE 91340: Masson 1978, 83–85, no. 5a, pls. 5.2, 34.1; Gallo and Masson 1993, fig. 5. (4) Saqqara H5–1343, London, British Museum 67235: Masson 1978, 70–79, no. 4, pls. 4.1, 33.1; Gallo and Masson 1993, fig. 3; Höckmann 2001, pls. 38–39. For Carian and Ionian settlement in Egypt, see Hdt. 2.154; Gallo and Masson 1993, 269.

108. The upper two registers show (in the three cases where they are preserved) offerings to Osiris and Isis (top register) and to the Apis bull (middle).

109. Supra n. 107, nos. 2 and 3. These are like the feet of tripod-stands or candelabra in Attic vase painting. Similar feet, more like lion’s-paw footstools, occur on a later (fifth- or fourth-century) relief, probably also from Memphis but with a Greek rather than Carian inscription and low-relief rather than incised decoration: Gallo and Masson 1993, figs. 1–2; Boardman 1999, 281, fig. 325. Perhaps these “feet” are actually separate bases for the *kline* legs, to raise the level of the bed for the *prothesis*, as seen on some Attic vases (see p. 44 in Chapter 1). The bases on B11 provide a striking parallel, and another is found in Etruria, in a rock-cut *kline* at Tolfa: Steingraber 1981, 133. For parallels on painted *klinai* in Macedonian-style tombs, see Lazaridis 1966, pl. 54b (Amphipolis, Tomb I); Tiné

Bertocchi 1964, fig. 80 (Tarentum, Tomb 38, where the form occurs together with a long continuous base, or long footstool, beneath the *kline*).

110. Supra n. 107, no. 4; Höckmann 2001, 221–22.

111. In Masson 1978, 74, 77.

112. Zschietzschmann 1928, 32; Gallo and Masson 1993, 272; Höckmann 2001, 222; Bruns-Özgan 2008, 222–23. Nicholls (in Masson 1978, 76–77) sees a more direct allusion to a ritual meal in honor of the dead at the time of the *prothesis*, but the images may refer to a more general overlapping of concepts, centering on the *kline* itself. The turban-like headdress worn by the dead man on one of the stelai (supra n. 107, no. 3; see Nicholls in Masson 1978, 84) may be a *mitra*, associated with a sympotic lifestyle in Archaic Greece. If so, it may, like the tables on the two other stelai, introduce a sympotic element to the *prothesis* iconography.

113. Otten 1940, 3–11; 1958, 81–84; Gurney 1977, 59–63; Waelkens 1980, 4; 1982, 423; van den Hout 1994, 48–52; Haas 2000; van den Hout 2002; Kassian, Korolov, and Sidel'tsev 2002.

114. E.g., the low clay beds or biers from a Late Minoan III cemetery at Olounta in eastern Crete, with broad slats forming the bed surface and stout, squarish feet: van Effenterre 1948, 9–10, pl. 36; Kopaka 1987, 97, figs. 21–22; Krzyszkowska 1996, 96n46. These have been identified as “biers” but seem more like clay models of wooden biers or beds.

115. Killen 1980, 12, 23, fig. 3.

116. Baker 1966, 22–24, figs. 4–9; Killen 1980, 24, pls. 24–34; Svarth 1998, 48.

117. Reisner 1923, 25, 57, 208–27; Kendall 1997, 2, 23, 56; Taylor 2001, 107. In some cases, the wood had decayed but “bed-trenches” were discernible: Reisner 1923, 227. Cf. “Kerma”-style graves at Abindan, with depressions in four corners indicating the prior presence of beds: Williams 1983, 214, 224–25, figs. 38, 45.

118. Reisner 1923, 210; Kendall 1997, 57, 92.

119. Kendall 1997, 92. See also Kennedy 1978, 228; and under “Terminology and Function” in Chapter 1.

120. Cooper 1986, 70–73, 75 (La 9.1, 9.2).

121. Kenyon 1960, 486–88, 532, figs. 211, 214, pls. 30–31; Baker 1966, 217; Parr 1996, 41–43; Cartwright 2005, 108–9.

122. Kenyon 1960, 425–38.

123. Tombs H6, J14, and P21: Kenyon 1960, 312–14, fig. 151, pl. 25.1; 1965, 428–30, 576–77, fig. 223. The mud-brick platforms

may have recalled permanent low benches built against house walls, probably used for sleeping.

124. Muhly 1996, 211; Parr 1996, 44n3; Hallote 2002, 108–9. Cartwright (2005, 109), notes, however, that it is “debatable” whether the wooden bed from Tomb H18 represents a type commonly used in contemporary households.

125. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, 34–36; Orthmann 1980, 99; Parr 1996, 46.

126. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, 31, 37: round poles (0.05–0.07 m in diam.) create the frames (1.50–1.74 m long), with mortises for the cross-rails and the legs.

127. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1948, 38.

128. E.g., the burial of Queen Puabi at Ur (ca. 2700 BCE): Zettler and Horne 1998, 35, fig. 31; Woolley 1955, 84. Most of the other burials in Ur’s “royal tombs” were located in wooden coffins or “wrapped in matting”: Woolley 1955, 135. Wooden biers are also reported in the second-millennium tombs of Tel Qatna in Syria: Maqdissi, Morandi Bonacossi, and Pfälzner 2009, 242. For wooden biers in Late Minoan tombs, see Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974, 199, 202, fig. 3; Sakellarakis 1977, 257–60; Åkerström 1978, 58; Muhly 1996, 208; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 185–86, 252. For biers in Geometric Greece, see Kübler 1959, 52 (Anlage XXXIV), 82.

129. Blegen 1937, 76, fig. 149, plan 11. See also Tombs 29, 42, and perhaps 10: Blegen 1937, 150, 249, plan 30. Traces of wood have been found in many Mycenaean tombs, but these are often difficult to distinguish from those belonging to coffins, and wooden larnakes may have been more common than once thought: Andronikos 1968, 102–3; Åkerström 1978.

130. Graves 13, 53, 58: Kübler 1954, 21–22, pls. 166–67; Kyrielleis 1969, 104, 104n444. Cf. hand-grips of lead for biers made of wood and leather, reported in chamber tombs around Olbia: C. Smith 1896, 345; Vollmoeller 1901a, 33–34; Ransom 1902, 140.

131. Tomb 4, Burial I: Popham, Catling, and Catling 1974, 199. It is also notable that the wooden item was evidently painted blue.

132. Lebesse 1969, 204, pls. 184–85; S. Alexiou 1968, 252, fig. 5; Åkerström 1978, 58; Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 183n65; Kopaka 1987, 96–97, 100nn24–25; Muhly 1996, 209. Cf. beds from Thera: Kopaka 1987, 96, figs. 11–12; Krzyszkowska 1996, 96. Muhly reports that similar “staples” found in an earlier deposit in one of the Poros tombs attest to the use of this kind of “bier” as early as the Middle Minoan III period.

Notes to Chapter 3

133. Muhly 1996, 209.
134. Taylor 2001, 107. E.g., the bed from the Fourth Dynasty Tomb of Hetepheres I at Giza: Baker 1966, figs. 31, 37; Killen 1980, 28–29, pl. 36; three beds from the Eighteenth Dynasty Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou: Baker 1966, 71–73, figs. 83–85; Richter 1966, fig. 287; and the five beds and three animal-shaped “ceremonial couches” from the Tomb of Tutankhamen: Baker 1966, 102–8, figs. 132–47; Killen 1980, 31–34; Svath 1998, 49.
135. McGinnis 1987, 4–5, 9–10. Cf. beds included in a list of property for funerary use in a Sumerian text: Foxvog 1980, 70, lines 15, 30.
136. McGinnis 1987, 4.
137. Karageorghis 1973, 10–14, figs. IV–VI; Simpson 1995, 1661.
138. Karageorghis 1973, 89–95, fig. V, pls. LXV–LXXII, CCXLI–CCXLII, and color pls. C–E. The bed has been restored on the basis of the size of the ivory plaques, but it is important to note that none of the supporting wood elements survive and the restoration is therefore hypothetical. Restored dimensions of bed: 1.885 m long, 1.112 m wide; legs (“plain with rounded foot and shaped inner edge”) 0.225 m high; headboard 1.102 m wide, 0.563 m high. The headboard was decorated with a row of gilded lotuses and ivory Bes-heads at the top, with blue glass hieroglyphs and three cross-bars with Egyptianizing-Phoenician ivory friezes below (Heh figures, confronting sphinxes, and intertwining floral, lotus, and palmette motifs). Barnett (1985, 3) finds the representations of Heh, “the Egyptian god of longevity, suitable for a tomb,” and thus implies that the bed may have been designed with a funerary function in mind.
139. Karageorghis 1973, 92.
140. Karageorghis 1967, 33, 53, fig. 16, pl. 38.7. Also in the dromos were the remains of a pair of chariots, various weapons, and numerous ceramic vessels. The tomb is dated to Cypro-Archaic I or early Cypro-Archaic II (i.e., ca. 700–500).
141. Orthmann 1980, 102–4, pls. 15–17; Orthmann 1981, 51–59, pls. 29–35 (for “pillows” see pl. 29); Carter and Parker 1995, 108. These benches are usually in “niche” compartments that project from the main space of the chamber, ca. 1.50–1.80 m long, 0.40–0.80 m wide, and 0.40–0.45 m high. In at least one case at Halawa, female burials were found on the benches while men and a child were buried on the floor.
142. See Blegen 1937, 245; Immerwahr 1971, 100, 158–69, pl. 80; B. Wells 1990, 131; Muhly 1996, 210; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 49n90, 65, 67–76; Georgiadis 2004, 30–33; Gallou 2005, 72–73.
143. Bloch-Smith 1992, 42–47.
144. Stern 1982, 80–83, figs. 96–97; Barkay and Kloner 1986, 36; Bloch-Smith 1992, 42–47, 204–5, 198–209; 2002, 127; Ussishkin 1993; 1994, 254–55; Vanschoonwinkel 1999, 87–89, fig. 1.
145. See under “Decorated Headrests and ‘Pillows’” in Chapter 2; Silwan, Tomb 10: Ussishkin 1993, fig. 62.
146. See, e.g., Karageorghis 1970, figs. 24, 26, 29, 30–31, 37, 40, 46, 55. The chambers have pitched ceilings and are often equipped with individual or I- or II-shaped benches, ranging from ca. 0.10 to 0.40 m high, usually with a raised border or parapet on the front edge and a rectangular “pillow” element (ca. 0.20–0.35 m wide, 0.03–0.09 m high) at one end of each position.
147. Karageorghis 1970, Tombs 20 and 23, figs. XXX, XXXV, pl. 88.
148. Özgüç and Akok 1958, 41–43, 49–50, figs. 1–2, 29–36. A bed is conjectured based on the size of some of the preserved metal fittings.
149. Symington 1996, 113.
150. Otten 1940, 3–11; 1958, 81–84; Gurney 1977, 59–63; Waelkens 1980, 4; 1982, 423; 1986, 21; van den Hout 1994, 48–52; Haas 2000; van den Hout 2002; Kassian, Korolov, and Sidel'tsev 2002.
151. Bittel 1940, 23–25; van den Hout 2002, 74n2.
152. Macqueen 1975, 135–36, fig. 63; Waelkens 1982, 423; Akurgal 1990, 288–89; Lumsden 2002; Van den Hout 2002, 91.
153. Waelkens 1982, 423.
154. Chamber B, as the “stone house” of Tudhaliya IV (1250–1220): Gurney 1977, 63; van den Hout 2002, 80. With a monumental statue of the king at one end and a relief depicting the king embraced by the god Sharrumma, this part of the rock-cut sanctuary indeed seems to commemorate him, and other iconographic elements (reliefs of the Sword God and the twelve running gods) may allude to the netherworld. There is no archaeological evidence that the deep niches at the back of the chamber served as ossuaries, but burials were found in the surrounding area: see Macqueen 1975, 133–34; Neve 1989. For another interpretation (based on epigraphic evidence), in which Yazılıkaya Chamber B served as the burial house while another structure (at Nişantaş in Hattusa) was the funerary shrine (*hekur* or *hegur*), see van den Hout 1994, 51–52; 2002. See van den Hout 2002, 74n2 for other possible candidates.

155. Waelkens 1986, 21–23.
156. Ögün 1978, 645: most of the rock-cut tombs at Yukarı Göçmez, Dedeli, and Adilcevaz have benches 0.20–0.30 m high, 0.30–0.40 m wide (i.e., a bit narrow for an inhumation); see also Forbes 1983, 100. For a wider bench (ca. 0.35 m high, 0.70–0.75 m wide, into part of which a cist is cut), see Sevin 1986, 336, fig. 21 (Kalecik). For other wide benches, see Sevin 1989, figs. 19–21 (three tombs with benches ca. 0.75 m wide); Sevin 1987, fig. 18 (tomb at Haciseli with bench ca. 0.50 m wide); and Pitrovskii 1966, figs. 60, 62–63 (burial benches in the “Great Cave,” Naft-Koyu, and İçkala at Van). On depressions, see Işık 1987a, figs. 9–10; supra nn. 63–64.
157. E.g., Kayalıdere Tomb A and İçkala at Van: Forbes 1983, 97; Ögün 1978, 671–72. Some sarcophagi in benches, as is probable for Kayalıdere Tomb A, may have been secondarily cut: Burney 1966, 103; Forbes 1983, 105. See also Sevin 1986, 336, fig. 21 (Kalecik).
158. E.g., in the “Great Cave” at Van: Pitrovskii 1966, fig. 63; Ussishkin 1994, fig. 24.2; see also Çevik 2000, pl. 60d (tomb at Mergamendi).
159. E.g., Sevin 1989, figs. 20–21; Çevik 2000, pl. 58a (Tanrıverdi I). For raised borders, see also Çevik 2000, pl. 49b.
160. Çevik 2000, 42–43. The possible bed or couch from the side chamber in the built chamber tomb at Altintepe (Tomb 3) has been discussed above, in relation to the idea of the funerary banquet (supra pp. 185–86); it did not, however, function as a burial location.
161. Van Loon 1966, 62; Ögün 1978, 641–43, no. 2.3, fig. 2.1–2, pl. 151.2; van Hulsteyn 1981, 18, 73–74, 168–69; Waelkens 1982, 423; Tarhan 1986, figs. 16–17.
162. Burney 1995, 207; Novák 2000, 135. Van Hulsteyn (1981, 168) notes that “a similar decorated cornice has been reported on blocks found in the palace at Toprakkale.”
163. E.g., Yakar 2000, fig. 51.
164. Though Köroğlu (2007) has recently suggested that the single-roomed tombs with benches belong to the Hellenistic or Roman period, partly on the basis of the resemblance of the couches to those in Phrygian and Cilician tombs.
165. Işık 1987b. See also Sevin 1987; 1989; Çevik 2000, 99–103. Köroğlu (2007, 449) questions the likelihood of direct interaction between Urartu and Phrygia, given the distance between them, but suggests that “the same cultural processes” could explain the similar traditions.
166. Ussishkin (1970, 46) argues that this rock-cut tomb tradition spread from Phoenicia to Anatolia and Cyprus, but Barkay and Kloner (1986, 22) suggest the opposite: that the Jerusalem tombs were inspired by Urartu. For differences, see Çevik 2000, 95–96.
167. See n. 227 in Chapter 2.
168. Mellink 1993; Seeher 1998; 1999, 168–69.
169. Waelkens 1982, 423, with nn. 33–34; Sams 1989, 453; L.E. Roller 1999.
170. E.g., Boardman 1999, 83.
171. Dentzer 1982, 57; Fehr 1971, 16–17, 128, 233n800; Boardman 1990, 125; Burkert 1991, 18; D.E. Smith 2003, 14–18.
172. Hdt. 4.71; Ivantchik 2011, 85. On Scythian burial customs, see also Rolle 1979, 49–55, 73–79; Hartog 1982. For *stibades* used as mats for dining: Xen. *Cyr.* 5.2.15; Men. *Dys.* 420; cf. Theoc. *Id.* 13.34. Used as camp beds: Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.16, 7.2.22. See also Kron 1988, 138n14; Andrianou 2009, 31, 159–60n42. Fehr (1971, 16) uses the passage from Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* as evidence for a Persian tradition of outdoor dining on *stibades* and support for his theory of the reclining banquet’s origin among Iranian nomads.
173. Topper 2009; 2012, 50–52; and infra p. 224.
174. *EGF* 76, no. 2; Ath. 11.460b: νέκυσ δὲ χαμαιστρώτου ἐπὶ τεῖνας / εὐρείης στιβάδος παρέθηκ’ αὐτοῖσι θάλειαν / δαῖτα ποτήριά τε, στέφάνους δ’ ἐπὶ κρασὶν ἔθηκεν, “He stretched their corpses out on a broad camp bed spread on the ground, set a rich meal and cups beside them, and placed garlands on their heads,” transl. adapted from Olson 2009, 207. See also Fehr 1971, 184n2, 190n150; Dentzer 1982, 534.
175. Hdt. 4.73.
176. Matthäus 1999, 258. D.E. Smith (2003, 18) also notes that the earliest clear evidence for the custom “is connected not with poverty or simplicity, but with luxury, wealth, and power.”
177. Pl. *Resp.* 2.372b–d; Topper 2009, 12–15; 2012, 23–52.
178. Dunbabin 2003, 11.
179. See Corner 2005; 2010.
180. See, e.g., Ar. *Vesp.* 1208–20; *Eccl.* 834–76; Cooper and Morris 1990, 78–79; Steiner 2002, 349–50; M. Roller 2006.
181. Dunbabin 2003, 202.
182. Murray 1994, 51.
183. M. Roller 2006, 176.
184. Fehr 1971; Dentzer 1971. Dentzer expanded on the question in his indispensable 1982 volume. For a summary of the two theories, see Fabricius 1999, 13–14.

Notes to Chapter 3

185. Fehr 1971, 128; Dentzer 1982, 54–58.
186. Fehr 1971, 129, as, e.g., in the Larisa frieze (see Fig. 146). For evidence of reclined dining in Scythia, we have only later sources, such as representations of banqueters reclining against rocks in fourth-century Scythian metalwork: e.g., Rolle, Müller-Wille, and Schietzel 1991, no. 96a.
187. Fehr 1971, 18.
188. Dentzer 1982, 55–56; Barnett 1975, 114–19; n. 76 in Chapter 1. Assyrian royal inscriptions recording tribute from Syria and Phoenicia attest to the production of luxury furniture in this area. Beds, in particular, figure prominently among the items listed as tribute. See, e.g., the two ivory beds listed in the tribute lists of Hazael, king of Damascus, and his son (an ivory fragment from Arslan Tash with an inscription naming Hazael, and another with a representation of a bearded male figure have been connected with the record of this bed): Thimme 1973, XVI; Barnett 1975, 126; Dentzer 1982, 55; Luckenbill 1926, no. 740. The exchange of luxury furniture (including beds) among Near Eastern royal powers has a long history—see, e.g., Simpson 1995, 1656–57; Feldman 2006, 168–75—but the specialization of production in the same area cited in our first literary reference to reclining on couches (see below) is probably not coincidental.
189. Amos 6.4–7, transl. Stronach 1995, 195n25. See also Amos 3.12; Dentzer 1971, 226–27; Mittmann 1976; Dentzer 1982, 54; Barnett 1985, 3; Boardman 1990, 126; Murray 1994, 48; Matthäus 1999, 256–57; 1999/2000, 47.
190. Rathje (1990, 284) finds hints of reclined dining much earlier, in *Gilgamesh* VI.189–90 (“Gilgamesh celebrated a joyful feast in his palace. The heroes lay down resting on their night couches,” transl. Heidel), but it is not clear that reclining and feasting were simultaneous. Similarly, Bartoloni 2002, 65.
191. Mitchell 1996, 57–59.
192. See Luckenbill 1926, nos. 466, 476, 477, 501; Grayson 1991, A.O.101.1 iii 61–62, 67, 75, A.O.101.19 89; Kubba 2006, 85; Gunter 2009, 110–11.
193. E.g., Herrmann 1992, pl. 39, no. 185; Stronach 1995, figs. 12.1–3.
194. Barnett 1985, 2–3; King 1989; Beach 1993; Matthäus 1999, 257; Carter 1995, 300–303, 310n54; Cecchini 2009, 97–98.
195. Findspots of “Phoenician” metal bowls range from Iran to Italy, though none have ever been found in Phoenicia proper or a Phoenician colony. Some carry inscriptions that are definitely Cypriot; others are thought to be Aramaic or Phoenician. The ones in Italy could be locally made replicas of Phoenician imports, produced either by local craftsmen or resident Phoenicians: see Markoe 1985, 141–48; 2000, 150. For a new theoretical approach to these “Phoenician” bowls as a means of intercultural mediation, see Vella 2010.
196. E.g., Barnett 1985, 5; Gunter 1988, 21; Granger 2002, 121. For a detailed analysis of Assurbanipal’s relief and its larger context, see Albenda 1976–77, with earlier references. See also Stronach 1995; Nylander 1999; and Schmidt-Colinet 1997—the last for a proposal that the enthroned figure is not Assurbanipal’s queen but rather a eunuch, refuted by Albenda 1998.
197. Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 47–48.
198. Markoe 1985; Popham 1995; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 133.
199. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4557: Myres 1914, 464, no. 4557; Gjerstad 1946, 6–8, pl. 3; Fehr 1971, 19–20, no. 2; Dentzer 1971, fig. 5; Dentzer 1982, 72–73, figs. 100–101; Markoe 1985, Cy6, 56–57, 66, 156, 175–76 and passim; Rathje 1991, 1166–67; Karageorghis 1999; Matthäus 1999, 257; Karageorghis 2000, no. 307; 2007, 260. A desire for symmetry probably explains why the right-hand figure is reclining toward the left, opposite the normal convention: see under “The Rules of Reclining” in Chapter 1.
200. Markoe 1985, 175.
201. Markoe 1985, 57, 66.
202. For the new reading, see Neumann 1999, 34. But Karageorghis (1999, 19) points out that there are no parallels for names of divinities inscribed on bowls, while personal names are known, and so finds it unlikely that this is an “epithet for Aphrodite.”
203. On the question of banqueting context, see Rathje 1991, 1165. For even divine banquets as reflections of contemporary elite society, see Matthäus 1999, 257.
204. London, British Museum 1892/5–19/1: Cesnola 1884, 55, fig. 66; Gjerstad 1946, pl. 5; Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 7; Fehr 1971, 20–22, no. 3; Dentzer 1982, 74, fig. 102; Markoe 1985, Cy5, 156, 174–75; Rathje 1991, 1167; Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 49, fig. 13. Two of the three couches in this scene are shown with raised end on the left and recliners oriented with their feet to the right, opposite the normal convention in both Near Eastern and Greek art.
205. Beach 1993, 102; Karageorghis 2007, 260.
206. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.4555: Myres 1914, 461–63; Gjerstad 1946, 8–9, pl. 4; Fehr 1971, 22–24,

no. 4; Dentzer 1971, fig. 6; 1982, 72–73, fig. 104; Culican 1982; Markoe 1985, Cy13; Rathje 1991, 1167; Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 49, figs. 11–12; Karageorghis 2000, no. 298. Fehr compares the mobile recliners to Cypriot models of carts with figures reclining in them, e.g., Myres 1914, 346, no. 2110, and literary references to mobile reclining for Dionysos, Alexander the Great, and other figures with eastern connections. It is usually assumed that the reclining figures are male while the seated figures are female—e.g., Rathje 1990, 284; Culican 1982, 20—but Fehr (1971, 23) finds it hard to determine the gender of the different figures other than by supposing such a strict distinction based on posture.

207. Matthäus 1999, 258; 1999/2000, 54–55; 2009, 328–29; see also Hoffman 1997, 33n21.

208. Athens, National Museum X11764, 1a–b: Kunze 1931, 31, no. 71bis, pl. 44; Markoe 1985, Cr8, 115, 156, 166; Matthäus 1999, 258, pl. 23c; 1999/2000, 52–55, figs. 17–18. Markoe dates the fragmentary bowl late in his Period II (750–700) or early in Period III (710–675) and argues that it is a local Cretan production, heavily influenced by Phoenician models; Hoffmann (1997, 33n21) gives a date range of 737–675 and includes it in her list of Cretan imitations. The small square panel could perhaps represent a “through tenon” joining a stretcher spanning the short side of a couch to each leg (see p. 30 in Chapter 1 for similar tenons on Greek *klinai*).

209. Kunze 1931, 31; Markoe 1985, 166; Matthäus 1999/2000, 52.

210. Another possibility is that the hatched mass is a piece of cloth shown draped behind a table, as on the Kourion bowl (Fig. 134), and that the table is supported on a platform, which may have been the case on another fragment from the Idaean Cave (Markoe 1985, Cr11), as the height of the table in relation to the surrounding figures suggests.

211. Markoe 1985, 166; Matthäus 1999, 258; 1999/2000, 52.

212. Matthäus 1999, 258.

213. Matthäus 1999, 258, fig. 101; 1999/2000, 54–55, fig. 21.

214. Matthäus 1999, 257; M.C. Miller 2011, 121–22n6, 133n72. *Contra* Węcowski 2002b, 354n42. Franklin (2008, 197) cites the bronze bowl from Lefkandi Tomb 70 as an even earlier example, from the ninth century, but it is not clear that the participants in the banquet are reclining: see Popham 1995, fig. 2a.

215. Matthäus 1999, 258–59; 1999/2000, 55–59. That the custom and not simply the artistic motif was adopted is supported by Dentzer’s claim (1982, 53) that “the posture of

the banqueters could not have been rendered without trial/experimentation on the part of the engraver.” On Phoenician presence and influence on Crete, see Hoffmann 1997; Wallace 2010, 201–14.

216. See *infra* p. 214.

217. Reliefs of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727) and Sennacherib (705–681): Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, pls. 35, 138, 142, 346, 402, 504; Reade 1995, figs. 14, 16; Dentzer 1982, 51, figs. 77–79; Baker 1966, figs. 334–35. For the one juxtaposed with a seated banquet (London, British Museum WA, Or. Dr. I, 14), see Reade 1995, 47–48, fig. 16; Dentzer 1982, 51, fig. 77. Reade (1995, 47–48) has commented that this relief “might suggest that the couch was only a variety of bed, a refined alternative to bedding laid on the ground” but adds that his “own experience . . . is that people in camp are inclined to use their tents to entertain friends, and this tendency could even have been partly responsible in Assyria for promoting the couch from the bed room to the living room.”

218. Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, pls. 35, 138, 402.

219. Berlin, Staatliche Museen VA965 and London, British Museum WA, Or. Dr. V, 26; Baker 1966, 204 fig. 335; Barnett 1976, 58–59, pl. 66; Dentzer 1982, fig. 79; Reade 1995, fig. 14.

220. Dentzer 1982, 52. See under “The Rules of Reclining” in Chapter 1 for conventions of depicting banqueters reclining on their left sides in Greek art.

221. Beach 1993, 95. See Müller 1937, 59–89; Oates 1963, 34n66; Cecchini 2009, 98.

222. Albenda 1976–77, 29–33; Stronach 1995, 190; Reade 1998, 88. Other features of the scene that allude to the recent victory include captives forced to wait on the king and the thick necklace hanging from the right end of the couch, which may be an Egyptian type, indicative of his successes there: Albenda 1976–77, 35; Collon 1995, 151.

223. Nylander 1999, 72–74, with reference to Deller 1987, and a useful summary of prevailing interpretations.

224. For the “woman at the window” motif, see Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1931, 112–18, fig. 38; Barnett 1975, 145–51, pls. 4–5; 1982, pl. 50b; Suter 1992; Collon 1995, 160; Stronach 1995, 195n25. Barnett (1985, 1) finds deeper symbolism in the motif, an allusion to the West Semitic cult of “Ashtart-Anat-Qudšu,” and (in 1975, 118) cautions that the presence of the motif here is “not at all a hall-mark of Phoenician influence,” since “the cult of the ‘Woman at the Window’ was well known in Assyria.” For a Syro-Phoenician inspiration:

Notes

Mallowan 1966, 397; Barnett 1975, 118; Reade 1995, 47–48; Storch 1995, 192; Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 50–51. I.J. Winter (1998, 152–53) calls it “clearly imported.”

225. Barnett 1985, 2–3. See also Beach 1993; Cecchini 2009, 97–98.

226. E. Rehm 2005, 197–98. See also Albenda 1994.

227. Matthäus 1999, 257. For other criticisms of Barnett’s interpretation, see Reade 1995, 45.

228. London, British Museum WA 124543: J. Curtis 1996, 175 pl. 49a; Kubba 2006, 97, fig. 9.37.

229. London, British Museum Or. Dr. VI, 4: Baker 1966, 202–3, fig. 332; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, no. 453, pls. 365, 404. See Russell 1991, 139, on the assignment of these reliefs to the period of Sennacherib, pp. 161 and 164 on the location of these campaigns in Phoenicia or Judah. See also Barnett 1976, pl. 67, for a drawing of lost slabs from Assurbanipal’s palace (Or. Dr. V, 32) showing a couch and other items in a similar scene of the transport of spoils from a defeated Elamite city.

230. London, British Museum WA 124953: Russell 1991, fig. 77, 150–51; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, no. 344, pl. 246.

231. London, British Museum WA 124782, WA 124825, WA 124956: Russell 1991, 138–39, 150; Reade 1995, figs. 20–21; Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, nos. 277, 283, 347, pls. 193–95, 213, 255.

232. London, British Museum WA 124956: Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, no. 347, pls. 252–55; Reade 1998, fig. 65; assigned to the period of Assurbanipal by Russell 1991, 150–51.

233. Reade 1995, 48.

234. Boardman 1990, 125. The bronze situla/beaker on which a banqueting couple uses an Assyrian-type bed/couch with curved raised end as a sort of platform for seated dining, each seated on a mound-like cushion at either end, is unusual and problematic. Said to be from the region of Kermanshah in western Iran, it has been dated anywhere from the eleventh century through the seventh: Maléki 1961; Amandry 1966, fig. 4; Calmeyer 1973, 18–19, 190, no. A1, pl. 6; Porada 1965, 234n55; Muscarella 1974, 250; Mittmann 1976, 153, fig. 2; Dentzer 1982, 47, 61, fig. 61; Barnett 1985, fig. 1; Jamzadeh 1996, 122; Matthäus 1999, 257. Although this vessel may well offer the earliest representation of a couch-like form used in banqueting context, the participants in the feast sit upright rather than reclining. Dentzer suggests that

this odd scene may reflect an intermediate stage between seated and reclined banqueting, or an allusion to a sacred marriage. Muscarella (1974, 250) notes that iconographic peculiarities bring the authenticity of the piece into question (pers. comm.).

235. See also Kubba 2006, 17, on the symbolism of furniture as a “seat of authority” and therefore of its surrender as a sign of “the enemy’s subordination”; Franklin 2008, 197, on Assyrian appropriation of “the luxuries of the vanquished.”

236. Kubba (2006, 90) suggests the latter.

237. Buchanan 1981, 177, no. 458; Kubba 2006, 46, fig. 4.8. Other scenes of the type listed by Buchanan also have couches with bull’s feet, though without curved headboards discernible, except for one that shows, in place of a headboard, what appears to be a bull’s head and horns: see Buchanan 1966, 5–6, no. 3, a proto-literate seal impression, Jamdat Nasr style. This raises the possibility that curved elements on other representations were meant to recall schematic bull’s horns, or that the idea for an in-curving headboard originally evolved from a zoomorphic furniture form.

238. Paris, Musée du Louvre AO 22205: Black and Green 1992, fig. 151; Kubba 2006, fig. 7.7.

239. Schachner and Schachner 1996, 209, fig. 1; Bonatz 2000b, no. C59, pl. 20; Kistler 2005, 25, fig. 1.

240. Mallowan (1966, 397) calls Assurbanipal’s couch “doubtless a late example of an ancient traditional form.” See also Kyrieleis 1969, 15–23; and supra n. 234, for the situla said to be from Kermanshah. The earliest example of this type, though with a more subdued curve and with differently molded legs, occurs on a relief of Assurnasirpal II from Nimrud, shown being ferried upside down in a boat (London 124543, supra n. 228).

241. See also Mittmann 1976.

242. See n. 76 in Chapter 1 and infra n. 254; I.J. Winter 1976, 25–26.

243. Schaeffer 1954, 51–59; Caubet and Yon 1996, 69–71; Gachet-Bizollon 2001; Feldman 2006, 54, fig. 36; Gachet-Bizollon 2007, 135–46, 275–81.

244. Fort Shalmaneser, SW 7: Mallowan 1966, 411, figs. 337–41; Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, 3–9; Oates and Oates 2001, 235–36; I.J. Winter 1976; Herrmann 1996, 153–60; Kubba 2006, 159–64; n. 76 in Chapter 1.

245. Fort Shalmaneser, NE 26: Oates 1961, 14, pl. 8; Mallowan 1966, 396–97, figs. 321–22; Reade 1982, 109, pl. 8a; 1995,

- fig. 15; J. Curtis 1996, 175–76; Oates and Oates 2001, 232–33, fig. 145; Kubba 2006, figs. 11.21–22. Other pieces found in association include a bronze hanging-wreath molding and a series of shell inlays of lotus buds and rosettes, arranged in rows where the wood they were set into had decomposed. The relationship of all these pieces is unclear, and it is possible that the assemblage includes parts of different pieces of furniture, stacked and then fallen together in an enticing though misleading arrangement, as suggested by J. Curtis 1996, 175–76; Oates and Oates 2001, 232. On the storage function of the room, see Oates 1963, 34–35; Mallowan 1966, 397.
246. Schaeffer 1954, 51–61; Caubet and Yon 1996, 69; Gachet-Bizollon 2001, 21; 2007, 130–61; Feldman 2009, 191.
247. Caubet and Yon 1996, figs. 1–2.
248. Karageorghis (1999, 16), however, describes them as “thick vertical legs, with rounded terminals at the bottom.”
249. One instance of indentations occurring this low on the legs is known in Athenian black-figure vase painting, on a column krater attributed to Lydos (ca. 570–560), B28.
250. Barnett 1975, 118; Dentzer 1982, 52–53, fig. 81. These bronze reliefs chronicle the military campaigns of Shalmaneser III and Assurnasirpal II. The bed is occupied by a figure who may be a ruler of Hamath, gesturing toward the approaching Assyrian besiegers; there is no indication that he is banqueting, and the figure’s posture may have been intended to signal old age or illness. The bed has a raised end or headboard that flares out rather than curving inward; cf. a bed model from Lachisch: Kyrieleis 1969, fig. 1.
251. See Seidl 1996, 182, fig. 1, pl. 55a; Kyrieleis 1969, 30, fig. 8; and under “Banqueting in Anatolian-Persian Funerary Art: Furniture and Accessories” in Chapter 4. Alternatively, the profile could be read as a schematic depiction of the type of foot attested for the bed from Tomb 79 at Salamis (Karageorghis 2002, fig. 350), similar to those from Middle Bronze Age Jericho and probably derived from earlier animal-footed types: Kenyon 1960, fig. 229.3; Baker 1966, 218, fig. 353. For the feet from “Melgunov’s Barrow,” see Barnett 1962, pl. 6; Minns 1913, 172, fig. 69; Kyrieleis 1969, fig. 8.
252. See also Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 47–48; n. 116 in Chapter 1.
253. Dentzer 1982, 54n21; Rathje 1988, 86; 1990, 283n33; supra n. 214.
254. E.g., Richter 1966, fig. 56. See Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, 11–16; Barnett 1975, 115–31; n. 76 in Chapter 1.
255. Supra n. 43. See also the relief from Harran: Bruns-Özgan 2008, fig. 2; supra p. 190.
256. Matthäus 1999, 258; 2009, 328–29.
257. Pyrgion, *FGrH* IIIB 467 (Ath. 4.143e); Cic., *Pro Mur.* 74; Dentzer 1982, 430n5; Wallace 2010, 87.
258. On the marginalization of Crete in Greek literature, see Perlman 1999, 137–39; Erickson 2010, 332n65.
259. Koehl 1997, 143.
260. Haggis et al. 2004, 380–90; 2007, 253–65; Erickson 2010, 331–32. On the Cretan *syssition*, see Wallace 2010, 384–88.
261. Stewart 1980, 484.
262. Ath. 1.11f, 17f; Fehr 1971, 26; Dentzer 1982, 429. Athenaios, however, adduced seated dining as proof of Homer’s “concern for propriety” (1.18a) among the heroes, not as proof that the reclining banquet was unknown in Homer’s time.
263. E.g., *Od.* 1.427, 23.179; κλιντήρ, however, occurs once (*Od.* 18.190). For dining, see, e.g., *Il.* 9.200; *Od.* 1.145. See also Laser 1968, 1–10; Bruns 1970, 49; Boardman 1990, 124; van Wees 1995, 151, 178; Matthäus 1999/2000, 41.
264. E.g., B4, B9. See also Rathje 1990, 284; Matthäus 1999/2000, 41.
265. Murray 1994. On the significance of this cup as a “*terminus ante quem* for the advent of the symposion,” see also Węcowski 2002a, 633; Bartoloni 2002, 65–66; Franklin 2008, 196.
266. Murray 1994, 51, 53–54.
267. Węcowski 2002a, 629–31; 2002b.
268. Węcowski 2002a, 631–33. See also, Mawhinney 2012.
269. Slater 1990; van Wees 1995, 177; Schäfer 1997, 14–15; Malkin 1998, 167; Visconti 2008/9, 37.
270. Węcowski 2002b, 353–54. See also Franklin 2008, 197.
271. Carter 1995, 305. See also Boardman 1990, 122–24; n. 327 in Chapter 1.
272. Carter 1995, 304.
273. Carter 1995, 305; Boardman 1990, 122–24.
274. Richter 1966, 19; Kyrieleis 1969, 105–6; Åkerström 1981, 17. Krzyszkowska (1996, 103), however, suggests some degree of influence from Egypt or the Near East.
275. The issue of height is particularly subjective. Boardman (1990, 124), for instance, infers from textual references that the earliest symposion-*klinai* in Greece were high-legged like the funerary biers of the Geometric period. In discussing Alkman fr. 1 (infra p. 217), he reasons that “since there were side-tables

Notes to Chapter 3

the *klinai* were high-legged.” Would we not expect side tables also to accompany low couches? It is also not certain that Oriental couches were really that high. Assurbanipal’s couch is almost as tall as his fan-bearers, but the Assyrian king is usually depicted on a larger scale than the other figures that surround him, and his head usually occupies the highest point of a relief composition. In other Assyrian representations, such as the earlier camp scenes, the couch appears much smaller in relation to human figures (with the flat bed surfaces about the level of the knees of the attendants preparing them: see Figs. 139–40). We must take into account similar conventions of depiction when considering the Greek pictorial evidence: perspective and scale in Geometric *prothesis* scenes present complications for assessing Geometric beds, and it is possible that their height was directly related to their function as *prothesis*-beds: see p. 44 in Chapter 1.

276. Matthäus 1999, 259.

277. Murray 1994, 53.

278. Fehr 1971, 26.

279. Boardman 1990, 124; E. Bowie 1990, 223.

280. Tedeschi 1978; Boardman 1990, 124; E. Bowie 1990, 223; Murray 1991, 96; 1994, 52. Also Bowra 1938, 14. *Contra*: Hudson-Williams 1926, 73; Verdenius 1972, 1–2, for a “pregnant sense” of the verb, used in “rhetorical exhortation.” Bowie, however, argues that this rhetorical meaning is not attested until the time of Xenophon and that a charge of “lying idle” would be insulting and out of place; he prefers instead a “context of relaxation” and notes that the symposium would be a likely arena for the singing of elegy. So the meaning would be something like: “How long will you continue to recline here at your symposium rather than fighting to defend your city?” (the historical context of the poem is generally seen as the Kimmerian invasion). For the sympotic context of elegy, see E. Bowie 1986; Morris 1996.

281. Murray 1994, 52–53.

282. For a summary of different views and the “endless” discussion of the meaning of ἐν δορὶ, see Burnett 1983, 38–39n15. She follows Giangrande in reading κεκλιμένος as a reference both to reclining at banquet and “the pain of being bent by exhausting burden.”

283. Murray 1994, 53.

284. On the sympotic implications of κεκλιμένος, and other allusions to a sympotic context in Archilochos’s poetry, see E. Bowie 1986, 18. Franklin (2008, 197) agrees that Archilochos

was surely “contrasting a mercenary’s hardships with the pleasures of the symposium—where, after all, these verses were likely to have been heard.”

285. Alkman fr. 19 (Page). See also Fehr 1971, 26; Dentzer 1982, 430; Boardman 1990, 124; Murray 1994, 48; Matthäus 1999/2000, 42. For the dating of Alkman, see Page 1951, 164–66.

286. Transl. Boardman 1990, 124.

287. Boardman 1990, 124.

288. Fr. 16 (Page), which describes a man “from lofty Sardis” (Σαρδίον ἀπ’ ἀκράν), is often thought to be self-referential. In addition, fr. 39 (Page) refers to a type of partridge (the κακκάβη, or chukar partridge) said to be found only in Asia Minor and East Greece: Arnott 1977, 337n1. See also Page 1951, 167–70; Treu 1968, 23–25; Campbell 1988, 268. Page and Campbell stress that the long history of the debate indicates that the reference in fr. 16 was not “unambiguous,” even in ancient times. Campbell suggests that the tradition of a Lydian origin may have arisen from “the reluctance of later Greeks to believe that Sparta could ever have produced its own poets.”

289. Alkaios fr. 338 (Page), lines 7–8; Sappho fr. 94, line 21. See Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 6; Fehr 1971, 26; Dentzer 1982, 430; Brisart 2008. In the Alkaios fragment (ἐν δὲ κέρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως / μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσαι / μόλθακον ἀμφι[βάλων] γνόφαλλον, “mix the sweet wine unsparingly, and throw around your head/temples a soft cushion”), some would translate “fillet” instead of “cushion.” This makes sense with ἀμφί (and “temples” as the primary meaning of κόρσαι), but κνέφαλλον (of which γνόφαλλον is the Aeolic form) means “flock of wool” used for stuffing pillows or cushions, thence “pillow/cushion” (LSJ).

290. Sappho fr. 46. See Brisart 2008.

291. Xenophanes fr. 18 (Diehl). See also Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 6; Fehr 1971, 26; Dentzer 1982, 431; Matthäus 1999/2000, 42–43. A reference to the coming of the Medes places this fragment sometime after the Persian conquest of Ionia, which must have followed shortly upon the capture of Sardis ca. 545.

292. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 6; Boardman 1990, 124.

293. Dentzer 1982, 76–78, 87–95; Matthäus 1999, 256; 1999/2000, 41–42. Matthäus has suggested that inclusion of reclining banquets on the “Chest of Kypselos” at Olympia may have helped make the visual motif popular, but the date of its manufacture in Corinth is uncertain (ca. 580–560?), as are the details of its decoration. According to Pausanias (5.19.6–7),

the fourth and fifth registers included scenes of “Dionysos reclining in a cave” and a “woman sleeping with a man upon a *kline* in a cave,” with the latter two figures identified as Circe and Odysseus: see Splitter 2000, 45–47, 51, figs. 34–35. Pausanias’s identification of the couple has long been questioned, owing to the lack of iconographic parallels, and the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is an alternative explanation: see Snodgrass 2001, 132 (though Splitter retains Pausanias’s identification). It is uncertain whether both scenes should be read as reclining banquets: while Dionysos reclines holding a golden cup (Διόνυσος δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ κατακείμενος, γένεια ἔχων καὶ ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν), Pausanias’s description of the couple as “sleeping” (καθεύδουσα) implies a conjugal rather than sympotic context. If the reclining figure with cup was really Dionysos and the monument was really made in the first half of the sixth century, this would be the earliest known depiction of the god reclining: see Fehr 2003; Baughan 2011, 32.

294. For characteristic features of dining rooms in Classical Greece, see Goldstein 1978, 299–307; Börker 1983; Lawrence 1983, 317–18; Camp 1986, 123–25; Dunbabin 1998; Bergquist 1990; Hoepfner and Schwander 1994, 327–28; Cahill 2002, 80, 180.

295. Aesch. Ag. 240; Cho. 712; Hdt. 3.121.

296. Tomlinson 1969, 176, fig. 8, pp. 180–81; 1990, 98–99; 1993, 1496. See also Krause 1977; Bergquist 1990, 44.

297. At Thorikos and Lathourea in Attica: Krause 1977, 167, fig. 3.13; Drerup 1969, 36, fig. 32; Mussche et al. 1967, 12, figs. 1–5, plan II; Lauter 1985, 17–18, fig. 2, pl. 4a; Tomlinson 1993, 1496; Mazarakis Ainian 1995.

298. Leypold 2008, 15–18, pls. 1–5, 7a.

299. Simantoni-Bournia 2002, 277; Franklin 2008, 197. See also the late sixth-century structure partly overlain by the fourth-century Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi: Bookidis 1983.

300. Rabinowitz 2007; 2009, 138–42; Baughan 2011, 41–42. For the earliest (late sixth- and fifth-century) textual attestations of the term *hestiatoria*, see Börker 1983, 11.

301. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 5–6; Dentzer 1982, 429; Cooper and Morris 1990; Tomlinson 1993, 1497–98; Steiner 2002, 349.

302. Hawkins 1980, 220–22, pl. 8b; 2000, 487–90, no. X.21, pl. 272; Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 49, fig. 14.

303. Hawkins 1980, 222.

304. E.g., Symington 1996, figs. 16, 18–20, pls. 31–33.

305. Supra n. 239.

306. Supra p. 190.

307. Matthäus 1999, 257; 1999/2000, 49.

308. See p. 88 in Chapter 2.

309. Tomlinson 1990, 100. On the reinterpretation of “Midas’s bed” and redating of the tomb, see Simpson 1990; DeVries et al. 2003; Simpson 2010; n. 8 in Chapter 2.

310. Simpson 1990, 69; 1993; 2010, 110–13, figs. 76–78, pls. 100–105; Simpson and Spirydowicz 1999, 48–49.

311. Simpson 2010, 14, 58.

312. DeVries 1980, 35; Sams 1997, 241. On the Megaron 3 furniture remains, see Simpson 2012, 163–64.

313. Young 1960, 239–40, pls. 60–61, figs. 22–24; DeVries 1980, 34–35.

314. Young 1960, 239; DeVries 1980, 35–36.

315. See n. 227 in Chapter 2.

316. It used to be assumed that the Phoenician alphabet reached Phrygia via Greece, but linguistic evidence suggests rather that it came directly from Phoenicia without a Greek intermediary. In fact, Brixhe (1995) has suggested that Phrygians may have been the transmitters of the Phoenician alphabet to Greece, and that a Phrygian inscription on a block reused in one of the Middle Phrygian buildings at Gordion may have come from the ninth-century destruction level itself; for another inscription possibly from the destruction level, see DeVries 2007, 96–97; Sams 2011, 65; Rose 2012, 7. For Neo-Hittite connections, see Sams 1989, 453; L.E. Roller 1999.

317. Usher 2002, 207–12.

318. Supra n. 67.

319. But this conclusion is admittedly speculative, as the pairing of a table laden with food and a bed can also be found in contexts far removed from any evidence for the reclining banquet, such as in Middle Bronze Age tombs in Syria and at Jericho: supra nn. 121, 127.

320. Supra n. 166.

321. An Urartian bronze belt of unknown provenance shows a female figure enjoying a seated banquet while a bed is prepared in another pictorial zone: Seidl 1996, 181–82, pl. 54. For other representations of seated banqueters on Urartian belts, see Kellner 1991, nos. 236, 257, 262, 263, 269, and 279, pls. 60–61, 66–71.

322. Luckenbill 1927, 73–99; Mayer (1983), 108–9.

323. One possibility is *laqrisa*: see Littmann 1916, 25–26; Kahle and Sommer 1926, 32; Gusmani 1964, 159, 250, no. 1;

Notes to Chapter 3

Hanson 1968, 8n13; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 162, no. 241; McLauchlin 1985, 297–98.

324. Fr. 58.25–6 (L-P). See Kurke 1992, 93–94; 1999, 166–67; DeVries 2000, 357; Brisart 2008; Gunter 2009, 55–56. See also Bowra 1970; Lombardo 1983; Neer 2002, 20–22.

325. Fr. 3.1 (West).

326. *Pers.* 41–42.

327. Anakreon fr. 136/481 PMG.

328. Alkman fr. 13c–d, 16 (Page); Alkaïos fr. 69 (Page); Sappho fr. 16.17–20, 96.7–8, 98a.10–11, 132.3 (Page); Hipponax fr. 42 (West).

329. Sappho fr. 98a.10–11; Alkman, *Partheneion* 67–68. See also Pindar *Nem.* 8.16; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 51–56, 61; Boardman 1990, 129; Kurke 1992, 97; DeVries 2000, 359–60; Neer 2002, 222n81.

330. Pindar fr. 125 SM (=110 Bowra). See also Snyder 1972; Murray 1994, 52; Franklin 2008, 195.

331. Mimnermos fr. 14 (West). Sappho, in fr. 16.19–20, prefers the sight of her beloved to that of Lydian chariots and armed foot soldiers. Rather than disparaging or condemning the sight of Lydian forces, the comparison implies its awesome beauty; but the reference nonetheless situates the sight of Lydians in the context of warfare.

332. Hdt. 1.15–28.

333. Fr. 92 (West), see Morris 1996, 35; Kurke 1999, 27, 59; Neer 2002, 22–23. See B58 for a representation of a “Lydian (?) drinking party” (DeVries 2000, 360). *Mitrai*, *kothornoi*, and other elements place the scene in a foreign, probably Lydian, context, and one of the revelers is shown defecating while being carried on the back of one of his companions. Though the correlation is obscure, the scene seems akin to the portrait of a “Lydian” tryst in an outhouse in Hipponax fr. 92.

334. Xenophanes fr. 3.1 (West). See also disdain for Gygean gold in Archilochos fr. 19 (West), and later in the imitative Anakreon 8. See Kurke 1992, 101–13 for negative reactions to *habrosyne* in the fifth century.

335. M.C. Miller 1997.

336. On “elitist” and “middling” traditions in Archaic aristocratic poetry, see Morris 1996; Kurke 1999, 19–21. For criticisms of this theoretical dichotomy, see Hammer 2004, 491–99; Rabinowitz 2009, 119–20; Corner 2010. As in Baughan 2011, the terms are employed here to refer to genres and traditions rather than poets, who may have adopted different approaches depending on context.

337. Hdt. 3.121. See also Franklin 2008, 197–98, on Polykrates as a “Lydopath.”

338. Kurtz and Boardman 1986; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 1990; Price 1990; Kurke 1992, 97; M.C. Miller 1999; DeVries 2000; Neer 2002, 19–20, 222n84. Although the vases were once thought to represent Anakreon and his companions, or a ritual or game in which men dressed up as women, current scholarly consensus follows Kurtz and Boardman 1986 in finding the operative referent eastern rather than feminine. Neer (2002, 222n84) makes the important point that “effeminacy and *lydopatheia* are not mutually exclusive, for Athenians often associated Eastern luxury with a loss of manhood.”

339. Fragmentary krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter, B164. Chamaïleon of Pontos’s assertion (fr. 36 Wehrli, *Ath.* 12.533f) that Artemon, subject of Anakreon fr. 8 and 82, was “carried around on a *kline*” (περιφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ κλίνης) probably results from a conflation of Anakreon’s Artemon with another Artemon, one of Perikles’ engineers, who was lame: see Brown 1983, 5n29. Kurke (1997, 123) explains that the adjective περιφόρητος, applied to Artemon in Anakr. fr. 8, probably meant something like “notorious, famous,” lit. “carried around (in the mouths of all),” and may have had a sexual connotation as well, in the sense of “excessive circulation in the public domain.”

340. Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 53–54. See also Brandenburg 1966, 76–86. For reclining symposiasts wearing *mitrai*, see Boardman 1976, 285, figs. 5–8; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, no. 4, fig. 12; Peschel 1987, pl. 8; DeVries 2000, fig. 13.10; and several more examples listed in Brandenburg 1966, 81–82. See also B103.

341. Von der Mühl 1926, 485; Fehr 1971, 129; Boardman 1990, 129; Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.2; Franklin 2008, 196–98.

342. Hdt. 1.48–50; see p. 34 in Chapter 1.

343. Baughan 2011. See also, Ateşlier 2006, 64–66, fig. 6.

344. N.A. Winter 1993, 238, 245; M.C. Miller 2011, 112.

345. Boehlau and Schefold 1940, figs. 27–30; Kjellberg 1940, 15–16, 64–80, 160–63, pls. 22–33; Åkerström 1966, 7, 56–58, fig. 2, pls. 28, 29; Fehr 1971, 107–9, nos. 465, 466; Langlotz 1975, 84–86, pl. 22.3; Dentzer 1982, 230–35, figs. 320–28, 331; N.A. Winter 1993, 245; Baughan 2004, 233–35; 2011, 29.

346. M.C. Miller 2011, 112, with 128n43, calling important attention to N.A. Winter’s caution about the accuracy of the reconstruction drawings published as Kjellberg 1940, figs. 20–22. See Kjellberg 1940, fig. 20 and pl. 30.9.

347. M.C. Miller 2011, 112.
348. Franklin 2008, 192.
349. Franklin 2008, 197.
350. Murray 1994, 53–54.
351. Franklin 2008, 197.
352. Franklin 2008, 197. DeVries and Rose (2012, 197), however, suggest that the Lydian items probably reached Corinth after the Persian conquest of Lydia and understand their display at Delphi in the context of rivalry with Athens after the Persian Wars.
353. See under “Origins of the Type A and B Schemes” in Chapter 1. For the Type A scheme, Kyrieleis’s identification of a “transitional” form on a Cretan bronze *mitra* from Olympia (n. 338 in Chapter 1) is also significant.
354. Supra n. 299. For Cypriot connections, see Simantoni-Bournia 2004.
355. Burkert 1991, 18.
356. Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 120; Kron 1988, 138–39; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 80, 127n67; Baughan 2011, 38n151.
357. *Resp.* 2.372b.
358. Topper 2009; 2012, 23–52. Most importantly, on many of the vases she discusses *klinai* may have been omitted for compositional reasons rather than to mark a symposium as “primitive.” In particular, the ram’s-head rhyton attributed to the Triptolemos Painter, B284, is one of many contemporary head vases and figural rhyta showing symposiasts reclining directly on a groundline: see nn. 387, 391, and 401 in Chapter 1. The lack of *klinai* here probably has more to do with a pictorial convention connected with this vase type rather than with the identification of figures in the scene (labeled) as early kings and heroes of Athens. See also Dentzer 1982, 89; Neils 1995, 439–40; Klinger 1997, 349–64; Heinrich 2007, 102–5, 124–29; Lynch 2007, 244; Baughan 2011, 38–39.
359. Haspels 1951, 32–34; Eckert 1998, sec. 3.1.2.3; n. 265 in Chapter 2.
360. Berndt-Ersöz 2006b.
361. Supra pp. 88–93.
362. Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.2; Roosevelt 2003, 619–20, no. 536; supra p. 8. Only fragments of the bedslab were recovered, so it is unclear whether this, too, was a Type B *kline*.
363. Hdt. 1.15–22, .28, .46.
364. Boardman 2000, 128–31; Curtis and Tallis 2005, 56, no. 1.
365. See n. 355 in Chapter 1.
366. Houby-Nielsen 1995, 156–61. For criticism, see Eckert 1998, sec. 4.2.3.3; Baughan 2004, 387–88n280. For other readings of the historical significance of the Mound G burials, see Kübler 1973, 188–93, with n. 38; Knigge 1976, 10n26; Humphreys 1980, 106; Knigge 1991, 109–10.
367. Houby-Nielsen 1995, 160, 166–68. In fact, the concept of luxury more contemporary with the era of these tombs is expressed by the word *habrosyne*: supra n. 324.
368. See p. 19 in Chapter 1.
369. See “Macedonian Funerary *Klinai*” in Chapter 5.
370. See Cat. 10, 17, 24, 29, 52, 68, 70, 71, 82. For oil containers from Lydian graves in which couches are not attested, see, e.g., von Olfers 1858, pl. 5; Greenewalt 1972, 133–34, pl. 9; McLauchlin 1985, 154. See also Dusinberre 2003, 134; Baughan 2010a, 291–92.
371. See pp. 63–64 in Chapter 1.
372. E.g., Minto 1921, 34–37, 158–74, 222, 282–83, fig. 7, pl. 48.1; Åkerström 1934, figs. 32.1–2, 34.2; Pareti 1947, pl. 30; Prayon 1975a, 41–43, 57; Curri 1979; Steingraber 1979.
373. Steingraber 1979, nos. 8 (bronze, from Chiusi, Tomba della Pania), 13 (iron, from Marsiliana d’Albegna), 14 (wood, from Castro), and 45 (bronze, from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Caere). See also Minto 1921, 282–83.
374. Pareti 1947, 124–25, pls. 1, 3, 30–31. Colonna and Di Paolo (1997) review the contradictory eyewitness testimonies and conclude that the bed was probably left empty but had a symbolic connection with the burial in the chamber beyond, as a symbolic recreation of the *prothesis* that took place in the atrium of the deceased’s house before burial. The wagon found in the same vestibule would then have alluded to the subsequent *ekphora*, and the tomb as a whole would represent an inversion of the funerary ritual that took place in the house, culminating with the deposition of the deceased in the innermost “cella” for eternal rest; see also Tuck 2012, 46. For the mourning figures, see Pareti 1947, pl. 28; Bartoloni 2000, 166.
375. See Minto 1921, 26, 34–39, 158–74, 282–83, fig. 7, pl. 48.1 (“Tumulo di Mezzo” at Macchiabuia, Tomb II at Banditella, and a fossa tomb at Circolo di Perazzeta).
376. Åkerström 1934, figs. 32.1–2, 34.2; Pincelli 1943, pl. 7.4; Steingraber 1974, nos. 724–29, 788–89; Curri 1979.
377. Prayon 1975a, pl. 67.1; Steingraber 1979, 139.
378. Steingraber 1979, 194–203, 313–52 (the overwhelming majority are at Caere, but funerary beds are also found in tombs at Populonia, Vetulonia, Vulci, Tuscania, San Giovenale, and Blera, among other sites). In the calculations

Notes to Chapter 3

presented here, the number of tombs dated to the middle of the sixth century (32) was divided in half and distributed evenly between the categories for the first and second halves of the century.

379. E.g., Bugli 1980; Linington 1980; Steingraber 1981; Naso 1991.

380. Prayon 1975a, pls. 85, 87 (see pl. 85.55, .59–60, for exceptions to this generalization); 1986, fig. V-5; see also Bugli 1980, 152, 155, 162, 178, 195, 247.

381. Mengarelli 1927, 84–85, 164–65, pl. 8.2 (note, however, chambers with two *klinai* or two sarcophagi, pl. 7); 1938, 12; Prayon 1975a, 41; Steingraber 1979, 140, 147, 176; Hitzl 1991, 87n461; Amann 2000, 39–40. Though this arrangement is not consistent, and the use of one form of burial place or the other does not seem to have followed such strict rules of gender, the emphasis on pairs of *klinai* may reflect a more general interest in funerary coupling, the same idea expressed in couple's sarcophagi, which were well known in Etruria from the Archaic period on: e.g., Brendel 1978, figs. 158–59, 299–300.

382. For tomb paintings, Weber-Lehmann 1985; Steingraber 1985. Of 37 banquet scenes of the sixth and fifth centuries collected in Steingraber's catalogue, 22 involve *klinai* (mostly Type A), 15 show banqueters reclining on mattresses on the ground or groundline, and all are dated ca. 520 or later. For reclining banqueters on funerary reliefs (stone cippi from Chiusi), cinerary urns, and terracotta sarcophagi: e.g., Paribeni 1938, pls. 32–36; Brendel 1978, figs. 137, 158–59; Brigueat 1989.

383. Especially along the walls of "atria," from which the smaller burial chambers are accessed: e.g., Prayon 1975a, pl. 85.43 (Tomb of the Shields and Chairs), where all the beds in the atrium have head ends on the right. More often, the head orientation is not consistent: e.g., Prayon 1975a, pls. 85.59–60, 87.3. Cf. the tomb at Tarentum mentioned in Chapter 2, under "Symbolic Function."

384. Emiliozzi 1984, pls. Ib, IIIa.

385. See Steingraber 1985, 390, nos. 6, 7, 11, 13. Weber-Lehmann (2007) argues that these cuttings held the feet of coffins. See pp. 93, 97 in Chapter 2 for cuttings on the bed surfaces of rock-cut couches in Lydia and Lycia.

386. Prayon 1975a, pl. 67.2.

387. Prayon 1975a, 58; cf. Haynes 2000, 166, fig. 148: "third quarter of the sixth century."

388. Steingraber (1979) lists only five tombs containing rock-cut beds with carved Type B legs, all from around the middle

or the second half of the sixth century: nos. 712–13 (Caere), 743 (San Giovenale), 790 (Vignanello), and 791 (Vulci). See also Berggren and Berggren 1972, figs. 55, 59 (first half of sixth century); Bugli 1980, 155; Naso 1998, fig. 36. On the Murlo frieze, see Small 1971; Macintosh 1974, 27; Steingraber 1979, 89; Small 1994.

389. Steingraber 1979, 10–12, 82–83, Type 2.

390. Prayon 1986, 180. For architectural details possibly simulating house architecture in Etruscan chamber tombs, see Naso 1996a; Tuck 2012, 50.

391. From Tomb 23, a cist grave, dated by local impasto and bucchero as well as Etrusco-Corinthian pottery. See Paolucci 2000, 229, figs. 28–29; Torelli 2001, no. 193. This may, in fact, be the earliest known representation of a reclining banqueter anywhere outside the Near East, other than the "Phoenician" bowls found on Cyprus and Crete (discussed above).

392. Sprenger and Bartoloni 1983, pl. 17; Rathje 1990, 283; Tuck 1994, 617; Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 248.

393. Prayon 1975a, 110; Cristofani 1987, 124–25; Tuck 1994, 622–27; e.g., his fig. 7, a tomb group from Poggio alla Sala. That the urn commonly symbolized the deceased is suggested by anthropomorphic characteristics or attributes (like helmets). For items from Poggio alla Sala, see Bartoloni 2000, 196–98, nos. 189, 191. See also the Barberini tomb at Palestrina: Rathje 1990, 283. A similar idea seems to have fueled the design of a side chamber ("Kultraum") of the Tomb of the Five Chairs at Caere (ca. 630–600), where terracotta statues sat on rock-cut chairs before tables on which vessels were placed: Prayon 1975a, 110, 112; 1975b, 166–67, fig. 1; Rathje 1990, 285; Tuck 1994, 618–20, figs. 3–4. Tuck (p. 620) reports H.D. Anderson's suggestion that the two "empty" cylindrical thrones that Prayon restores were symbolically intended for the two tomb occupants, buried in an adjacent chamber. The statuettes would then represent the ancestors who "welcome the newly deceased to the banquet." See also Bonfante 2011, 239.

394. Small 1971; Macintosh 1974; Bonfante 1986, 234; Cristofani 1987, 126; Rathje 1988, 87; von Mehren 1993; Rathje 1993; 1994. As Rathje (1991, 1168n22) points out, the building complex at Poggio Civitate (Murlo) in which the banquet frieze plaques were found seems to have contained a room for banqueting: see Stopponi 1985, 123.

Some of the revelers depicted on the Murlo plaques may even hold distinctive Ionian cups, examples of which have also been found in excavation at Murlo, one dated ca. 600:

Small 1971, 40, 51. Rathje (1994, 97), however, points out that the bowls are clearly modeled on a Near Eastern, probably metal, prototype.

For East Greek/Ionian cultural influence: De Marinis 1961, 115; Rathje 1990, 284.

395. Small 1971, 58–59; see under “The Rules of Reclining” in Chapter 1.

396. E.g., Boardman 1990, 129. On Ionian emigration, see Brendel 1978, 116; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981, 89; Hemelrijk 1984, 160; Cook 1989, 165; Gras 1991; Domínguez 2000, 510–12. On Ionian influence in Etruria, see also Naso 1996b; Tsatskheladze 2000, 523.

397. Bartoloni 2002, on Castel di Decima Tomb 15.

398. Rathje 1988, 83; Bartoloni 2002.

399. Murray 1994, 50–54; Węcowski 2002a, 633; *supra* n. 265.

400. Rathje 1990, 281–82. See also Moorey 1980b, 81; Malkin 1998, 167.

401. Small 1971, 55–56; 1994, 86–87; Rathje 1994, 96–97.

402. Small 1971, 55, 59; p. 54 in Chapter 1.

403. Pieraccini 2000. See also Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 249.

404. E.g., the Tomba delle Leonesse and the Tomba del Letto Funebre: Pallottino 1952, 44; Holloway 1965, 343–46; Åkerström 1981, 14. For ceiling decoration, see Holloway 1965, 344; Naso 1996a.

405. Steingraber 1985, *passim*; Weber-Lehmann 1985.

406. As Murray (1988, 248) suggests for the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum, contemporary with the Tarquinia tombs, but with a closer iconographic connection to sympotic scenes in Greek art. There are no clear indications that the depicted banquets are meant to be perceived as taking place in the afterlife or underworld until the fourth century: see Haynes 2000, 308–14; Krauskopf 2006, 75, on the ambiguity of banquet location in Etruscan tomb paintings.

407. Steingraber 1979; 1981. Based on the representational evidence, it appears that Type A (Steingraber’s Type 2a) *klinai* were more prevalent in Etruria than Type B (Type 3a), but among stone funerary *klinai* neither type is as common as Steingraber’s Type 1, with rectangular frame and round, post-like legs. Steingraber lists only five tombs containing rock-cut beds with carved Type B legs, all from the middle or the second half of the sixth century: nos. 712–13 (Caere), 743 (San Giovenale), 790 (Vignanello), and 791 (Vulci); see also Naso 1998, fig. 36.

For “East Greek affinities” appearing around the same time in other aspects of Etruscan art, see Steingraber 2010, 358–64.

408. Barker and Rasmussen 1998, 248. For sleeping, see, e.g., sarcophagi from Caere and Tuscania (Sprenger and Bartoloni 1983, pl. 202; Cristofani 1985, 329) and a terracotta cinerary urn from Caere in the British Museum (Ransom 1905, pl. I). Weber-Lehmann (2007, 142) thus concludes that the question of meaning must remain “undecided.”

409. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 1222: Heres 1990, pl. 29.

410. See especially Prayon 1995; Naso 1996b; Magness 2001.

411. For recent surveys, see Mahoney 2008; Perkins 2009; Bonfante 2011, 233–34.

412. Magness 2001, 81.

413. See also Colonna and Di Paolo 1997, 159.

CHAPTER 4. BANQUETING AND IDENTITY IN ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA

1. Cat. 59. See also “Afterword,” p. 281.

2. Root 1991.

3. Root 1991, 6–7. See also Dusinberre 1999, 98–99; 2003, 8–9.

4. See especially the papers and response delivered in a session on Persianization in a symposium on Cultural Identity and the Peoples of the Mediterranean at the Getty Villa: Brosius 2011; M.C. Miller 2011; Tuplin 2011. See also several papers presented at the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology in 2008, especially Hüllden 2008; Draycott 2010; Baughan 2010b.

5. J. Gates 2002, 119.

6. Dusinberre 2003, 139. Cf. Allen’s discussion (2003, 225–32) of cultural borrowing in fourth-century Athenian funerary monuments.

7. Dusinberre 2003, 138–39.

8. Roosevelt 2009, 135.

9. See p. 130 in Chapter 2; see also Roosevelt 2003, 195–97; 2009, 146.

10. Roosevelt 2009, 146; *supra* p. 148.

11. Dusinberre (2003, 143–44) has suggested that grave stelai set up before many of the chamber tombs at Sardis may have reflected such Persian models, but these stelai have close parallels in East Greece and no apparent Achaemenid features: see Hanfmann 1976; Ratté 1994.

12. Dusinberre 2003, 142.

13. See Sekunda 1991, 129, for caution against reading too

Notes to Chapter 4

much about Persian noble settlement from Achaemenid-style items found in tombs.

14. On Iranian rider dress in general, see Hdt. 7.61–62; Root 1979, 281–82; Bittner 1985, 180–225; Nollé 1992, 45–52; M.C. Miller 1997, 156–57; Kaptan 2002, 79–80; Curtis and Tallis 2005, 216; Stronach 2010. On the *tiara*, see Houston 1954, 171–74; Seiterle 1985; Kökten Ersoy 1998, 129–30. Hanfmann (1966, 12n17) points to a rider relief from Bin Tepe as possible evidence for a similar type of headdress in Lydia prior to the Persian conquest but admits that the date of the relief is not certainly confined to the first half of the sixth century (see Fig. 87, top). The horsemen carved on an ivory inlay plaque from Megaron 3 at Gordion also wear caps with curving tops and side flaps, as do those on a battle relief from the same context: DeVries 1980, figs. 7–8. See also A. Ramage 1978, figs. 35–36, for a fragmentary architectural terracotta from Sardis with an archer wearing a “Phrygian cap.” On the uncertainty of the cultural affiliation of such attire, see also Tuplin 2011.

15. Dusinger 1999. See also Kistler 2010; M.C. Miller 2010, 862–68.

16. M.C. Miller 1997, 135–87.

17. Paspalas 2000a.

18. Dusinger’s new book (2013) sheds important new light on these negotiations through the adoption of an “authority-autonomy” interpretive framework but was released after the completion of this manuscript and could not be incorporated here.

19. It must be noted, however, that Iranian elements in Anatolia do not necessarily post-date the Persian conquest of Lydia or reflect Persian presence. Cultural exchange between Lydia and Media may well have taken place before the fall of Sardis and was not limited to armed conflict. Herodotos (1.74) records a truce between Alyattes and Kyaxeres after the battle and eclipse of 585, sealed with a marriage arrangement: see Huxley 1998; Paspalas 2000b, 159, 161; Dusinger 2002a, 45. An inlaid ivory furniture plaque of Lydian or Lydian-inspired craftsmanship from Kerkenes Dağı has been interpreted as evidence for Lydian-Median gift exchange (Summers 2000, 69, fig. 11; Dusinger 2002a; 2003, 105; 2010a, 194, fig. 4), but the initial identification of the site as a Median fortress (Summers 1997; 2000) has been revised following the discovery of Phrygian inscriptions and Phrygian-style sculpture: Summers 2006c; 2006b; Draycott and Summers 2008; see also Rollinger 2003. Therefore the “Lydian” ivory from Kerkenes more likely

illuminates Lydian-Phrygian than Lydian-Median cultural exchange.

20. Cat. 3, 14, 25, 27, 36, 52–54, 61, 69, 81, 82, 85, 92, 126, and possibly 24 and 99. The finds from two tumuli excavated at Daskyleion in 2010 have not yet been fully published (see Cat. 58–59), but preliminary reports suggest an Achaemenid character for the some of the grave offerings. It should be noted, though, that only a small minority of the catalogued tombs were found with grave goods intact.

21. E.g., T. Bakır 2001; M.C. Miller 2011. See also C. Gates 2005, 789.

22. See M.C. Miller 2007; 2010, 859–60.

23. E. Rehm 2010; 2011.

24. Another approach is suggested by Lintz (2008, 259), who classifies as “Achaemenid” any object for which “the commissioner . . . its owner, or the craftsman was of Persian origin or had political or cultural links to the Achaemenid empire.”

25. See *infra* p. 242; Nylander 1970; Boardman 2000; Stronach 2008.

26. For the Sardis tombs, see Dusinger 2003, 264–76, with references. Two seal rings and a pyramidal stamp seal pendant with winged griffins and sphinxes were among the items looted from İkiztepe (Cat. 54): Özgen et al. 1996, 140–43, nos. 95, 97–98. Another seal ring, with sphinx, is in the assemblage looted from a tumulus (or tumuli) near Gökçeler in northern Lydia: Roosevelt 2009, 240–41; Cahill 2010, 548–53, no. 195.

27. Cat. 81, 82, 85. Those with sarcophagus burials are Tombs 811, 813, and S16: Dusinger 2003, 252–53, 258.

28. Objects from only about two hundred of more than a thousand tombs opened by Butler’s team were inventoried, and most of these are now lost: see pp. 147–48 in Chapter 2.

29. Cat. 81: C.D. Curtis 1925, nos. 46, 49, 106; Dusinger 2003, 248, fig. 81.

30. Cat. 85: C.D. Curtis 1925, no. 118; Dusinger 2003, 249, fig. 91.

31. Dusinger 2003, 169–71, 264, 269, 274. See also Boardman 1970; 1998b.

32. Dusinger 1997a; 2003, 158–71; 2010b, 181–86.

33. Dusinger 2008, 93; 2010b, 184, 189n18. See also J. Gates 2002; M.C. Miller 2006; *infra* n. 155.

34. Sardis Tomb 1005: C.D. Curtis 1925, nos. 115, 120; Dusinger 2003, 255, figs. 89, 85.

35. Özgen et al. 1996, 174–75, 178–79, nos. 128, 130; *infra* n. 46.

36. Cat. 92: Butler 1922, 143, fig. 158; C.D. Curtis 1925, 11–12, nos. 1–4; Dusingberre 2003, 254.
37. Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, 228–30, no. 157.
38. Azarpay 1968, 59; Özgen et al. 1996, 166–67, fig. 158; Álvarez-Món 2009.
39. Cahill 2010, 505.
40. Dusingberre 2003, 159–60, 253, fig. 60.
41. Roosevelt 2009, 209–10, fig. C1; Cahill 2010, 505–6, no. 133.
42. Özgen et al. 1996, 166–67, nos. 116–19.
43. Cf. Head 1964, pl. XXI.2–7; Åkerström 1966, pls. 45, 83; Walter-Karydi 1973, fig. 154; A. Ramage 1978, fig. 83.
44. From Tombs S4, 368: C.D. Curtis 1925, nos. 10, 11; Dusingberre 2003, 250, 258, fig. 53.
45. Özgen et al. 1996, 52, nos. 105–21; Roosevelt 2009, 180. On the recent history of the hippocamp brooch (not pictured here), see Waxman 2008, 155–74. Two pairs of “rattles” are also said to have come from the couch, and stone alabaster and a silver “bottle” were arranged on the floor. An additional, unrecovered silver object described by the looters may have been a lion’s-head situla.
46. Özgen et al. 1996, 59, 160–61, no. 111. For kidney-shaped bracelets with animal terminals from Susa, the Pasargadae Treasure, and the Oxus Treasure, and the ones depicted in reliefs at Persepolis, see Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 132–34; Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, 246–47, nos. 172–73; Stronach 1978, pls. 146–47; Amandry 1958; E.F. Schmidt 1953, pl. 32. See also Stern 1982, 151, figs. 254–55; Musche 1992, 279–81, pls. 109–10; *supra* n. 35.
47. Özgen et al. 1996, 59, fig. 135. For the Gordion bracelet, see also Deppert-Lippitz 1985, fig. 82. For Assyrian, Elamite, and Urartian examples, see Merhav 1991, 177–78, figs. 18–19; Musche 1992, pls. 82, 97. For later examples from Greece, Cyprus, and Thrace (some with clear Achaemenid affinities), see, e.g., Deppert-Lippitz 1985, figs. 138–41; Williams and Ogden 1994, nos. 28, 86, 161.
48. Özgen et al. 1996, 59.
49. Özgen et al. 1996, 164.
50. Özgen et al. 1996, 86, 152. Cf. Fig. 154c–d. For dipper-type ladles in Achaemenid glyptic art, see M.C. Miller 2011, 103, figs. 9–10.
51. Moorey 1980b. Both pouring vessels and ladles were used in Greece to transfer wine from mixing bowl to cup: see Sparkes 1991, 75; Murray 1990, pls. 16b, 19a, 22b. For ladles in Greek symposium scenes, see DeVries 2000, 361–62.
52. Özgen et al. 1996; Özgen 2010. The fact that the material was originally published by von Bothmer (1984) as an “East Greek” treasure underscores the difficulties of stylistic classification but may also be seen as a deliberate attempt to obfuscate its illicit history, a common strategy in dealer descriptions of antiquities from Lydia, as noted by Luke and Roosevelt 2009.
53. Several silver bowls from the Güre valley tombs carry inscriptions, probably names, in Lydian and Phrygian: e.g., Özgen et al. 1996, 33, 94, no. 42, p. 106, no. 60, p. 115, no. 71; Tezcan 1979, 395.
54. Roosevelt 2003, 292; 2009, 247; Xen. *An.* 1.1.2, 1.9.7; *Hell.* 1.4.3. Some scholars have related the Güre tumuli to the site of Hellenistic and Roman Bagis, but Roosevelt (2003, 293–94) stresses the lack of evidence for settlement at this location in the Lydian or Persian era.
55. Özgen et al. 1996, no. 35. For the identification of the animals as rams, see M.C. Miller 2007, 56.
56. Özgen et al. 1996, no. 33.
57. Özgen et al. 1996, no. 34.
58. Özgen et al. 1996, nos. 44, 46–50.
59. M.C. Miller 2007, 50.
60. Dusingberre 1999; 2003, 172–95.
61. M.C. Miller 2007. But see Maras 2010, fig. 18.1, for a composition reconstructed from Susa fragments in the Louvre showing a winged sun-disk *beside* a sphinx.
62. M.C. Miller 2007, 61–62, 67. See also Boardman 2000, 191.
63. London, British Museum WA 116411. See also Melikian-Chirvani 1993, 113; Özgen et al. 1996, 55; M.C. Miller 1997, 137; Boardman 2000, 186, cf. fig. 5.76; Treister 2007, 99–100.
64. See Özgen et al. 1996, 55; Greenewalt 1972, 134; Melikian-Chirvani 1993, 113; Dusingberre 1999, 93; 2003, 189.
65. Melikian-Chirvani 1993, 113–14; Özgen et al. 1996, 115; Treister 2007, 99–100.
66. Briant 1996, 1014; M.C. Miller 2007, 503n32; 2010, 859.
67. Von Bothmer (1984, 44, no. 68) notes parallels in Egyptian, Punic, and Etruscan art. This cock and others incised on an alabastron from the tomb and painted on the front of the *kline* at Karaburun (Fig. 75) are adduced by Tüfekçi Sivas (2010, 340) as parallels for the cocks in relief in a Phrygian rock-cut tomb chamber at Taşlık (Cat. 64) but do not necessarily suggest a specifically Persian religious symbolism, since all are from hybrid Anatolian-Persian contexts.
68. Özgen et al. 1996, 121–25, nos. 75–78. The incised

Notes to Chapter 4

decoration on one of these (no. 78) also includes a cock similar in form to the one on the lid of the incense burner.

69. Özgen et al. 1996, nos. 64, 67, 74. Cf. Stronach 1978, 176–77, pls. 150b, 151a–c.

70. Özgen et al. 1996, 34; M.C. Miller 2007, 50; 2010, 876.

71. Özgen et al. 1996, 50–51, 103, no. 54; Gunter and Root 1998, 22.

72. Özgen et al. 1996, 211–30, nos. 188–219.

73. Melikian-Chirvani 1993, 120–25. See also Paspalas 2000b, 162; Boardman 2000, 186–87; Treister 2007, 100; M.C. Miller 2010; Brosius 2011.

74. M.C. Miller 2007, 50, 58.

75. For a positive assessment, see also Carstens 2006.

76. Waldbaum 1983, 146, 148, nos. 964, 974, pls. 56–57; Dusinger 1999, 78. A silver Achaemenid bowl from Butler's excavations now in Istanbul (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 4540) was assigned to Tomb 113 by Waldbaum and may be the same as the “silver bowl” listed on the sketch plan of “Tomb 70 (113)” in Butler's notes (Cat. 99); Dusinger (2003, 247) has assigned it to Tomb 213.

77. Cat. 3, 12, 25, 36.

78. Dusinger 1999; 2003, 172–95.

79. Cat. 54, 92; H.W. Bell 1916, 44, nos. 416–17; Tezcan 1979, 396; Özgen et al. 1996, 136, no. 91.

80. Nimchuk 2002, 60; Dusinger 2002b; Kroll 2010, 153. The use of an archer coin as a seal on several of the Persepolis Fortification tablets indicates that the type also reached the heartland but underscores its symbolic function, at least as perceived in Persia: Nimchuk 2002, 59, 69, fig. 5; Garrison 2010, 338–39.

81. Nimchuk 2002.

82. Nimchuk 2002, 64, 67. For archer imagery on Persepolis tablets and the issue of audience, see Garrison 2010.

83. Cat. 14. The wheels were found, one resting on top of the other, just outside the entrance to the dromos, and the linchpins were found in the entrance to the tomb within a deposit of stone chips/fragments, but these locations may reflect disturbance by looters: see Dedeoğlu 1991, 122n13.

84. Supra n. 14.

85. See Nagel 1986, 30–34.

86. Dedeoğlu 1991, 126–27, fig. 5; Kökten Ersoy 1998, 129. See E.F. Schmidt 1953, pl. 52; Ellis 1966, 42–43, pls. 7–8; Mallowan 1966, 208–9, fig. 142; Littauer and Crouwel 1979, fig. 80.

87. Ellis 1966, 42; Kökten Ersoy 1998, 129–30.

88. Mallowan 1966, 208–9.

89. Kökten Ersoy 1998, 130, partly also on the basis of the supposed “royal symbolism” of the ram's-head terminals of other pins found in the tomb (possibly used on the chariot yoke).

90. Cat. 57; Kütük 1995; Kökten 1998; Kökten Ersoy 1998.

91. Sevinç 1996, 252, fig. 5. Remains of a wheeled vehicle were also recovered in one of the Phrygian tumuli at Ankara (the “Great Tumulus”), probably of the early seventh century (Mellink 2006, 1); and wheels were found with a sarcophagus burial in the Akalan tumulus near Kütahta (Türkütünüzün 1999, 126–27, drawings 3–5, fig. 5). For cart- or chariot-burials in other cultures (Scythian, Thracian, Etruscan, and Halstatt, as well as on Cyprus), see: Pareti 1947, pl. 31; Karageorghis 1967, 117–19, e.g., pls. C, CXVII; Rolle 1979, 113–21; 1989, fig. 7; Höckmann 1982; Piggott 1983, 140–49, 199–207, 228–29; Biel 1985a; 1985b; Landolfi 1992; Pare 1992; Vassileva 1994, 65; Emiliozzi 1997; Witt 1997; Tsatskheladze 1998, 61–62; Amann 2000, 66–75.

92. See under “Type A” in Chapter 1 and “Beds in Funerary Rituals” in Chapter 3. Its style is local Orientalizing, but the flag-shaped fan held by one of the mourners is paralleled in both Greek and Near Eastern art—cf. the fan depicted on a Boiotian Subgeometric hydria (Paris, Musée du Louvre A575); M.C. Miller 1997, 201, fig. 129; Ahlberg 1971, 216–19, fig. 52; for flag-shaped fans in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Hittite art, see Schachner and Bucak 2005, 162; see also a sixth-century stele from Harran (Bruns-Özgan 2008, 220; p. 190 in Chapter 3). The *ekphora*, of course, has a long history in Greece, though the wheeled variety may have been less common in Greece, where the bier was usually shown carried on the shoulders of men: see n. 100 in Chapter 3. Borchhardt (1968, 179–85) finds the roots of the custom in Scythia (Hdt. 4.171–72) and wonders also if, in Anatolia, it may have had Hittite precedents.

93. Özgen et al. 1996, 56–57; Sevinç 1996; Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 2001; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007.

94. Cat. 61; Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998.

95. Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, 311–12, fig. 8. See Stucky 1985; Kübler 1970, 404–5, 559, no. 2, pl. 128; M.C. Miller 1997, 43, fig. 9. Cf. also the protome handle of the flag-shaped fan depicted on the north wall of Karaburun II (Cat. 69); Mellink 1971, pl. 54 fig. 23.

96. Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, fig. 11.

Cf. Kyrieleis 1969, pls. 8.1–2, 9.2, 18.4, 19, but see also pl. 1 for similar elements in Assyrian furniture. See also van Loon 1966, 100; Kyrieleis 1969, 148; Jamzadeh 1991; Merhav 1991, 259–61, figs. 6–7; Nollé 1992, 69; Jamzadeh 1996; M.C. Miller 1997, 53–54; Boardman 2000, figs. 3.39–40; Paspalas 2000a, 535–40; Stronach 2002, 384–86. On the Dedetepe table leg fragment, the lion's paw sits atop another cylindrical section, the majority of which is no longer preserved but probably would have been a torus over a hanging leaf wreath.

97. Sevinç, Rose, Strahan, and Tekkök-Biçken 1998, fig. 11; see under “Persian Turnings” in Chapter 1. A similar table (or stool?) leg is on display in the Afyon Museum, probably from a tomb in the vicinity.

98. One of the couches in the Kalekapı tomb has legs carved in relief with two series of paired torus moldings and a downturned-bell-shaped foot: von Gall 1966, 15, fig. 2. This bell-shaped element is a feature of Hellenistic and later *kline* and may derive from the hanging-leaf wreath discussed above: see under “Persian Turnings” in Chapter 1. The Kalekapı tomb and several others in the region (at Salarköy and İskilip) have columnar façades with addorsed bull protome capitals reminiscent of those at Susa and Persepolis: von Gall 1966, 13–65, 91–93; Bittel and Naumann 1965, 72–76; von Mercklin 1962, 30, figs. 130–31; p. 158 in Chapter 2. On these tombs and Achaemenid Paphlagonia, see Johnson 2010. See also frit casings evidently from *kline* legs of similar form in a fourth- or third-century cist grave at Pella in Macedonia: Lilibaki-Akamati 1995; Paspalas 2000a, 534–35, fig. 1. Wooden legs with closely stacked turnings recently found in the Koru Tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 59) could possibly belong to a couch, but their function is not yet certain.

99. Cat. 69: Mellink 1973, 299, pl. 45, fig. 7; 1974, 356–57; Calmeyer 1996, 226. A piece of furniture with similar legs (a table or stool) is carried in the procession scene on the south wall of the chamber. See also the turnings and leaf moldings on couches depicted in other Anatolian-Persian funerary art, discussed below.

100. The couch on which a male figure reclines on a cylinder seal from Susa has very thin legs with a pair of thin, disc-like moldings at top and bottom: Dieulafoy 1893, 439, fig. 341; Ward 1910, 355, fig. 1214; Dentzer 1982, figs. 87–88; *infra* n. 196. See also the *kline*-leg casings from Pella (*supra* n. 99) and the ivory relief from Demetrias (n. 42 in Chapter 3; Paspalas 2000a, 541–42).

101. See n. 236 in Chapter 2.

102. Draycott 2007, 36–37.

103. Draycott 2007, 43, 45.

104. Özgen et al. 1996, 69, no. 4; Roosevelt 2009, 172, fig. 6.43 (right). Heavy modern repainting makes it difficult to determine the authenticity of some of the details. For the possibility that this fragment may come from another tomb in the region, since the quality of the stone is somewhat different from that of the other fragments, see Özgen et al. 1996, 39; but Draycott (2007, 185) notes the similarity in figure height and facial lines and suggests that the differences in stone type may indicate that the figures came from different areas of the same tomb (porch and chamber).

105. Dedeoğlu 1996, 204; Özgen et al. 1996, 38–39, fig. 64. Witnesses who visited the tomb prior to the vandalism in the 1960s reported a “procession of figures and one or two wheeled vehicles: ‘in convoy fashion, a funeral and war chariot and servants advance in very orderly file, one behind the other’”: Özgen et al. 1996, 38, citing an unpublished 1965 report of K.Z. Polatkan, then director of the Manisa Museum. Faint traces of a wheeled vehicle drawn by horses were noted during salvage operations by the Manisa Museum in the 1980s.

106. Dedeoğlu 1996, 204; Özgen et al. 1996, 38, figs. 65–66, nos. 2–3; Draycott 2007, 183–88; Roosevelt 2009, 172, 174, fig. 6.43 (left). Fragments of at least three other figures facing right, of which only photographs are known, probably belong to the same frieze but may also have been repainted in modern times: Dedeoğlu 1996, 204–5, pl. 45.11–13.

107. Draycott 2007, 187–88. See also M.C. Miller 2010, 864–65.

108. See Fig. 86 for a sphinx support from Sardis and nn. 94–95 in Chapter 2 for other examples of *kline* bedslabs socketed into grooves or slots in chamber walls.

109. Özgen et al. 1996, 40–45, 70–73; Roosevelt 2003, 576–78, no. 433; Draycott 2007, 176–83; Baughan 2010b.

110. Özgen et al. 1996, 43, fig. 81.

111. As Tuplin suggests (2011, 156). On the significance of these “Persian riders,” see Baughan 2010b. Summerer (2010, 120) assumes that the painted wooden chamber of the Tatarlı tumulus also held a *kline*, though no evidence of any burial furniture was documented in its excavation. If so, this would be another important Persian-period tomb with clear Persianizing elements, though again balanced with native traditions: see Uçankuş 1979; Özgen et al. 1996, 45; Draycott 2007,

Notes to Chapter 4

64–82; Kuniholm, Newton, and Griggs 2007; Summerer 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2010.

112. Mellink 1972b, 265, pl. 59, fig. 19. Cf. E.F. Schmidt 1953, pl. 32; 1957, pl. 70; and see Amandry 1959; M.C. Miller 1997, 60; Boardman 2000, 187–89; Paspalas 2000b, 154–57 (“kantharoid cup”). See Fig. 160d for a similar vessel on the relief from Afirözü.

113. Mellink 1971, pl. 55, fig. 24, and pl. 56, fig. 26; 1972b, pl. 58, figs. 15–16; Özgen et al. 1996, 47, figs. 88–89. According to Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.3.8, presenting vessels in this manner was customary for cupbearers of the Persian king and was intended to make the cup easier for the drinker to grasp. See M.C. Miller 1997, 139; 2011.

114. A ring-handled ladle hangs from a finger of the same hand that is holding the phiale: see Özgen et al. 1996, 47, fig. 88. Cf. Boardman 2001, pl. 854.

115. M.C. Miller 1997, 204.

116. Mellink 1971, 252–53, pl. 54, fig. 23; M.C. Miller 1997, 203. For flag-shaped fans in Perso-Anatolian banquet scenes, see Fig. 160b, e. Cf. also a relief in the Manisa Museum of unknown provenance, probably from the fourth century: Roosevelt 2009, 158, fig. 6.22.

117. Mellink 1972b, 266; Özgen et al. 1996, 47, fig. 89. Cf. E.F. Schmidt 1953, pls. 51–52; Harper, Aruz, and Tallon 1992, p. 246, nos. 172–73, p. 250, no. 178; M.C. Miller 2011, 117.

118. Mellink 1974a, 357, with reference to an Achaemenid ivory figurine from Susa: Amiet 1972, pl. IV. For a reconstruction of the Persian draped robe or *kypassis*, see Jacobs 1994, figs. 4, 6. The garment worn by the Karaburun dignitary has been described as an “Anatolian chemise” (M.C. Miller 2006, 226) or a “chiton” (Şare 2010, 70n78), but Jacobs (pers. comm.) has stressed the importance of the V-shaped neckline, the lack of fastenings on the shoulder, and the open sleeves as crucial details in identifying this garment as a Persian-style robe. See also M.C. Miller 2011, 117, 132n68, following Jacobs’ identification of the garment but not the identification of the man as a Persian. A robe with V-shaped neckline is also worn by one of the figures sharing a *kline* on the fragmentary series of terracotta revetment plaques from Larisa on the Hermos: Kjellberg 1940, pl. 22, no. 11; supra p. 221. This figure has been variously identified as male or female; Miller suggests (2011, 128n42) that it may have worn a beard.

119. Mellink 1972b, 266. For general discussion of this scene’s Persian features, see also Mellink 1979b; Dentzer 1982, 227–30;

Jacobs 1987, 30–40; Nollé 1992, 82–87; Briant 1996, 521; M.C. Miller 2011.

120. See n. 409 in Chapter 2.

121. Mellink 1974a, 358, pls. 69–70, figs. 16–19. Cf. especially the banquet scene on a Klazomenian sarcophagus from Akanthos, with the same assortment of animals: n. 38 in Chapter 1 (Fig. 10). See also the terracotta frieze plaques from Larisa (Fig. 46) and the dogs and stag in a corresponding space “beneath” a *kline* carved in relief on slabs of uncertain Etruscan provenance (Stuart Jones 1926, 187–89, pl. 74; Sala Castellani, nos. 1, 3, 5; Brendel 1978, fig. 90).

122. Mellink 1972b, 267: the dignitary wears a sleeved tunic, trousers, and ankle boots, while his opponents wear armor, greaves, and helmets in Greek fashion.

123. Mellink 1971, 251–54, pl. 54; 1972b, 263–69, pl. 59, figs. 21–22, pl. 60, figs. 23–24; 1973, 297–301, pl. 45–46; 1974a, 356–57, pl. 68; Calmeyer 1992, 13; Bingöl 1997, pl. 8.1–2; M.C. Miller 1997, 157, 166. The identification of the figure in the chariot as the tomb occupant is based primarily on his physical similarity to the reclining grandee in the banquet scene and the mounted victor in the battle scene. That he “rides in his own ekphora” (Mellink 1973, 299) complicates but does not disallow the funerary interpretation of the procession. It is unlikely that he is shown here as a dead man, with limp hand artificially raised, as first suggested with reference to Borchhardt’s independent (1968) theory for scenes from Thrace and Lycia, since the position of the hand is an active one, with Persepolitan parallels. Instead, he may appear “to the mental eye of the artist and the beholder” as an epiphany in his own funeral procession (Mellink 1973, 300). See also Mellink 1974a, 357; S.G. Miller 2010.

124. Supra n. 14.

125. Most recently, Hüllden (2008) has revived the Persian theory. M.C. Miller (2011) argues that the tomb type and burial method support a local Lycian identification and adds that the distinctive gesture of the dynast’s extended right arm, with hand raised, is paralleled in symposium scenes on Attic vases. S.G. Miller (2010) also supports the hypothesis that he is a “Persizing” Lycian.

126. E.g., M.C. Miller 2011, 102, figs. 5–7.

127. See p. 46 in Chapter 1, pp. 189–90 in Chapter 3.

128. See, e.g., Merhav 1991, 227, fig. 6.3; Stronach 1995, 177, 193n4, figs. 12.1b, 2, 7–8.

129. M.C. Miller 2011. Tuplin (2011, 155, 171n26) points out the variability of this motif on Persian-period monuments

within and outside the Persian empire and wonders how closely it relates to actual drinking etiquette.

130. Supra nn. 46, 47.

131. See Musche 1992, pls. 79, 88, 94, for Neo-Elamite, Urartian, and Assyrian examples of hoop earrings; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, nos. 19 and 33, fig. 25, for similar earrings worn by “*Lydopatheis*” on “Anakreontic” vases; and see n. 338 in Chapter 3. For examples from Sardis, see Butler 1922, fig. 156; C.D. Curtis 1925, pls. VI–VIII; A. Ramage 1978, fig. 33; Waldbaum 1983, 123, nos. 723–24, pl. 45. On earring wearing in Lydia: Xen. *An.* 3.1.31; Greenewalt 1971, 38; Brown 1983, 10; Kurtz and Boardman 1986, 61–62, with references to East Greek examples.

132. Supra n. 118.

133. M.C. Miller 2011, 117.

134. M.C. Miller 1997, 93.

135. Mellink 1974a, 357.

136. Gunter and Root 1998, 26.

137. Gunter and Root 1998, 26–27, 38n41.

138. See Mellink 1970, 251–53; 1971, 246–49; 1972b, 261; 1973, 301–3; 1974a, 359; 1974b; 1975, 353–55; 1976a, 377–82; 1976b; 1979a; 1980b, 156; Dentzer 1982, 224–26, fig. 223; Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 24–25, pls. 29, VII, XII.

139. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 24–25, pls. 29, VII, XII.

140. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 5, 17–20, pls. 7–8, 26, IV. See supra p. 129.

141. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 56–57, on the “East Greek–West Anatolian tradition,” in which the scattered fragments of Lydian and Phrygian wall painting also fall, and which may have had a strong relationship with Etruscan tomb paintings.

142. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 63–64.

143. M.C. Miller 1992, 94; Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, pl. 14. Cf. E.F. Schmidt 1953, pls. 75–76, 138–39; Bittner 1985, fig. 1; Boardman 2001, fig. 4.12b.

144. Young 1981, 74–75, pl. 32; Kyrieleis 1997; M.C. Miller 1997, 194.

145. Macintosh 1974, 32–33; Merhav 1991, 317, fig. 6; M.C. Miller 1992, 93–95, pl. Ia; 1997, 193; Muscarella 1999, figs. 1–2. For later Lycian examples, see Childs 1978, pls. 13.1, 15.

146. The *kline* appears to be Type A. For the table, cf. Figs. 2–3, 12–13, 26–29.

147. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 59. Even if the

painted scene depicted a mythical feast, the spatial relationship with the “real” couch of the tomb chamber, given its accompaniment by a table and metal vessels, would still establish a visual connection between the painted banqueter and the deceased.

148. See p. 7, 188; Varinlioğlu 1992; Börker-Klähn 2003. For the name “*Sitsidos*” inscribed on one of the bowls from Bayındır, cf. now also the name inscriptions recently discovered on roofbeams of Tumulus MM at Gordion: Sams 2009, 142–43; Liebhart and Brixhe 2009.

149. Cf. the gable construction in the wooden chamber of Tumulus MM at Gordion: Young 1958, 148. Mellink (1971, 251) notes that the same feature is paralleled in another tomb in the Elmalı region, at Müğren, with “two intermediate gables and other details imitating wooden prototypes.” See also, Waelkens 1982, 431.

150. Mellink 1991, 7. At Karaburun, a temporary doorway used during the construction of the chamber was closed with a plug-block after burial (see Cat. 69). Mellink (1983b, 171) suggests that this is a Lycian adaptation of the Phrygian custom of “leaving the roof open until the time of death and burial,” which would have been “particularly awkward in stone architecture.” At Kızılbél, the same problem is solved with a portcullis door; cf. Urartian tombs at Altintepe: Özgüç 1969, figs. 10, 17.

151. For syntheses, see Borchhardt 1968, 194–208; Dentzer 1982, 224–30; von Gall 1989b; Nollé 1992; Kaptan 2003; Draycott 2007; M.C. Miller 2011, 110–12, 127n38.

152. Only traces of a seated figure and a standing figure, possibly holding a cup, are preserved: Summerer 2010, 150–52, fig. 17. See also Draycott 2007, 65; Summerer 2007a, 145; M.C. Miller 2011, 128–29n46. For other paintings from this tomb, see Summerer 2007a; 2007b; 2010; Uçankuş 1979.

153. Dusinberre 2003, 95, 134–35; Kubala 2003, 114.

154. Brosius 2011, 141.

155. For “Graeco-Persian,” Borchhardt 1968; Cremer 1984; von Gall 1989b; Nollé 1992; Paspalas 2000b, 161. For “Anatolian-Persian” or “Perso-Anatolian,” Polat 1998; 2007. For the history and problems of terminology, see Furtwängler 1900; Macridy 1913; Moorey 1980a; Root 1991; Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997, 234n25; Briant 1997, 100n260; Garrison 2001, 66n4; J. Gates 2002; M.C. Miller 2006.

156. Borchhardt 1968, 173–75; Hanfmann 1976, 41; von Gall 1989b, 156–57. See Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, figs. 148–57; Ratté 1994; Roosevelt 2009, 155–56.

Notes to Chapter 4

157. See Draycott 2007, 114–19; M.C. Miller 2011, 110.

158. For fourth-century examples from Sardis and Uşak, see N.H. Ramage 1979; Polat 1994; Dusinberre 2003, 93–95, 221–22; Roosevelt 2009, 158, figs. 6.21–22.

159. Three of the stelai from Daskyleion (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5762, 5763, and 5764; Figs. 158–59; *infra nn.* 162, 176, and 208) were found together, reused in a Byzantine grave, so they probably all came from an earlier cemetery nearby: see Akurgal 1966; Hanfmann 1966, 10–12; Dolunay 1967. The stele from Sultaniye (Bursa Museum 8500) was found in the vicinity of a tumulus known as Helvatepe: Metzler, Altheim-Stiehl, and Schwertheim 1983. The relief block from Afirözü (Kastamonu Museum 438), found near a nekropolis, may have been part of a larger funerary monument: Donceel-Voûte 1983. For anthemion stelai as grave-markers in Greece and Lydia, see, e.g., Richter 1961, 37–38, figs. 138–47; Borchhardt 1968, 174; Hanfmann 1976. The function of contemporary banquetting reliefs from Greece is more ambiguous (funerary, votive, or even architectural?): see Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 61; Boardman 1978, 165–66; Dentzer 1982, 252–62; D.N. Smith 1982, 25; Baughan 2011, 26.

160. Other themes include audience and departure scenes: von Gall 1989b; Kubala 2003; Polat 2007; Brosius 2010, figs. 7–8; 2011, 141. For hunting on other Anatolian-Persian stelai, see Cremer 1984, 92–94; Jacobs 1987, 57–58; Nollé 1992, 77–78. For hunting scenes in Near Eastern and Achaemenid royal art, see Kleemann 1958, 125–39; Wiseman 1959, nos. 107–9; Amiet 1973a, pls. 17.75, 18.BB and CC; 1973b, pls. 4.16, 6.28, 8.51–59; Garrison 1991, figs. 3–4; Boardman 2001, pls. 863, 888–89, 905; Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 2001; Seyer 2007, 35–65. For interpretations of scenes with wheeled processions, see *infra pp.* 261–62. It is unclear whether the relief from Vezirhan near Bilecik in Bithynia (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 6219/71.27), with enigmatic reliefs and inscriptions in Old Phrygian and Greek, is votive or funerary. The subjects depicted in several “floating” relief zones—a hunt, a Potnia Theron figure between crouching lions, and two figures facing each other with a censor (?) between them—are not fully understood, and the Greek inscription referring to a sanctuary appears to be secondary: see Asgari, Madra, and Soysal 1983, 60, B146; von Gall 1989b, 145; Neumann 1997; Kaptan 2003; Draycott, forthcoming.

161. Cross 1966, 8; Sekunda 1991, 83–84, 131; Nollé 1992, 119; Paspalas 2000b, 161.

162. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5764: Akurgal 1966; Hanfmann 1966; Dolunay 1967; Borchhardt 1968, 177–78, pl. 42.2; Möbius 1971; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, 9, no. 3, pl. 3; von Gall 1989b; Nollé 1992, 11–16, S1, pls. 1–2; Draycott 2007, 109–19, no. 11. For the inscription: Cross 1966, 8–9; Dupont-Sommer 1966; Lemaire 2001, 21–26. On Elnaf’s ethnicity, see Borchhardt 1968, 179.

163. Cf. especially an Archaic stone sarcophagus from Samos: Kleemann 1958, pl. 25; Borchhardt 1968, 194, pl. 47.1. For a full range of interpretations, see Mellink 1973, 300; Tappeiner 1986, 86–93, fig. 2; Jacobs 1987, 49–51; 1992; Nollé 1992, 88–92; Ateşlier 2002; Kubala 2003, 106–7; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 75; Summerer 2007a, 138–41; 2010, 160–68. Draycott (2007, 14–16, 125–29, 191–92; 2010) has made a strong case for reading these scenes as military convoys, displaying the kind of local support that would have been expected by the Persian king on campaign.

164. Bursa Museum 8500: Metzler, Altheim-Stiehl, and Schwertheim 1983; Asgari, Madra, and Soysal 1983, B141, pl. 1 a, b; Cremer 1984, 90; von Gall 1989b, 145, 157 (on later dating), fig. 4; Nollé 1992, 19–22, S3; Briant 1996, 518; Lemaire 2001, 29–32; Draycott 2007, 111, no. 17.

165. Bandırma Archaeological Museum: Gusmani and Polat 1999, figs. 1–2; T. Bakır 2001, 174, fig. 7; Draycott 2007, 111, no. 16. A Phrygian inscription also occurs on the relief from Vezirhan (*supra n.* 160), which has been considered along with the other “Graeco-Persian” stelai (e.g., von Gall 1989b) though its form and format are irregular.

166. Manes was one of the legendary kings of Lydia, and the name was also associated with Phrygia and Paphlagonia: see Hdt. 1.94, 4.45; Strabo 7.3.12, 12.3.25; Johnson 2010, 110n300. In Lydia, it occurs on seals and grave stelai: Gusmani 1964, 163, e.g., 250–51, nos. 1–2; Boardman 1970, 21; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 18, 162, no. 241, fig. 420; Boardman 1998b, 3. See also M.C. Miller 2006, 226.

167. Cf. Dusinberre 2003, 95; Parpola 2004, 8–9, 11.

168. Kaptan 2003, 192; Rose, Tekkök, Körpe, et al. 2007, 70; M.C. Miller 2011, 109.

169. *Supra n.* 14.

170. Tuplin 2011, 156.

171. Bittner 1985, 233–37; Nollé 1992, 58; DeVries 2000, 352; Sevinç, Körpe, et al. 2001, 400; Kaptan 2003, 194. The horse’s tail is also bound in the hunting scene on the Bergama relief: Radt 1983, 59. For Achaemenid chariot wheels, *supra n.* 85.

172. Von Gall 1989b, 149; Tuplin 2011, 155. In the case of the reliefs carved in the “cutout” style, it is difficult to determine details of dress.

173. Izmir Archaeological Museum 4344 (formerly 4338): Akurgal 1966, pl. 39.3; Dolunay 1967, 110; Borchhardt 1968, 208–9, pl. 52.2; Dentzer 1969, fig. 1; Möbius 1971, fig. 5; Hanfmann 1974, 299; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, no. 6, pl. 2; N.H. Ramage 1979, 94; Dentzer 1982, 265–68, fig. 318; D.N. Smith 1982, no. 2.1; von Gall 1989b, 151; Nollé 1992, 84; Draycott 2007, 171–76, no. 29; Roosevelt 2009, 157–58, fig. 6.20. The reclining figure in the Geneleos Group from Samos and most other East Greek banqueters wear ankle-length, short-sleeved tunics under their himatia: see Baughan 2011.

174. Kastamonu Archaeological Museum 438: Donceel-Voûte 1983, 101–18, pl. 5.2–4; von Gall 1989b, 143, 149–50, pl. 2.2; Calmeyer 1996, 226, fig. 3; Paspalas 2000b, 153, no. VII; Summerer and von Kienlin 2010, 216, fig. 18; Johnson 2010, 249–52; supra n. 159.

175. See also Tuplin 2011, 171n30.

176. Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5763: Akurgal 1966, pls. 36–37; Hanfmann 1966; Dolunay 1967, 25–34, 103–11, pls. 3.8, 5.10; Borchhardt 1968, 196–99, pls. 40.1, 50; Bernard 1969, fig. 3; Möbius 1971, 445–49, fig. 2; Akurgal 1974; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, no. 4, pl. 2; Dentzer 1982, 271–76, figs. 334, 335; von Gall 1989b, 144, fig. 2; Nollé 1992, 16–19, 107–8, S2; Draycott 2007, 114–16, no. 12.

177. Cf. Dalton 1926, pl. XIII, no. 38; Akurgal 1966, 151; Borchhardt 1968, 198–99; Rudenko 1970, 296, fig. 139; Dentzer 1982, 272–74; von Gall 1989b, 149–50, 161n35; Lerner 1991, 11, fig. 11; Jacobs 1994, 134–39; Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 152–53; Summerer 2007a, 133, figs. 2–3.

178. See Root 1979, 306–7; Jacobs 1994, 134–39; Henkelman 1995–96; Tuplin 2007, 72–73; M.C. Miller 2007, 61; Summerer 2007a, 133–34; Brosius 2010, 145, fig. 13.9.

179. Borchhardt 1968, 198; Mitropoulou 1996, 137. These interpretations also draw upon the symbolism of the lotus flower she holds and the egg she touches at the center of the scene, but both can be explained by the funerary context of the monument as symbols of fertility and the underworld or as emblematic of conjugal bonds: infra p. 256. On the questionable identification of this figure, see also Kaptan 2003, 195.

180. See Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5763 (supra n. 176); the “Manes” stele (supra n. 165); a relief from Altıntaş, Afyon Museum E1858: Thönges-Stringaris 1965, no. 170, with

earlier references; Dentzer 1969, 206, fig. 3; Fehr 1971, no. 472; Hanfmann 1974, 299; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, no. 75, pl. 19; Dentzer 1982, 268–71, fig. 319; Asgari, Madra, and Soysal 1983, B145; von Gall 1989b, 145; Nollé 1992, 82; Draycott 2007, 55–61, no. 8; and a relief of unknown provenance in the Bursa Archaeological Museum: Cremer 1984, 87–89, pl. 6c; Nollé 1992, 30–31, 114–17, S8, pl. 11. For a later example, see the relief from Hayallı in the Manisa Museum: Roosevelt 2009, fig. 6.21. The legs of the couch on the relief from Ödemiş (Fig. 160c), with a round molding at mid-height and flaring lower portion, have more in common with the couches depicted on a Cypro-Phoenician bowl from Salamis (Fig. 135) and the gilt silver feet from “Melgunov’s Barrow” in Scythia (Fig. 144; n. 251 in Chapter 3).

181. Relief in Bursa (supra n. 180); relief from Afirözü (supra n. 159). See also a fourth-century relief with banqueting scene from Sardis: N.H. Ramage 1979.

182. E.g., Kubala 2003, 115.

183. Paspalas 2000a, 540. For hanging-leaf wreaths in Urartian furniture, see Burney 1966, figs. 20.1–3, 23.12, pl. 20a; van Loon 1966, 100; Kyrieleis 1969, 86; Özgüç 1969, pl. 20.2; Wartke 1990, pls. 3–4; Merhav 1991, 251, 260, figs. 3, 7. A similar element occurs on the gilt silver feet from “Melgunov’s Barrow” in Scythia (Fig. 144; n. 251 in Chapter 3). For the Urartian and Assyrian elements in Achaemenid furniture, including the leaf wreath, see Kyrieleis 1969, 35–41; Jamzadeh 1996, 113–21; Stronach 2002, 384–86.

184. See n. 308 in Chapter 1.

185. Kyrieleis 1969, 146; Dentzer 1982, 431n14; Jacobs 1987, 35, 55; Nollé 1992, 69; Calmeyer 1996, 223n8; M.C. Miller 1997, 76–81; Briant 1996, 309; Kubala 2003, 115; Huguenot 2008, 1:222.

186. Hdt. 9.82; Dentzer 1982, 431n14.

187. *FGrH* 689 F5 (Ath. 2.48c–d). See also Xen. *Cyr.* 5.2.15; Phainias the Peripatetic, fr. 27 Wehrli (Ath. 2.48d); Plut. *Pel.* 30.6.

188. As Briant (1996, 102) also notes.

189. Plato *Com.* fr. 230 (Ath. 2.48b); A. Ramage 1978, 16. On Lydian textiles, see Greenewalt and Majewski 1980; Dusinberre 2003, 22–23. See also Baughan 2008a, 69, 78.

190. Alexis, *FGrH* 539 (Ath. 12.540d–e). See also Baughan 2008a, 69, 78; 2011, 42.

191. Hdt. 1.71.

192. See pp. 49, 54 in Chapter 1. Exceptions occur in some fifth-century *prothesis* scenes, such as on a white-ground lekythos in Paris, B342, and a red-figure lekythos in Berlin, B345.

Notes to Chapter 4

193. The evidence for rich purple textiles that once covered the marble *klinai* in the Koru Tumulus at Daskyleion (Cat. 59) is worth noting in this connection. Another way in which the couches represented in Perso-Anatolian funerary art differ from *klinai* in Greek symposium scenes is the absence of a raised armrest on the right end: here, the banqueters support their left elbows only with pillows (see Figs. 159, 160c, f). The significance of this differentiation is unclear. It could be connected with the tendency to use long, overhanging cloths, since they may have hung awkwardly over built-in armrests, or it may simply correlate with the fact that the couches represented in these scenes were not of the Type B variety, for which raised armrests became standard.

194. Draycott 2007, 125; M.C. Miller 2011, 101, 133n72; Tuplin 2011, 155. Some scholars have seen banquet scenes in the satrapies, such as on the Satrap Sarcophagus and the Nereid Monument, as reflections of the image of the Persian king dining, but such evidence is equivocal: see Borchhardt 1983, 218; Jacobs 1987, 72–73; Paspalas 2000a, 542n72. For later sources on Persian dining, see p. 39 in Chapter 1.

195. See Boardman 1998b, fig. 3; 2000, fig. 5.8; M.C. Miller 2011, 101, figs. 5–9. See also the stele of Djedherbes from Saqqara: Mathieson et al. 1995; Paspalas 2000a, 540–41; Boardman 2000, 179, fig. 5.58; M.C. Miller 2011, fig. 11.

196. Dieulafoy 1893, 439, fig. 341; Ward 1910, 355, fig. 1214; Dentzer 1982, figs. 87–88.

197. Hdt. 1.126.3.

198. Hdt. 9.80.

199. Herakleides of Kyme, *FGH* 689 F2 (Ath. 4.145c); Phainias the Peripatetic, fr. 27 Wehrli (Ath. 2.48d); Plut. *Pel.* 30.6; Tuplin 2011, 155, 171n29.

200. App. *Mith.* 17.116. Tuplin (2011, 171n29) also notes that the satrap Tiribazus was said to travel with *klinai* (Xen. *An.* 4.4.21). See also Briant 1996, 309.

201. Diod. Sic. 29.22.1–3; Dussinberre 2003, 137–38n33.

202. As M.C. Miller 2011, 109; Tuplin 2011, 155.

203. As Dussinberre also notes (2003, 137n33). See under “Persian Precedent?” in Chapter 3. When Brosius (2011, 141) claims that “the motif of the (funerary) banquet” is a “depiction associated with Persian culture,” she can adduce parallels only from Greece (the Demetrias ivory, of questionable provenance and date: see n. 42 in Chapter 3) and Egypt (relief from Saqqara, supra n. 195). See also Tuplin 2011, 172n30.

204. Supra n. 159.

205. Manisa Museum: Hanfmann 1974; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, no. 18, figs. 72–74; Hanfmann and Erhart 1981; Dentzer 1982, 392–94, fig. 310; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983, 103, fig. 138; Paspalas 2000b, 151n44; Dussinberre 2003, 93, 220–21; M.C. Miller 2011, 112.

206. Supra n. 173. Draycott 2007, 171–76; M.C. Miller 2011, 112. The “frond-shaped” fans held by the reclining figure and one of the attendants may be more generally eastern. For the furniture legs, see n. 251 in Chapter 3.

207. For the identification of the seated figures on the Ödemiş relief as wife and daughter, see Draycott 2007, 173–74.

208. Supra nn. 164, 176, 180 (Bursa 8500, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5763, and Afyon E1858). For the relief from Çavuşköy (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1502), see Borchhardt 1968, 206–8, pls. 52.1, 53.1; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, 30–31, no. 73, pl. 19; Dentzer 1982, 277–79, figs. 332–33; Cremer 1984, 91, pl. 6b; von Gall 1989b, 144, pl. 1; Nollé 1992, 27–30, 114–17, S7, pls. 9, 10. The banquet scene on one of the reliefs from Aksakal near Daskyleion (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5762) was cut for later reuse and so is very difficult to discern today, but it seems also to have featured a woman sitting on the couch of the reclining man: see Akurgal 1966, 155, pl. 34.2; Hanfmann 1966; Dolunay 1967, 28–29, 106–7, pl. 3.5; Borchhardt 1968, 194–96, pls. 40.2, 48; Bernard 1969, 19, fig. 4; Möbius 1971, 452–53; Akurgal 1974; Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, 31, no. 74, pl. 19; Dentzer 1982, 276–77; von Gall 1989b, 144, fig. 3; Nollé 1992, 25–27, 114–17, S6, pl. 8; Draycott 2007, 117–18, no. 13. On the relief block from Paphlagonia (supra n. 159), a second male figure takes the place of the woman seated on the *kline*.

209. Supra nn. 165, 173, and 180.

210. Supra n. 208.

211. Hdt. 5.18–19. E.g., Kubala 2003, 110.

212. Brosius 1998, 96–97.

213. Comparisons with banqueting scenes on Phoenician bowls and with Cypriot statuette groups have also been made: see Cremer 1984; Kubala 2003, 110.

214. For the Thasos relief, Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1947, see Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 34, pl. 5; Ridgway 1967; Fehr 1971, 111, no. 468; D.N. Smith 1982, no. 1.3; Dentzer 1982, 374–76, fig. 565. For other Archaic banquet reliefs from Greece, see Thönges-Stringaris 1965, nos. 33, 201, 305, pls. 3–4, 6; Åkerström 1966, fig. 1.2; Fehr 1971, 111; Möbius 1971, 454–55; Boardman 1978, fig. 255; Dentzer 1982, 252–62; D.N. Smith 1982; Shapiro 2009, 181. For later “Totenmahl” reliefs,

see Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1982; Borchhardt and Hermary 1984; Fabricius 1999; supra n. 158.

215. Baughan 2011, 20–22, 27–28, 34. Cf. also a Siana cup in Athens, B36.

216. See p. 221 in Chapter 3. For Larisa, see Kjellberg 1940, pls. 31–33. For Kebren, see Åkerström 1966, 7, fig. 2; Fehr 1971, 109, no. 466; Langlotz 1975, 84–86, pl. 22.3; Dentzer 1982, 234–35, fig. 331. These are thought to have been made from the same matrix as some of the Larisa revetment plaques.

217. See also Tofi 2006, 831–33.

218. So much so that Ridgway (1967, 308) has argued that the woman is not even meant to be conceived as present at the banquet but resides in her own female space as defined by her attributes (partridge under the throne, mirror on the wall above her, alabastron) and her concentration on the activity at hand (perfuming a hairpin by dipping it in an alabastron, or stirring the contents of the vessel with a pin-like object). For what the woman is doing with the alabastron, see D.N. Smith 1982, 48; Carpenter 1995, 163.

219. See n. 50 in Chapter 1.

220. In addition to the stele of unknown provenance in Bursa (supra n. 180) and the one from Çavuşköy (supra n. 208), see also the fragmentary stele from Dereköy in Bursa (Fig. 160h): Cremer 1984, 89–90, pl. 6d; von Gall 1989b, 145; Nollé 1992, 22–23, S4; Draycott 2007, no. 18. See also Tofi 2006, 833.

221. B83. See also B175, where the woman may extend a wreath toward the reclining man, but it is hard to distinguish from nearby vines; and B173, where this part of the scene is fragmentary but there appears to be an object (a cup or bowl?) in the same location.

222. See n. 50 in Chapter 1.

223. Müller-Wiener 1977–78, 115–16, pl. 30.4.

224. M.C. Miller 2011, 127n39.

225. Kubala (2003, 112) connects these compositions with representations of symposia with multiple *klinai* or recliners, where one figure turns toward another figure to his left (or toward the right of the scene, as on the Assos frieze, for example), and concludes that the artists of these scenes drew upon models featuring more than one *kline*, but correspondences with the black-figure “couple” symposia are more compelling.

226. Draycott 2007, 57–61, 121–25. Munn (2006, 142n37) also identifies this theme in Perso-Anatolian funerary art as a

“wedding banquet,” though by association with hunting scenes and a speculative connection with Mesopotamian rituals of sacred marriage. See also, Draycott, forthcoming.

227. Draycott 2007, 125.

228. Sevinç 1996, figs. 14–15; Reinsberg 2004; Draycott 2007, 106–7. See Boardman 2007, 229, for the important suggestion that we read the imagery in conjunction with the skeletal evidence (middle-aged male), rather than as if the monument was originally intended for a young woman: the man could be assimilated with Achilles, and the “women of his family conduct a dignified ritual of remembrance, again in the usual Archaic Greek mode, which tends to exclude many (and often any) male mourners.”

229. This appears to be a ladle or strainer with horizontal handle terminating in a curved shape like a duck’s head, rather than a mirror, as it was first identified (Sevinç 1996, 262); cf. Özgen et al. 1996, no. 64 (here Fig. 154l). See also Draycott 2007, 106–7; Angiolillo 2008, 14; Draycott, forthcoming.

230. Reinsberg 2004.

231. As Angiolillo 2008, 17–18.

232. As Sevinç 1996; Steuernagel 1998; Kaptan 2003, 198.

233. For the significance of eggs in funerary contexts, see Pieraccini, forthcoming.

234. Angiolillo 2008, 16–18. A fragmentary stele from Hisartepe near Daskyleion shows a similar composition, with seated women facing each other attended by standing female figures, but the lower part of the relief is not preserved, and it is not clear whether the women were seated on chairs or shared a *kline*: see Bakır-Akbaçoğlu 1997, 235; T. Bakır 2001, 174, fig. 6; Draycott 2007, 131–32, no. 15; Polat 2007. One of the attendants holds an incense burner, which could be appropriate for a banqueting context (supra n. 65). On the multivalence of this *kline* in this context, see also Draycott, forthcoming.

235. Mellink, Bridges, and di Vignale 1998, 59.

236. For the lack of chthonic elements in the Anatolian-Persian banquet scenes, see especially Draycott 2007, 57–61, 121–25; Draycott, forthcoming.

237. Cremer (1984, 98) suggests that they may have depicted a specific event in the life of the deceased, while Jacobs (1987, 56) and Boardman (1990, 129) propose a more politicized meaning in which elite banqueting is a reflection of the ruler’s lifestyle. See also Nollé 1992, 128.

238. Draycott 2007, 125.

239. Cahill 1988, 500.

Notes to Chapter 4

240. Supra p. 247, n. 163.
241. Supra n. 83. See also Kaptan 2003, 195, who suggests that these may have been deposited as substitutes “for the actual chariot of the deceased and his favorite companions.”
242. See Summerer 2010, 166–68.
243. Dentzer 1982, 394–427; Bruns-Özgan 1987.
244. On the Satrap Sarcophagus, Kleemann 1958: banquet, hunt, battle. On the Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, Fleischer 1985: *ekphora* (on the parapet), hunt (on the socle). Although Sidon lies outside Anatolia, the sarcophagi found in its royal nekropolis share many traits with Anatolian art, and some may have been carved by Attic sculptors; its role as a satrapal center also makes it a relevant comparison for Achaemenid-era art in Anatolia.
245. M.C. Miller 1997, 123. See also Mellink 1973, 301; Cremer 1984, 91–97; Tappeiner 1986, 94–95; Kubala 2003, 106.
246. D.N. Smith 1982, 10.
247. Kubala 2003, 107, 114–15; M.C. Miller 2006, 226.
248. As noted also by Cahill 1988, 500; Jacobs 1987, 55. See also Tuplin 2011.
249. Literary references to horse-and-rider sculptures not otherwise known in monumental Persian art demonstrate the fallibility of the archaeological record but do not, as some have argued, point to a lost tradition of hunting scenes in Persian palaces: see Root 1979, 129–30; Cremer 1984, 91–92; Nollé 1992, 77. For Assyrian examples, see Fig. 133; Collon 1995, figs. 121–23.
250. See Dusinberre 2013, 56–59, 63. Addorsed bull protome capitals found at Sidon, very reminiscent of those decorating the palace of Dareios I at Susa, were once thought to have come from a satrapal palace, but it is not likely that a satrap lived at Sidon: M.C. Miller 1997, 121–22; see also von Mercklin 1962, 29–30, fig. 127. See Root 1991, 8, on factors hindering the preservation and discovery of satrapal centers in the west. For “Persepolitan” reliefs at the site of Meydancikkale in Cilicia, probably an Achaemenid fort, see Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 293–306.
251. See M.C. Miller 1997, 123; Kaptan 2002, 91–92; Brosius 2011, 140.
252. For distinctive Lydian culture and identity in the Roman period, see Rojas 2010.
253. Şare 2010, 64, 75. See also Börker-Klähn 2003, 102–5, for the proposal of a “süd-kleinasiatische Koine” based on a study of finds from the same tomb and comparable monuments.
254. Ratté 1993; Roosevelt 2009, 175; n. 9 in Introduction.

For a colorful exploration of Lydian-Phrygian cultural exchange, see Greenewalt 2012.

255. See Akurgal 1955, 81, pl. 60a, for a Phrygian-style metal bowl from a tomb near Manisa; Özgen et al. 1996, 30, no. 225, for a similar bowl from the Basmacı tumulus near Güre. See also Muscarella 1971, 58. For Lydian ceramic imitations of Phrygian shapes (side-spouted vessels with strainers as well as ring-handled bowls with spool lugs), see Knudsen 1964; Muscarella 1971, 60; Greenewalt 1972, 130–32, pl. 8, with a cautionary n. 25; M.C. Miller 2007, 48–49.

256. Knudsen 1964, 67.

257. Sardis Tomb 23a: McLauchlin 1985, CC8, 223–28. The tomb is dated by a Corinthian aryballos, ca. 570–550, and a Rhodian aryballos of the beginning of the sixth century. Other finds include an Ephesian Ware skyphos, some Wild Goat Style vessels of the late seventh century, and an Ionian Little Master cup.

258. See n. 61 in Chapter 2.

259. See n. 359 in Chapter 3; Young 1953, 164, fig. 8; Greenewalt 1972, 131n23; Kohler 1995, 195–96, 231, 233, figs. 12a–d, h, pls. 15e, k, 16g; Berndt-Ersöz 2006b; Cahill 2010, 488–92, no. 24; Kroll 2010, 146, fig. 7. For Lydian presence at Gordion in the sixth century, see also DeVries 1988, 51–53; Greenewalt 2012.

260. Berndt-Ersöz 2006a, 26. See also Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 130–31; and for discussion of this theory, Baughan 2008b, 17.

261. Munn 2006, 97.

262. Glendinning 1996, 116–17; Berndt-Ersöz 2006b, 111; Summers 2006a, 684.

263. The concurrence of both Lydian and Phrygian elements in the rock-cut tomb at Düver (Cat. 169) and other tombs in northwest Pisidia and the Kibyratis (see p. 147 in Chapter 2) suggest some mixing of traditions in this distribution.

264. Stinson 2008, 42–44; Greenewalt (2012) 275 n. 18.18. See, e.g., Cat. 64, 117, 142, 145, 152; and the Unfinished Monument and Hyacinth Monument at Midas City, and the nearby Arezastis Monument: Haspels 1971, 78, pls. 14–15, 83–84, fig. 515.1. Thatch-like patterns are also paralleled on the ceilings of some Etruscan tombs: e.g., Naso 1996a, figs. 8, 9.2, pls. II.4, III.1.

265. These are not indicated in Haspels’ drawing of the monument but were noted by the author during favorable light conditions in June 2002 and are just barely discernible in Haspels 1971, fig. 189. The faint traces of carving give the

general impression of back-to-back volutes with a small palmette emerging from the top. For capital-like volutes at the tops of central gable supports, see, e.g., a tomb at Yapıldak Kale and a Klazomenian sarcophagus in London: Haspels 1971, figs. 119, 532.2; Cook 1981, G1, pl. 42.

266. Kasper 1970, 72–74, 77; Roosevelt 2003, 137.

267. Bakır and Gusmani 1991; Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997; Gusmani and Polat 1999; T. Bakır 2003; İren 2010.

268. Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997, 230; Gürtekin-Demir 2002; T. Bakır 2003.

269. Nicholas of Damascus fr. 63; Hipponax fr. 104 (West); T. Bakır 1995; Gürtekin-Demir 2002, 141.

270. For the pottery, see Gürtekin-Demir 2002.

271. Von Gall 1989b, 157.

272. Supra n. 156. Von Gall (1989b, 156–57) argues that the relief from Daskyleion showing a horseman followed by two foot soldiers (Istanbul Archaeological Museum 5963) is essentially a Lydian work, with no recognizably Achaemenid features, but others have identified a *kandys* worn by the rider, and a *tiara* on one of the attendants: see Borchhardt 1968, 192, pl. 44.1; Nollé 1992, 24–25, S5, pl. 7b; Draycott 2007, 115, 118, 129–30, no. 14. Nollé (1992, 25, 136n43) identifies a sleeved tunic on the rider but notes that it is impossible to determine whether the standing figures once wore caps of any kind, since this area of the relief is very worn. Cf. Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 74, no. 46, figs. 150–51.

273. On the Royal Road: Hdt. 5.52–54, 8.98; Starr 1963; Graf 1994; French 1998. For earlier road networks: Garstang 1943; Goetze 1957; Sevin 1988; Belli 1989, 28–29; Sevin 1991; Franklin 2008, 192.

274. Roosevelt 2009, 201.

275. Cf. Papalexandrou 2010, 44, on “deliberate hybridity.”

276. See n. 2 in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

1. S.G. Miller 1993, 14–15; Sismanidis 1997; Huguenot 2008; Andrianou 2009, 39–50.

2. For general discussions of these later tombs, see Vollmoeller 1901a; Carington Smith 1982, 258–59; Faust 1992; Fabricius 1999, 200–201; Venit 2002, 18–19; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a, 552–57; Cormack 2004. For Italy, see, e.g.: Sestieri 1940; Neutsch 1956, fig. 41; Tiné Bertocchi 1964; Lamboley 1982, 128–29; Letta 1984; Talamo 1989; Faita 1989; Adembri and Roncalli 1990, 297–323; Steingraber 2000, 52–59.

Corsica: Jehasse and Jehasse 1973, 30–31. Samos and Rhodes: Karageorghis 1970, 223; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 175, fig. 31; Tsakos 1977; C. Gates 1983, 27; *ArchDelt Chronika* 35 (1980) 540, pl. 340; N.A. Winter 1982, 555, pl. 71, fig. 22; *ArchDelt Chronika* 43 (1988) pl. 364. Alexandria: Thiersch 1904; Venit 1997; 2002; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a; 2003b. Seleukid tumulus near Uruk: Pedde 1991. Gaul and Britain: Béraud and Gébara 1986; Béal 1991; Obmann 1998; Eckardt 1999, 77, figs. 7–8, pls. 13–14. For a brief overview, see also Baughan, forthcoming.

3. Gossel 1980, 58; Tomlinson 1987, 307; Paspalas 2000a, 552; Steingraber 2000, 53–59; Venit 2002, 18–19; Delemen 2004, 32; Huguenot 2008, 1:111–12. See also Tsetschladze 1998 on Thracian tombs.

4. Andronikos et al. 1992, 196, pl. 134a: a mid-fifth-century grave with four cylindrical cuttings, each 0.30 m deep, 0.10 m diam. No traces of wood were found. See also Paspalas 2000a, 535.

5. Tomb KI: Kottaridi 1989, 6. Part of a leg was also recovered. For the date and other items from the tomb, see Galanakis and McCarthy 2011, 142, 245–46.

6. Lilibaki-Akamati 1995; 1996, figs. 3–4, 12, 17, 23, pls. 24–25, 34–35 (Tombs 1, 2, 7, 10, and 13); Chrysostomou 1998, 65–66; Paspalas 2000a, 534–48, fig. 1. Some fourth-century pit graves at Pydna also have pits for *kline*- or bier-legs or dense concentrations of nails at each corner: Besios 1988.

7. Lilibaki-Akamati 1996, pls. 24–25, 34 (Tombs 1 and 10). See also the glass inlays of a Type B capital from a cist grave at Alikes Kitrous (Pieria): Ignatiadou 2007, fig. 3.

8. Lilibaki-Akamati 1995; Paspalas 2000a, 534–48, fig. 1.

9. See Andrianou 2006a, 241n107; 2009, 46 (nos. 37–38), 72 (no. 63), 162n94.

10. Vokotopoulou 1990, 19–20, 28–32, 71, 83–85, 131–33, figs. 8, 43, pls. 9–10, 18–19, 42–43, 51–53; Andrianou 2009, 46, nos. 33–36. See also Andrianou 2009, 44, no. 21 (pit grave with cremation burial at Abdera).

11. Andronikos 1984, 122–23, figs. 34, 39, 75–90; Sismanidis 1997, 135–43 (there called Tomb III); Kottaridi 1999, figs. 8, 10; 2000, 158, fig. 9a; Andrianou 2006a, 242.

12. Andronikos 1984, 136. See also Andrianou 2009, 87, on the question of whether Macedonian funerary *klinai* were used in life before placement in the tomb.

13. Sismanidis 1997, 213; see also Rhoimiopoulou and Schmidt-Dounas 2010, 94. Paspalas (2000a, 550) suggests that

Notes to Chapter 5

the frit casings from Pella were “of such a fragile nature that they may have been made specifically for tomb use.”

14. Andrianou 2006a, 242.

15. Andronikos 1984, 177, figs. 140–41; Sismanidis 1997, 143–44; Kottaridi 1999; 2000, 158; 2002, 81, pl. 16; Cohen 2010, 127. Andronikos had been uncertain whether the remains of wood and inlaid decoration should be assigned to a couch or throne, but the pieces have now been restored as *kline* decoration. Possible remains of a third *kline* have been noted among the finds from the cremation deposit above the tomb chamber: Andronikos 1984, 69, 220, 227; S.G. Miller 1993, 64.

16. Andronikos 1984, 202; Sismanidis 1997, 144–46 (there called Tomb IV).

17. Rhomiopoulou and Schmidt-Dounas 2010, 86–94. Cf. also a tomb at Veroia where glass decoration, possibly from a Type B *kline*, was found outside the tomb chamber, where the burial had been placed in a stone larnax: Psara 2006, 503; Andrianou 2009, 49, no. 44.

18. Later, Ptolemy II would use one of the golden *klinai* in his pavilion at Alexandria to display luxurious vessels. On this and the Vergina display-couch, see Andrianou 2009, 89, 126. For the importance of *klinai* in funerary display, rather than as burial receptacles, in Alexandrian tombs, see Venit 2002, 18–19; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a, 561.

19. As is the case for the tombs listed in Andrianou 2009, 45, nos. 26, 28, and 29 (at Giannitsa and Lefkadia). See also the glass petals of a Type B leg from a cist tomb at Mesimeri, Thessaloniki: Ignatiadou 2007, fig. 5; for the tomb see *ArchDelt Chronika* 37 (1982) 284; S.G. Miller 1993, no. 19B.

20. Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, fig. 21; Andrianou 2009, 44, no. 23; see n. 3 in Chapter 2.

21. There is evidence for a similar block beneath the inlaid wooden *kline* at Tomb IV at Dion, which stood along with a wooden sarcophagus in a single chamber and is interpreted as another burial receptacle: Sismanidis 1997, 149.

22. Sismanidis 1997, 230; see n. 3 in Chapter 2. See also Andrianou 2009, 41.

23. For syntheses, see Sismanidis 1997; Steingraber 2000, 52–59; Huguenot 2008; Andrianou 2009, 39–43. A stone couch has been identified in a fifth-century tomb at Aiani (Tomb A), incorporated with “two long gilded courses of masonry,” but it was not evidently a standard *kline* type: Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 101.

24. See pp. 57–58, 65 in Chapter 1.

25. The *kline*-sarcophagus in the third-century Belevi Mausoleum near Ephesos, contemporary with some of the Macedonian tombs (and probably the tomb of a Macedonian ruler), is more similar in form to Macedonian *klinai* (with sunken relief panel along the front rail) than to earlier Anatolian occurrences of the type: see Praschniker and Theuer 1979, 99–104, figs. 87–89; Fedak 1990, 79–82.

26. See the tomb at Potidaia (Sismanidis 1997, fig. 1), Dion Tomb I (Pandermalis 1989, 36), and the Naip Tumulus in Thrace (Delemen 2006, fig. 5).

27. See under “Excursus: Decorated Headrests and ‘Pillows’” in Chapter 2. Cf. also a similar flange on the edge of the left headrest of a *kline* in a Macedonian-style tomb at Tarentum (Tomb 38): Neutsch 1956, fig. 41; Tiné Bertocchi 1964, fig. 2.

28. See the *klinai* from tombs at Potidaia, Angistos Serron, Thessaloniki (Tombs I and III), and Pydna (Sismanidis 1997, figs. 1, 6–7, pls. 30–31); Stavroupolis (Makaronas 1956, fig. 5); Amphipolis Tomb I (Lazaridis 1966, pl. 54; Brecolaki, Fiorin, and Vigato 2006, fig. 1a); Dion, Tombs I and II (Pandermalis 1989, 36); Agios Athanasios Tomb 3 (Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005, 104–5, 161–65, fig. 21, pl. 48b); Kotroni (Huguenot 2008, pls. 53–54; Andrianou 2009, 44, no. 23); and the Naip Tumulus in Thrace (Delemen 2004, figs. 24–25; 2006, fig. 5). The same is true for the ivory couches from Vergina (supra nn. 11, 15), since the preserved decorative motifs include parts of capitals on both ends. Notable exceptions are the Macedonian-style tombs at Eretria and Corinth (see p. 9 in Introduction and n. 17 in Chapter 1; Plate 2).

29. Tiné Bertocchi 1964, figs. 47, 59, 61, 75, 82, 84; Venit 1999, fig. 12; Steingraber 2000, 52; Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna 2003a, fig. 2; 2003b, figs. 2–3. Cf. also Dyggve, Poulsen, and Rhomaos 1934, fig. 54.

30. Dion Tombs I and II: Pandermalis 1989, 36; Sismanidis 1997, 93; Andrianou 2009, 42. The estimated dimensions of some wooden beds or couches suggested by floor cuttings in cist tombs are also remarkably large—more than 1 m long and more than 2 m wide: Paspalas 2000a, 535n24.

31. Makaronas 1960, fig. 2; Pandermalis 1989, 36.

32. The following overview is based on Huguenot 2008, 1:114, pls. 86, 88.2. See also Sismanidis 1997, 183–86; Andrianou 2009, 39. Because most Macedonian *klinai* are amphikephalic and found without burials intact, it is difficult to generalize about the orientations of the burials and whether they conform to sympotic orientation, with the head placed toward

the right. The rightward orientation is attested by the skeletal remains in Dion Tomb II (supra n. 31) and by the location of single raised ends with pillows in the Tomb of the Erotes and Tomb of Amarynthos at Eretria (Huguenot 2008, pls. 6–8, 46–51; Plate 2), but the opposite orientation (with head placed toward the left) is suggested by the provision of carved pillows on only the *left* end of an amphikephalic *kline* in Thessaloniki Tomb III (Sismanidis 1997, 121–22, fig. 7). In the two-couch arrangement of Agios Athanasios Tomb 1, the left-hand couch has a higher capital on the left end while the head end of the rear couch is on the right.

33. Tombs at Potidaia (with two couches) and Terpni Nigrita (three couches): Sismanidis 1997, figs. 1, 8. Stavroupolis (two couches): Makaronas 1956, fig. 5. Agios Athanasios Tomb 1 (two couches), with an additional carved table (or stool?) affirming a banqueting significance: Petsas 1975, 174–75, figs. 22–24.

34. Dyggve Poulsen, and Rhomaïos 1934, 346–49; Huguenot 2008, pl. 83.

35. Delemen 2004; 2006, figs. 2, 5, 7; Andrianou 2009, 49, no. 45.

36. Delemen 2006, 259–60, figs. 9–12.

37. On “monoposiasts,” see n. 413 in Chapter 1. Two marble *diphroi* were also included in the chamber (and were not associated with any further burials): Delemen 2006, 258–59, figs. 2, 5.

38. Huguenot 2008, 1:114.

39. Huguenot 2008, 1:114–15. See also S.G. Miller 1993, 18–19.

40. Xen. *An.* 7.3.21; Hegesander fr. 33, *FHG* iv.419 (Ath. 1.18a). Tomlinson 1993, 1497–98; Archibald 1998, 298. As Tomlinson notes, the miniature furniture sets from sixth-century tombs at Sindos (e.g., Vokotopoulou et al. 1985, nos. 124–26, 141–43, 226–28, 276–79, 296–99) are conspicuously lacking in couches and seem to evoke an idea of seated banqueting, with miniature iron chairs and tables accompanied by firedogs and spits; see also Paspalas 2000a, 551.

41. Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2002, pls. 6–7; 2005; Andrianou 2009, 60–62.

42. Micoff 1954, 11, pls. VI–XIII.

43. Andronikos and Kottaridi 1991, 105, 107; Andronikos et al. 1991, 127; Andronikos et al. 1992, 193; Paspalas 2000a, 550.

44. Paspalas 2000a, 550.

45. Paspalas 2000a.

46. See under “*Kline*-Tombs with Achaemenid Elements: Furniture” in Chapter 4.

47. On “Macedonian tombs” in general, see Gossel 1980; S.G. Miller 1982; Tomlinson 1987; Steingraber 2000; Huguenot 2008, 1:253–69, 2:39–48.

48. See n. 55 in Introduction; also S.G. Miller 1993, 101–2; Palagia and Borza 2007, 87–89.

49. Paspalas 2000a, 552n146.

50. See Özgen et al. 1996, figs. 72–73.

51. See below under “A Return to Plato’s *Klinai*”; Tomlinson 1987, 308–9.

52. Huguenot 2008, 1:112: “Même si des liens formels peuvent être établis entre les *klinai* en pierre lydiennes et celles de Macédoine, leur symbolisme n’est donc pas nécessairement analogue et leur disposition est souvent différente.”

53. See Varkivanç 2005 on tombs at Mylasa, Elaia, and Kynos as well as the Belevi Mausoleum (supra n. 25) and the Tomb of Alketas at Termessos.

54. See, for instance, Obmann 1998.

55. See pp. 19–20 in Chapter 1; Sismanidis 1997, 228, 231–32; Steingraber 2000, 56; Cholidis 2008, 82.

56. Fredricksmeier 1981, 333; 1983, 101–2; Andronikos 1984, 223.

57. Lehmann (1982, 439) and Palagia and Borza (2007, 86n23) note that since the word also means “scissors,” it could refer rather to a pointed corbeled vault, such as the ceiling of the burial chamber in the Dardanos tumulus (Cat. 62, Fig. 82). Even if a rounded, barrel form is imagined, the term could encompass also a corbeled vault trimmed to a curved, barrel form (thus a “false” vault), such as is found at Aktepe (Cat. 52, Fig. 119). See also Fedak 1990, 74–76, figs. 80–82, for a monumental vaulted tomb at Labraunda, ca. 340 BCE. Tomlinson (1987, 309) concludes that “there is absolutely no way of telling whether Plato . . . was thinking of a corbel or a tunnel vault—or even, I suppose, whether he was aware of the difference”; and he finds the couches in Plato’s description more likely reminiscent of Anatolian tombs. For a review of the debate, see Cholidis 2008, 77–81.

58. And the stated purpose of the prescribed burial is to distinguish the Examiners from their fellow citizens: τελευτήσασσι δὲ προθέσεις καὶ ἐκφορὰς καὶ θήκας διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν (947b).

59. Reverdin 1945, 258; Brisson 2005, 195.

60. The description of the imagined *klinai* as “lying next

Notes to Chapter 5

to one another” (παρ’ ἀλλήλας κειμένας, 947d–e) could well mean “end to end” rather than with long sides parallel.

61. *Leg.* 12.946c.

62. *Leg.* 12.947d–e.

63. Available at <http://thefuneralcouch.wordpress.com/about/> (accessed April 7, 2013).

64. “The Curse upon Edward,” line 16: Quiller-Couch 1936, 425. On his classical education, see Mack 2000, 96–97, 112–29.

65. *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, August 1830, 364–71 (text available at *The Literary Gothic*, http://www.litgothic.com/Texts/iron_shroud.html). Mudford, however, took the negative side in a debate over the value of a classical education: Cooksey 1996, 238.

66. Though Ruby (1995, 69–71) notes that the practice of displaying the body on a sofa may have had a practical explanation, since families often had to wait for a casket to be constructed.

67. Winterer 2005, 41–43; 2010, 125–31.

68. Winterer 2005, 49–53.

69. Winterer 2005, 53.

70. De Tolnay 1954, fig. 56; Hersey 1993, fig. 211.

71. De Tolnay 1954, 28, figs. 231–33.

72. De Grummond 1986, 30; Hersey 1993, 56; Ascher 2002, 317. For Renaissance discoveries of Etruscan tombs, see J.R. Spencer 1966; Weiss 1969, 114–15, 119–20; de Grummond 1986, 24–26. Panofsky (1964, 82) had hypothesized that Sansovino was inspired at least partly by earlier Spanish reclining effigies, themselves modeled upon images of “melancholy poets or philosophers reclining on their beds” (often holding books), but Ascher (2002, 316–18) finds these connections doubtful, pointing to evidence for Sansovino’s own interest in Etruscan models and to other allusions to ancient art in the monuments of which the figures are often a part. For the later legacy of this motif in Renaissance Europe, see Scholten 1996, 332–33. Unlike the ancient Etruscan models, however, the Renaissance figures often recline toward the left.

73. Hersey 1993, 56; Ascher 2002, 317.

74. For a remarkable exception, see Gaier 2007, 166, fig. 5, the tomb of Angelo Marzi-Medici, where the eyes are open and an accompanying inscription describes him “*ut sibi vivat ante mortem cum amicis*,” yet at the same time declares that he is “*defunctus*.”

75. See also de Grummond 1986, 30.

76. De Tolnay 1954, 28.

77. Panofsky 1964, 82.

78. Ascher 2002, 320, quoting Egidio da Viterbo.

79. Ebert 1985, 95–101, fig. 4, pls. 8.12–13, 10.16, 14.24; for this type of leg on backless thrones, see Srinivasan 2006, figs. 11.1, 11.4. Others resemble Greek Type A legs, with the lower section tapering from a bulge near the center or at the top of the leg: e.g., Ebert 1985, 100–102, fig. 4g–j, pls. 12.20–21, 16.29. Some of the couches include a bell-shaped element over an indented foot, as in the hybrid Type A/Achaemenid type that becomes standard in the Hellenistic period: see Ebert 1985, 101–2, fig. 4b–c, pls. 11.18, 15.27. Another type, with an elephant’s head over a lion’s paw, is also known: see Ebert 1985, 101–3, pl. 7.11; Srinivasan 2006, fig. 11.5. For a discussion of furniture types in early Gandharan art in general, see Srinivasan 2006, 257–63. In later Buddhist art, the Buddha is shown lying on a chest-like platform resembling a coffin or sarcophagus, or on a cushion laid directly on the ground: e.g., Ebert 1985, pls. 25.47, 28–29, 56.77–78. Interestingly, this chest is sometimes shown with couch-legs decorating the side posts: e.g., Ebert 1985, pls. 27.48, 37.57.

80. Ebert 1985, 54, with n. 287, pl. 6, though the Roman parallels adduced here are later than the earliest scenes of *pari-nirvana* on a couch.

81. Moran 1974, 100; Ebert 1985, 62.

82. Moran 1974, 113–15.

83. Juliano and Lerner 2001a; Feng 2001, 243; Lerner 2001, 226–27; Whitfield 2004, 114–17, no. 1.

84. Juliano and Lerner 2001b, 304–9.

85. Juliano and Lerner 2001a, 59. See also Feng 2001, 243; Lerner 2001, 226–27.

Bibliography

- Abadie-Reynal, C., and R. Ergeç. 1999. "The Zeugma and Apameia Works 1997." *KST* 20.2:403–16.
- Adembri, B., and F. Roncalli, eds. 1990. *Antichità dall' Umbria a Leningrado*. Milan: Electa.
- Ahlberg, G. 1971. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. Göteborg: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Akat, A. 1975. Contribution to "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey." *AnatSt* 25:29–30.
- Akbıyıkoglu, K. 1991. "Güre Basmacı Tümülüsü Kurtarma Kazısı." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1:1–23.
- Akbıyıkoglu, K. 1993. "Güre Velişin Tepe Tümülüsü Kurtarma Kazısı." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 3:53–64.
- Åkerstedt, T. 2000–2001. "Hellenistic-Roman Chamber Tombs at Milas: Swedish Excavations 1938." *OpAth* 25–26:9–21.
- Åkerström, Å. 1934. *Studien über die etruskischen Gräber unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung des Kammergrabes*. SkrRom 3. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Åkerström, Å. 1966. *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens*. SkrAth 40: 11. Lund: Gleerup.
- Åkerström, Å. 1978. "Mycenaean Problems II: Four Bronze Casings from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae." *OpAth* 12:38–68.
- Åkerström, Å. 1981. "Etruscan Tomb Painting, an Art of Many Faces." *OpRom* 13.3:1–34.
- Akşit, İ. 1971. Contribution to "Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey." *AnatSt* 21:49–52.
- Akurgal, E. 1955. *Phrygische Kunst*. Ankara: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Ankara, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi.
- Akurgal, E. 1961. *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Akurgal, E. 1965. "Les problèmes de l'art Phrygien." In *Le Rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romains sur les cultures périphériques. Huitième Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique (Paris, 1963)*, 467–74. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Akurgal, E. 1966. "Griechisch-persische Reliefs aus Daskyleion." *IrAnt* 6:147–56.
- Akurgal, E. 1974. "Zur Datierung der Grabstelen aus Daskyleion." In *Mansel'e Armağan: Mélanges Mansel*, ed. E. Akurgal and B. Alkim, 967–70. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Akurgal, E. 1983. *Alt-Smyrna I. Wohnschichten und Athentempel*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Akurgal, E. 1986. "Neue archaische Skulpturen aus Anatolien." In *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik*, vol. 1, ed. H. Kyrieleis, 1–14. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Akurgal, E. 1990. *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey*. 7th ed. Istanbul: NET Turistik Yayınlar.
- Albenda, P. 1976–77. "Landscape Bas-Reliefs in the Bit-Hilani of Ashurbanipal." *BASOR* 224–25:29–72.
- Albenda, P. 1994. "Some Remarks on the Samaria Ivories and Other Iconographic Resources." *BibAr* 57:60.
- Albenda, P. 1998. "A Royal Eunuch in the Garden." *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*: 88–89.
- Albert, W.D. 1970. "Archäologischer Befund." *AA*: 83–85.
- Albertocchi, M. 2000. "Le terrecotte di 'Athena Lindia': Il problema dell'influsso ionico nella creazione di un tipo coroplastico." In *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer: Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen*, 8. bis 5. Jhr. v. Chr., ed. F. Krinzinger and V. Gassner, 349–56. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Alexiou, M. 1974. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Alexiou, S. 1968. "Σπηλαιώδεις τάφοι Πόρου Ηρακλείου." *AAA* 1:250–55.
- Alizadeh, A. 1985. "A Tomb of the Neo-Elamite Period at Arjān, near Behbahan." *AMIran* 18:49–73.
- Alkım, H. 1968. "Explorations and Excavations in Turkey, 1965 and 1966." *Anatolica* 2:1–76.
- Alkım, H. 1969–70. "Explorations and Excavations in Turkey, 1967 and 1968." *Anatolica* 3:1–92.
- Allegro, N. 1976. *Himera II: Campagne di scavo, 1966–73*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Allen, K.H. 2003. "Becoming the 'Other': Attitudes and Practices at Attic Cemeteries." In *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*, ed. C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, 207–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Altheim-Stiehl, R., and M. Cremer. 1985. "Eine gräko-persische Türstele mit aramäischer Inschrift aus Daskyleion." *EpigAnat* 6:1–16.
- Álvarez-Món, J. 2009. "Notes on the 'Elamite' Garment of Cyrus the Great." *The Antiquaries Journal* 89:21–33.
- Amandry, P. 1939. "Rapport préliminaire sur les statues chryséléphantines de Delphes." *BCH* 63:86–119.
- Amandry, P. 1958. "Orfèverie achéménide." *AntK* 1:9–23.
- Amandry, P. 1959. "Toreutique achéménide." *AntK* 2:38–56.
- Amandry, P. 1966. "Situles à reliefs des princes de Babylone." *AntK* 9:57–71.
- Amandry, P. 1991. "Les fosses de l'aire." In *Guide de Delphes: Le Musée*, 191–226. Paris: Ecole Française d'Athènes.
- Amann, P. 2000. *Die Etruskerin: Geschlechtverhältnis und Stellung der Frau im frühen Etrurien (9.–5. Jh. v. Chr.)*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Amiet, P. 1972. "Les ivoires achéménides de Suse." *Syria* 49:167–91.
- Amiet, P. 1973a. "Glyptique Elamite, à propos de nouveaux documents." *AAs* 26:3–64.
- Amiet, P. 1973b. "La glyptique de la fin de l'Élam." *AAs* 28:3–44.
- Amiran, R. 1972. "Achaemenian Bronze Objects from a Tomb at Kh. Ibsan in Lower Galilee." *Levant* 4:135–38.
- Amiran, R. 1981. "Persian-Achaemenid Impact on Palestine." In *Survey of Persian Art (Centennial Edition)*, vol. 14, ed. A.U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 3017–23. Ashiya: SOPA.
- Amyx, D.A. 1988. *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Anagnostopoulou-Hatzipolichroni, E. 1997. "Ανασκαφή στο Λήγνο του νομού Ροδόπης." In *Αρχαία Θράκη, Πρακτικά 2ου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Θρακικών Σπουδών*, 579–90. Komitini: Morphotikos Homilos Komotinis.
- Andreïomenou, A.K. 1994. "La Nécropole d'Akraiphia." In *Nécropoles et sociétés antiques: Grèce, Italie, Languedoc; Actes du colloque international du Centre de Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III, Lille, 2–3 décembre 1991*, ed. J. de La Genière, 99–126. Naples: Centre Jean Bérard.
- Andrianou, D. 2006a. "Chairs, Beds, and Tables: Evidence for Furnished Interiors in Hellenistic Greece." *Hesperia* 75:219–66.
- Andrianou, D. 2006b. "Late Classical and Hellenistic Furniture and Furnishings in the Epigraphical Record." *Hesperia* 75:561–84.
- Andrianou, D. 2009. *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrianou, D. 2010. "Κλίνας σφιγγόποδες, *lecti Deliaca specie* and *cenae Serapiacae*: Material and Epigraphic Evidence for Hellenistic Bed-Couches on Delos." In *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.: Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums vom 24.–27. Oktober 2007 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, ed. S. Ladstätter and V. Scheibelreiter, 595–604. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Andronikos, M. 1968. *Totenkult. Achaemenid History* 3. W. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Andronikos, M. 1984. *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.
- Andronikos, M., S. Drougou, P. Faklaris, C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, A. Kottaridi, and B. Tsigarida. 1992. "Ανασκαφή Βεργίνας." *Prakt* 144 [1989]:185–98.
- Andronikos, M., S. Drougou, C. Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, P. Faklaris, A. Kottaridi, and B. Tsigarida. 1991. "Ανασκαφή Βεργίνας." *Prakt* 142 [1987]:126–48.
- Andronikos, M., and A. Kottaridi. 1991. "Ανασκαφή Βεργίνας." *Prakt* [1988]:99–107.
- Angiolillo, S. 2008. "Qui tu, cinta di bende, Cipride, in coppo d'oro, delicatamente versa il vino, nettare mescolato per le nostre feste." In *Le perle e il filo: A Mario Torelli per i suoi settanta anni*, ed. S. Angiolillo and M. Torelli, 13–25. Venosa: Osanna Edizioni.

Bibliography

- Antonaccio, C.M. 2010. "(Re-)defining Ethnicity: Culture, Material Culture, and Identity." In *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, ed. S. Hales and T. Hodos, 32–53. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Aram Tarr, M., and S. Blackburn. 2008. *Through the Eye of Time: Photographs of Arunachal Pradesh 1859–2006; Tribal Cultures in the Eastern Himalayas*. Leiden: Brill.
- Archibald, Z.H. 1998. *The Odrysian Kingdom of Thrace: Orpheus Unmasked*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Arias, P.E., and M. Hirmer. 1961. *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting*. New York: H.N. Abrams.
- Arnott, W.G. 1977. "Some Peripatetic Birds: Treecreepers, Partridges, Woodpeckers." *CQ* 27:335–37.
- Artamonov, M.I. 1969. *The Splendor of Scythian Art: Treasures from Scythian Tombs*. New York: Praeger.
- Ascher, Y. 2002. "Form and Content in Some Roman Reclining Effigies from the Early Sixteenth Century." *GBA* 139:315–30.
- Asgari, N., and N. Fıratlı. 1978. "Üç Geç Antik Mezari." *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 3:13–16.
- Asgari, N., B. Madra, and M. Soysal. 1983. *The Anatolian Civilisations II: Greek/Roman/Byzantine*. Istanbul: Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- Assman, J. Chr. 1963. "Zur Baugeschichte der Königsgruft von Sidon." *AA*: 690–716.
- Atalay, E. 1987. "İzmir ve Aydın Yörelerinde Mağara Araştırmaları." *AST* 5.2:297–321.
- Atasoy, S. 1974a. "Aphrodisias Yöresindeki Tümülüsler." *Belleten* 38/151:350–60.
- Atasoy, S. 1974b. "The Kocakızlar Tumulus in Eskişehir, Turkey." *AJA* 78:255–63.
- Ateşlier, S. 2002. "Pers Ölü Gömme Geleneginde 'Cenaze-Harmamaksa'ları." *Olba* 5:77–95.
- Ateşlier, S. 2006. "Euromos Arkaik Mimari Terrakottaları Üzerine İlk Gözlemler." *ADerg* 8:59–78.
- Avramidou, A. 2006. "Attic Vases in Etruria: Another View on the Divine Banquet Cup by the Codrus Painter." *AJA* 110:565–79.
- Avvolta, C. 1829. "Tombe di Tarquinia." *AnnInst* 1:91–101.
- Ayabakan, C., M. Atıcı, Y. Akkan, and A. Akkan, 1997. "Aphrodisias Müzesi 1995 Derinedere Kurtarma Kazısı." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 7:299–307.
- Aydın, B. 2001. "Salihli Kordon Köyü Tümülüsü ve Buluntuları." M.A. thesis, Ege University.
- Aydın, B. 2007. "The Hellenistic Pottery and Small Finds of Kordon Tumulus at Kordon Köyü, Salihli (Manisa)." *Öjh* 76:7–64.
- Azarpay, G. 1968. *Urartian Art and Artifacts: A Chronological Study*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Badian, E. 1996. "Alexander the Great between Two Thrones and Heaven: Variations on an Old Theme." In *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*, ed. A. Small, 11–26. JRA Suppl. 17. Ann Arbor, MI: Thomson-Shore.
- Baker, H.S. 1966. *Furniture in the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution, 3100–475 BC*. London: Connoisseur.
- Bakır, G. 2000. "Nekropolis Alanları." *Klazomenai Kazısı*. Accessed April 12, 2013. <http://www.klazomeniaka.com/11-KLAZOMENAI-NEKROPOLEIS.html>.
- Bakır, T. 1974. *Der Kolonnenkrater in Korinth und Attika zwischen 625 und 550 v. Chr.* Beiträge zur Archäologie 7. Würzburg: K. Triltsch.
- Bakır, T. 1995. "Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion." In *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille*, ed. P. Briant, 269–85. Pallas 43. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
- Bakır, T. 2001. "Die Satrapie in Daskyleion." In *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma, 15–18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 168–80. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Bakır, T. 2003. "Vorachämenidische Phase." *Daskyleion Kazıları / Ausgrabungen in Daskyleion*. Accessed April 26, 2011. http://daskyleion.tripod.com/104A_Vorach_Phase.html.
- Bakır, T., and R. Gusmani. 1991. "Eine neue phrygische Inschrift aus Daskyleion." *EpigAnat* 18:157–64.
- Bakır-Akbaşoğlu, T. 1997. "Phryger in Daskyleion." In *Frige Frigio: Atti del 10 Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 16–17 ottobre 1995*, 229–38. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Bammer, A. 1982. "Forschungen im Artemision von Ephesos von 1976 bis 1981." *AnatSt* 32:61–87.
- Barkay, G., and A. Kloner. 1986. "Jerusalem Tombs from the Days of the First Temple." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 12.2:22–39.
- Barker, G., and T. Rasmussen. 1998. *The Etruscans*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Barletta, B. 2001. *The Origins of the Greek Architectural Orders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnett, R.D. 1953. "The Phrygian Rock Façades and the Hittite Monuments." *BibO* 10:77–82.
- Barnett, R.D. 1962. "Median Art." *IrAnt* 11:77–95.
- Barnett, R.D. 1975. *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*. London: British Museum.
- Barnett, R.D. 1976. *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.)*. London: British Museum.
- Barnett, R.D. 1982. *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.
- Barnett, R.D. 1985. "Assurbanipal's Feast." *Eretz-Israel* 18:1–6.
- Barnett, R.D., E. Bleibtreu, and G. Turner. 1998. *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Bartoloni, G. 2000. *Principi etruschi tra Mediterraneo ed Europa*. Exhibition catalogue. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 1 October 2000–1 April 2001. Venice: Marsilio.
- Bartoloni, G. 2002. "Appunti sull'introduzione del banchetto nel Lazio: La coppa del principe." In *Da Pyrgi a Mozia: Studi sull'archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca*, ed. M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, M. Liverani, and P. Matthiae, 57–68. Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza."
- Başaran, S. 2000. "Aeolische Kapitelle aus Ainos (Enez)." *IstMitt* 50:157–70.
- Baughan, E.P. 2004. "Anatolian Funerary Klinai: Tradition and Identity." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Baughan, E.P. 2008a. "Lale Tepe: A Late Lydian Tumulus near Sardis 3; The Klinai." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 49–78. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Baughan, E.P. 2008b. Review of *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*, by S. Berndt-Ersöz. *JAOS* 128:16–17.
- Baughan, E.P. 2010a. "Lydian Burial Customs." In *Lidyalılar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 273–304. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Baughan, E.P. 2010b. "Persian Riders in Lydia? The Painted Frieze of the Aktepe Kline." In *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 22–26 September 2008, Rome*. Bollettino di Archeologia On Line 1. Accessed December 29, 2010. http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/3_Baughan_paper.pdf.
- Baughan, E.P. 2011. "Sculpted Symposiasts of Ionia." *AJA* 115:19–53.
- Baughan, E.P. Forthcoming. "Burial Klinai and 'Totenmahl'?" In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the "Funerary Banquet" in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Baughan, E.P., and İ. Özgen. 2012. "A Bronze Kline from Lydia." *AntK* 55:63–87.
- Baxevas, K. 1995. "A Minoan Larnax from Pigi Rethymnou." In *Klados: Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. C. Morris, 15–33. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.
- Beach, E.F. 1993. "The Samaria Ivories, *Marzeah*, and Biblical Text." *BibAr* 56:94–104.
- Béal, J.-C. 1991. "Le mausolée de Cucuron (Vaucluse) 2e partie: Le lit funéraire à décor d'os de la tombe no 1." *Galiläa* 48:285–317.
- Bean, G.E., and J.M. Cook. 1955. "The Halicarnassus Peninsula." *BSA* 50:85–171.
- Beazley, J.D. 1986. *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Behn, F. 1924. *Hausurnen*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Bell, H.W. 1916. *Sardis XI: Coins, Part 1, 1910–1914*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bell, M., III. 1981. *Morgantina Studies, vol. I: The Terracottas*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Belli, O. 1989. *The Capital of Urartu: Van, Eastern Anatolia*. Istanbul: Net Turistik Yayınlar.
- Benndorf, O., and G. Niemann. 1884. *Reisen in Lykien und Karien*. Vienna: C. Gerold's Sohn.
- Bérard, C., ed. 1989. *A City of Images: Iconography and Society in Ancient Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Béraud, I., and C. Gébara. 1986. "Les lits funéraires de la nécropole gallo-romaine de Saint-Lambert (Fréjus)." *RANarb* 19:183–210.
- Berger, E., ed. 1990. *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 3: *Skulpturen*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Berger, E., and R. Lullies, eds. 1979. *Antike Kunst aus der*

Bibliography

- Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 1: *Frühe Tonsarkophage und Vasen*. Basel: Archäologischer Verlag.
- Berggren, E., and K. Berggren. 1972. *San Giovenale I.5: The Necropoleis of Porzarago, Grotte Tufarina and Montevan-gone*. SkrRom 40: 26. Lund: Gleerup.
- Bergquist, B. 1990. "Sympotic Space: A Functional Aspect of Greek Dining-Rooms." In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 37–65. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bergquist, B. 1993. "Bronze Age Sacrificial Koine in the Eastern Mediterranean? A Study of Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East." In *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, 11–44. *Orientalia Lovanien-sia Analecta* 55. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bernard, P. 1969. "Les bas-reliefs gréco-perses de Dascylion à la lumière de nouvelles découvertes." *RA*: 17–28.
- Berndt, D. 2002. *Midasstadt in Phrygien: Ein sagenumwobene Stätte im anatolischen Hochland*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2006a. "The Anatolian Origin of Attis." In *Pluralismus und Wandel in den Religionen im vorhel-lenistischen Anatolien: Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums in Bonn (19.–20. Mai 2005)*, ed. M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar, 9–39. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2006b. *Phrygian Rock-Cut Shrines: Structure, Function, and Cult Practice*. Leiden: Brill.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2007. "Phrygian Rock-cut Step Monuments: An Interpretation." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 6: Proceedings of the Sixth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Eskişehir, 16–20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona, 19–39. Leuven: Peeters.
- Berndt-Ersöz, S. 2008. "The Chronology and Historical Context of Midas." *Historia* 57:1–37.
- Besios, M. 1988. "Ἀνασκαφές Πύδνας." *AErgoMak* 2:181–93.
- Betancourt, P. 1977. *The Aeolic Style in Architecture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bianchi, C. 2000. *I letti funerari in osso dalla necropolis di San Lorenzo*. Milan: Edizioni ET.
- Bianchi, C. 2010. "I letti con rivestimento in osso e in avorio: Analisi dei rinvenimenti dai contesti di abitato e funerari." *LANX: Rivisita della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano* 5:39–106.
- Biel, J. 1985a. "Die Ausstattung des Toten: Reichtum im Grabe—Spiegel seiner Macht," "Der frühkeltische Fürstengrabhügel von Hochdorf," and "Katalog." In *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf: Methoden und Ergebnisse der Landesarchäologie. Katalog zur Ausstellung, Stuttgart, Kunstgebäude, vom 14. August bis 13. Oktober 1985*, ed. D. Planck, J. Biel, G. Süsskind, and A. Wais, 32–42; 78–105; 135–61. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- Biel, J. 1985b. *Der Keltenfürst von Hochdorf*. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag.
- Bilgin, A.İ., R. Dinç, and M. Önder. 1996. "Lydia'daki İki Tümülsüzde Temizlik Kazısı Çalışmaları." *ADerg* 4:207–22.
- Binford, L.R. 1971. "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential." In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*, ed. J.A. Brown, 6–29. Washington, DC: Society for American Archaeology.
- Bingöl, O. 1997. *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei*. Mainz: Zabern.
- Bittel, K. 1940. "Hethitische Bestattungsbräuche." *MDOG* 78:12–28.
- Bittel, K., ed. 1958. *Die hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankaya, "Boğazköy-Hattuša" II*. WVD OG 71. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.
- Bittel, K., and R. Naumann. 1965. "Notizen über einige paphlagonische Felsgräber." *AnadoluAraş* 2:71–84.
- Bittner, S. 1985. *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*. Munich: Friedrich.
- Black, J.A., and A. Green. 1992. *Gods, Demons, and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Blackburn, S. 2005. "Die Reise der Seele: Bemerkungen zu Bestattungsritualen und oralen Texten in Arunachal Pradesh, Indien." In *Der Abschied von den Toten: Trauer-rituale im Kulturvergleich*, ed. J. Assmann, F. Maciejewski, and A. Michaels, 82–109. Göttingen: Wallstein. (Available in English at <http://www.soas.ac.uk/tribaltransitions/publications/file32490.pdf>.)
- Blakolmer, F. 1988. "Limyra 3: Die Grabung in der Nekropole V." *KST* 10.2:125–39.
- Blakolmer, F. 1993. "Die Grabung in der Nekropole V von Limyra—Vorläufige Ergebnisse." In *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums*, vol. 2, ed. J. Borchhardt and G. Dobesch, 149–62. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Blegen, C.W. 1937. *Prosymna: The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Blegen, C.W., and M. Rawson. 1966. *The Palace of Nestor at*

- Pylos in Western Messenia*, vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bloch-Smith, E. 1992. *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Bloch-Smith, E. 2002. "Life in Judah from the Perspective of the Dead." *NEA* 65:120–30.
- Blümel, C. 1963. *Die archaisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*. AbhBerlin 3 (1962). Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Boardman, J. 1955. "Painted Funerary Plaques and Some Remarks on Prothesis." *BSA* 50:51–66.
- Boardman, J. 1959. "Chian and Early Ionic Architecture." *The Antiquaries Journal* 39:170–218.
- Boardman, J. 1966. "Attic Geometric Vase Scenes, Old and New." *JHS* 86:1–5.
- Boardman, J. 1970. "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire." *Iran* 8:19–45.
- Boardman, J. 1974. *Athenian Black Figure Vases*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Boardman, J. 1975. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 1976. "A Curious Eye Cup." *AA*: 281–90.
- Boardman, J. 1978. *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 1989. *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Classical Period*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 1990. "Symposion Furniture." In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 122–31. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Boardman, J. 1998a. *Early Greek Vase Painting*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 1998b. "Seals and Signs: Anatolian Stamp Seals of the Persian Period Revisited." *Iran* 36:1–13.
- Boardman, J. 1999. *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*. 4th ed. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 2000. *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Persian Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 2001. *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*. 2nd ed. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Boardman, J. 2007. Review of *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7 Jh. v. Chr.–1 Jh. n. Chr.)*, ed. by R. Bol and D. Kreikenborn. *JHS* 127:229.
- Boardman, J., and J. Hayes. 1966. *Excavations at Tocra, 1963–1965*, vol. 1. London: British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Boehlau, J. 1898. *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen: Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der nachmykenischen griechischen Kunst*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Boehlau, J., and K. Schefold. 1940. *Larisa I: Die Bauten*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Bol, C., and T. Weber. 1985. *Bildwerke aus Bronze und Bein aus minoischer bis byzantinischer Zeit: Liebieghaus-Museum alter Plastik, Antike Bildwerke II*. Melsungen: Gutenberg.
- Bol, P.C. 1989. *Argivische Schilde*. *OlForsch* 17. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Bonatz, D. 2000a. "Ikonographische Zeugnisse im sepulkralen Kontext." *AoF* 27:88–105.
- Bonatz, D. 2000b. *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung einer neuen Bildgattung in der Eisenzeit im nordsyrisch-südostanatolischen Raum*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Bonatz, D. 2000c. "Syro-Hittite Funerary Monuments: A Phenomenon of Tradition or Innovation?" In *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*, ed. G. Bunnens, 189–210. Louvain: Peeters.
- Bonatz, D. Forthcoming. In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the "Funerary Banquet" in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bonfante, L. 1986. "Daily Life and Afterlife." In *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, ed. L. Bonfante, 232–78. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Bonfante, L. 2011. "The Etruscans: Mediators between Northern Barbarians and Classical Civilization." In *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, ed. L. Bonfante, 233–81. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bookidis, N. 1983. "The Priest's House in the Marmaria at Delphi." *BCH* 107:149–55.
- Bookidis, N. 1990. "Ritual Dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Some Questions." In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 86–94. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bookidis, N., and R. Stroud. 1997. *Corinth XVIII.3: The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore; Topography and Architecture*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Bibliography

- Borchhardt, J. 1968. "Epichorische, gräko-persisch beeinflusste Reliefs in Kilikien." *IstMitt* 18:161–211.
- Borchhardt, J., ed. 1975. *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Borchhardt, J. 1983. "Bildnisse achaimenidischer Herrscher." In *Kunst, Kultur, und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, ed. H. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie, 207–23. AMIran Suppl. 10. Berlin: D. Reimer.
- Borchhardt, J. 1990. "Zêhuri: Die Residenzstadt des lykischen Königs." *IstMitt* 40:109–43.
- Borchhardt, J. 1993. "Die obere und die untere Grabkammer: Beobachtungen zu den Bestattungsbräuchen der lykischen Oberschicht." In *Von der Bauforschung zur Denkmalpflege: Festschrift für Alois Machatschek zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Kubelík and M. Schwarz, 7–22. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Borchhardt, J. 2000. "Dynasten und Beamte in Lykien während der persischen und attischen Herrschaft." In *Variatio Delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, ed. R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Matthiae, R. Mayer-Opificius, and S. Thürwächter, 73–140. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Borchhardt, J., and A. Hermay. 1984. "Un nouveau relief 'gréco-persé' en Cilicie." *RA*: 289–300.
- Borchhardt, J., G. Neumann, K.J. Schulz, and E. Specht. 1988. "Die Felsgräber des Tebursseli und des Pizzi in der Nekropolis II von Limyra." *ÖJh* 58 Beibl.: 74–154.
- Börker, C. 1983. *Festbankett und griechische Architektur*. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag.
- Börker-Klähn, J. 2003. "Tumulus D von Bayındır bei Elmalı als historischer Spiegel." In *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione: Atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11–12 ottobre 1999*, ed. M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.-C. Trémouille, and P. Vannicelli, 69–105. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Bosworth, A.B. 1988. *From Arrian to Alexander: Studies in Historical Interpretation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Botti, G., and P. Romanelli. 1951. *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*. Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana.
- Boucher, S. 1982. "Les lits grecs en bronze de Bourgoin-Jallieu (Isère)." *Gallia* 40:171–93.
- Bound, M. 1991a. *The Giglio Wreck: A Wreck of the Archaic Period (c. 600 BC) off the Tuscan Island of Giglio; An Account of Its Discovery and Excavation; A Review of the Main Finds*. ENAALIA Suppl. 1. Athens: Hellenic Institute of Marine Archaeology.
- Bound, M. 1991b. "The Pre-Classical Wreck at Campese Bay, Island of Giglio: Second Interim Report, 1983 Season." *StMat* 6:199–244.
- Bouras, C. 1967. *Η αναστήλωση της στοάς της Βραυρώνος*. Athens: Genike Dieuthynsis Archaioeteton kai Anasteloseos.
- Bousquet, J. 1984. "L'atelier de la tholos de Delphes." *BCH* 108:199–206.
- Bouzek, J. 1980. Review of *Geometric Greece* by J.N. Coldstream. *Gnomon* 52:392–94.
- Bouzek, J. 1993. "The Shifts of the Amber Route." In *Amber in Archaeology: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Amber in Archaeology, Liblice 1990*, ed. C.W. Beck and J. Bouzek, 141–46. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences.
- Bouzek, J. 1997. *Greece, Anatolia, and Europe: Cultural Interrelations during the Early Iron Age*. Jonsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Bowie, A.M. 1997. "Thinking with Drinking: Wine and the Symposium in Aristophanes." *JHS* 117:1–21.
- Bowie, E. 1986. "Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival." *JHS* 106:13–35.
- Bowie, E. 1990. "Miles Ludens?" In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 221–29. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bowra, C.M. 1938. *Early Greek Elegists*. Cambridge: Cooper Square Press.
- Bowra, C.M. 1970. *On Greek Margins*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Boysal, Y., and M. Kadioğlu. 1999. "1997 Yılı Stratonikeia Nekropol Çalışmaları." *KST* 20.2:215–28.
- Brandenburg, H. 1966. *Studien zur Mitra: Beiträge zur Waffen- und Trachtgeschichte der Antike*. Münster: Aschendorff.
- Brandt, H. 1992. *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens in Altertum*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Braunlich, A.F. 1936. "'To the Right' in Homer and Attic Greek." *AJP* 57:245–60.
- Brecolouaki, H. 2006. *La peinture funéraire de Macedoine: Emplois et fonctions de la couleur, IVe–IIe s. av. J.-C.* Athens: Centre de Recherches de l'Antiquité Grecque et Romaine.

- Brecoulaki, H., E. Fiorin, and P.A. Vigato. 2006. "The Funerary *Klinai* of Tomb 1 from Amphipolis and a Sarcophagus from Ancient Tragilos, Eastern Macedonia: A Physico-chemical Investigation of the Painting Remains." *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 7:301–11.
- Brendel, O.J. 1978. *Etruscan Art*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Bretschneider, J. 1991. *Architekturmodelle in Vorderasien und der östlichen Ägäis vom Neolithikum bis in das 1. Jahrtausend*. Darmstadt: Kevelaer.
- Briant, P. 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Achaemenid History 10. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Briant, P. 1997. "Bulletin d'histoire Achéménide (BHACH) I." In *Recherches récentes sur l'empire achéménide*, ed. P. Briant, 5–127. *Topoi Suppl.* 1. Paris: Diff. De Boccard.
- Bridges, R.A., Jr. 1993. "The Rock-Cut Tombs and Sarcophagi." In *The Fort at Dereazlı and Other Material Remains in Its Vicinity: From Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Morganstern, 91–113. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Briguet, M.-F. 1989. *Le Sarcophage des époux de Cerveteri du Musée du Louvre*. Florence: L.S. Olschki.
- Brijder, H.A.G. 1983. *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Brijder, H.A.G. 1997. "New Light on the Earliest Attic Black-Figure Drinking Cups." In *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings*, ed. J.H. Oakley, W.D.E. Coulson, and O. Palagia, 1–15. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Brinkmann, V. 2003. *Die Polychromie der archaischen und frühklassischen Skulptur*. Munich: Biering and Brinkmann.
- Brisart, T. 2008. "Sappho's Sensual World." In *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, ed. D. Kurtz, 27–33. BAR International Series 1796. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Brisson, L. 2005. "Les funérailles des Vérificateurs (euthunoi) dans les 'Lois': Une lecture commentée de 'Lois' XII 945c–948b." *Ktema* 30:189–96.
- Brixhe, C. 1995. "Les Grecs, les Phrygiens et l' alphabet." In *Studia in honorem Georgii Mihailov*, 101–14. Sofia: Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski," Institute of Thracology.
- Brixhe, C., and M. Lejeune. 1984. *Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes*. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Brizio, E. 1902. "Tombe dell'epoca romana." *NSc*: 445–62.
- Brocato, P. 1996. "Sull' origine e lo sviluppo delle prime tombe a dado etrusche: Diffusione di un tipo architettonico da Cerveteri a San Giuliano." *StEtr* 61:57–93.
- Broneer, O. 1973. *Isthmia II: Topography and Architecture*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Brosius, M. 1998. *Women in Ancient Persia, 559–331 B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Brosius, M. 2010. "The Royal Audience Scene Reconsidered." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art, and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson, 141–52. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Brosius, M. 2011. "Keeping Up with the Persians: Between Cultural Identity and Persianization in the Achaemenid Period." In *Cultural Identity and the Peoples of the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E. Gruen, 135–49. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Brown, C. 1983. "From Rags to Riches: Anacreon's Artemon." *Phoenix* 37:1–15.
- Bruns, G. 1970. *Küchenwesen und Mahlzeiten*. *Archaeologia Homerica* 2, Q. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bruns-Özgan, C. 1987. *Lykische Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* *IstMitt Beih.* 33. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Bruns-Özgan, C. 2008. "'Notre âme est heureuse et notre coeur en joie!' Zu einer neuen Stockwerkstele aus Harran." In *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş Armağanı*, ed. H. Abbasoğlu and İ. Delemen, 217–31. Antalya: Suna-Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Bryce, T.R. 1980. "Burial Practices in Lycia." *Mankind Quarterly* 21:165–78.
- Bryce, T.R. 1986. *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Buchanan, B. 1966. *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 1: *Cylinder Seals*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Buchanan, B. 1981. *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Buchholz, H.-G. 1974. "Tamassos, Zypern, 1973." *AA*: 554–614.
- Buchholz, H.-G., and K. Untiedt. 1996. *Tamassos: Ein antikes Königreich auf Zypern*. Jönsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Buckler, W.H. 1924. *Sardis VI, Part II: Lydian Inscriptions*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bugli, M., ed. 1980. *Gli Etruschi e Cerveteri: Nuove*

Bibliography

- acquisizione delle Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche; *La prospezione archeologica nell'attività della Fondazione Lerici*. Milan: Electa.
- Buhl, M.-L. 1959. *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseum.
- Buitron-Oliver, D. 1995. *Douris: A Master Painter of Athenian Red-figure Vases*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Buluç, S. 1979. "Ankara Frig Nekropolünden Üç Tümüls Buluntuları." PhD diss., Ankara University.
- Buluç, S. 1993. "Anadolu'da Kremasyon—Ölü Yakma—Geleneği." *AnadoluKonf* 3:83–101.
- Burke, B. 2008. "Mycenaean Memory and Bronze Age Lament." In *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. A. Suter, 70–92. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Burkert, W. 1991. "Oriental Symposia: Contrasts and Parallels." In *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W.J. Slater, 7–24. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Burnett, A.P. 1983. *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho*. London: Duckworth.
- Burney, C.A. 1966. "A First Season of Excavations at the Urartian Citadel of Kayalidere." *AnatSt* 16:55–111.
- Burney, C.A. 1995. "Urartian Funerary Customs." In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. S. Campbell and A. Green, 205–8. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Burns, J. 1994. "A Remarkable Prothesis Scene on a White Ground Lekythos in Stockholm." *MedMusB* 29:33–46.
- Burnyeat, M.F. 1999. "Culture and Society in Plato's Republic." *Tanner Lectures on Human Values* 20:217–324.
- Burton, J. 1998. "Women's Commensality in the Ancient Greek World." *Greece and Rome*, 2nd ser. 45:143–65.
- Bury, R.G. 1968. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, vol. 11: *Laws*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Buschor, E. 1930. "Heraion von Samos: Frühe Bauten." *AM* 55:1–99.
- Buschor, E. 1933. "Altsamische Grabstelen." *AM* 58:22–46.
- Buschor, E. 1957. "Altsamischer Bauschmuck." *AM* 72:1–34.
- Butler, H.C. 1922. *Sardis I: The Excavations, 1910–1914*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Buzzi, S. 1999. *Die architektonischen Terrakotten aus Düver: Der Archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Zürich*. Zurich: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich.
- Cahill, N. 1988. "Taş Kule: A Persian-Period Tomb near Phokaia." *AJA* 92:481–501.
- Cahill, N. 2002. *Household and City Organization at Olynthus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cahill, N., ed. 2010. *Lidyahlar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and Their World*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Cahill, N., and J.H. Kroll. 2005. "New Archaic Coin Finds at Sardis." *AJA* 109:589–617.
- Calmeyer, P. 1973. *Reliefbronzen in babylonischen Stil: Eine westiranische Werkstatt des 10. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Calmeyer, P. 1975. "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive III: Felsgräber." *AMIran* n.s. 8:99–113.
- Calmeyer, P. 1992. "Zwei mit historischen Szenen bemalte Balken der Achaimenidenzeit." *MüJB* 43:7–18.
- Calmeyer, P. 1996. "Achaimenidische Möbel und *Kussû Ša Šarrute." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 223–31. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Camp, J.M. 1986. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Camp, J.M. 2001. *The Archaeology of Athens*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Campbell, D.A. 1988. *Greek Lyric II*, ed. G.P. Goold. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cannon, W.B. 1911. *The Mechanical Factors of Digestion*. London: E. Arnold.
- Caputo, G. 1991. "Quinto Fiorentino—La Montagnola: Avori applicativi incastonati d'ambra." *StEtr* 56 [1989–90]:49–55.
- Carboni, R. 2007. "'Fu giusto l'onore che ti resi, almeno agli occhi di chi ha mente retta': Morte e miasma nella Grecia antica tra mito e vita reale." In *Imago: Studi di iconografia antica*, ed. S. Angiolillo and M. Giuman, 9–42. Cagliari: Edizioni AV.
- Carrington Smith, J. 1982. "A Roman Chamber Tomb on the South-East Slopes of Monasteriaki Kephala, Knossos." *BSA* 77:255–93.
- Carpenter, R., and A. Bon. 1936. *Corinth III:2. The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Carpenter, T.H. 1986. *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-Figure Vase Painting*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Carpenter, T.H. 1995. "A Symposium of the Gods?" In *In Vino*

- Veritas, ed. O. Murray and M. Tecuşan, 145–63. Oxford: British School at Rome.
- Carpenter, T.H. 1997. *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Carruba, A., and D. Manconi. 2008. "Tomba n. 3 in loc. Fontevole: Una nuova ricostruzione della kline in bronzo." In *Gubbio: Scavi e nuove ricerche*, vol.1: *Gli ultimi rinvenimenti*, ed. D. Manconi, 18–23. Perugia: Edimond.
- Carstens, A.M. 1999. "Survey of Ancient Tombs on the Halikarnassos Peninsula." *AST* 16.2:330–33.
- Carstens, A.M. 2001. "Drinking Vessels in Tombs—a Cultic Connection." In *Ceramics in Context: Proceedings of the Internordic Colloquium on Ancient Pottery, Stockholm, 13–15 June 1997*, ed. C. Scheffer, 127–38. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Carstens, A.M. 2006. "Cultural Contact and Cultural Change: Colonialism and Empire." In *Rome and the Black Sea Region: Domination, Romanisation, Resistance; Proceedings of an International Conference, University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg, January 23–26, 2005*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen, 119–31. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Carstens, A.M. 2009. "Tomb Cult and Tomb Architecture in Karia." In *Die Karer und die Anderen. Internationales Kolloquium an der Freien Universität Berlin 13. bis 15. Oktober 2005*, ed. F. Rumscheid, 377–95. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Carstens, A.M. 2011. "Achaemenids in Labraunda: A Case of Imperial Presence in a Rural Sanctuary." In *Labraunda and Karia: Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating Sixty Years of Swedish Archaeological Work at Labraunda*, ed. L. Karlsson and S. Carlsson, 121–31. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Carter, E., and A. Parker. 1995. "Pots, People, and the Archaeology of Death in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia in the Latter Half of the Third Millennium BC." In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. S. Campbell and A. Green, 96–115. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Carter, J.B. 1995. "The Occasion of Homeric Performance." In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, 285–312. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cartwright, C. 2005. "The Bronze Age Wooden Tomb Furniture from Jericho: The Microscopical Reconstruction of a Distinctive Carpentry Tradition." *PEQ* 137:99–138.
- Cashmore L., N. Uomini, and A. Chapelain. 2008. "The Evolution of Handedness in Humans and Great Apes: A Review and Current Issues." *Journal of Anthropological Sciences* 86:1–30.
- Cataldi, A. 1993. "Terrecotte arcaiche e tardo-arcaiche da Tarquinia." In *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December 1990*, ed. E. Rystedt, C. Wikander, and Ö. Wikander, 207–20. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet.
- Caubet, A., and M. Yon. 1996. "Le mobilier d'Ougarit (d'après les travaux récents)." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 61–72. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Causey, F. 1993. "Two Amber Pendants in Malibu: East Greek Craftsmanship?" *Amber in Archaeology: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Amber in Archaeology, Liblice 1990*, ed. C.W. Beck and J. Bouzek, 212–18. Prague: Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences.
- Cavanagh, W., and C. Mee. 1995. "Mourning before and after the Dark Age." In *Klados: Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. C. Morris, 45–61. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.
- Cavanagh, W., and C. Mee. 1998. *A Private Place: Death in Prehistoric Greece*. Jonsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Cecchini, S.M. 2009. "Les ivoires de Arslan Tash." In *Syrian and Phoenician Ivories of the Early First Millennium BCE: Chronology, Regional Styles, and Iconographic Repertoires, Patterns of Inter-Regional Distribution*, ed. S.M. Cecchini, S. Mazzoni, and E. Scigliuzzo, 87–105. Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
- Cesnola, A.P. di. 1884. *Salamina (Cyprus): The History, Treasures, and Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus*. London: Whiting.
- Çevik, N. 1997. "Urartu Kaya Mezarlarında Ölü Kültüne İlişkin Mimari Elemanlar." *TürkArkDerg* 31:419–59.
- Çevik, N. 2000. *Urartu Kaya Mezarları ve Ölü Gömme Gelenekleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Çevik, N. 2003. "New Rock-Cut Tombs at Etenna and the Rock-Cut Tomb Tradition in Southern Anatolia." *AnatSt* 53:97–116.
- Chapman, R., and K. Randsborg. 1981. "Approaches to the Archaeology of Death." In *The Archaeology of Death*, ed.

Bibliography

- R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg, 1–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charbonneaux, J. 1962. *Greek Bronzes*. New York: Viking Press.
- Charbonneaux, J. 1971. *Archaic Greek Art*. London: G. Braziller.
- Childs, W.A.P. 1978. *The City Reliefs of Lycia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Childs, W.A.P., and P. Demargne. 1989. *Fouilles de Xanthos VIII: Le monument des Néréides; Le décor sculpté*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Choisy, A. 1876. “Note sur les tombeaux lydiens de Sardes.” *RA* ser. 2, 32:73–81.
- Cholidis, K. 2008. “New Knowledge Versus Consensus—a Critical Note on Their Relationship Based on the Debate Concerning the Use of Barrel-Vaults in Macedonian Tombs.” *EJA* 11:75–103.
- Cholidis, N. 1992. *Möbel in Ton: Untersuchungen zur archäologischen und religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung der Terrakottamodelle von Tischen, Stühlen und Betten aus dem Alten Orient*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Choremis, A. 1974. “Αρχαϊκὸν αἶτωμα ἐκ Κερκύρας.” *AAA* 7:183–86.
- Chrysostomou, P. 1998. “Ανασκαφικές έρευνες στους τύμβους της Πέλλας κατά το 1994.” *AErgoMak* 8 [1994]:53–72.
- Cohen, A. 2010. *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great: Paradigms of Manhood and Their Cultural Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Çokay-Kepçe, S., and M. Recke. 2007. “Achaemenid Bowls in Pamphylia.” In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia*, ed. İ. Delemen and O. Casabonne, 83–96. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Coldstream, J.N. 1968. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*. London: Methuen.
- Collon, D. 1992. “Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East.” In *Banquets d'Orient*, ed. R. Gyselen, 23–29. Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe d'Etudes pour la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient.
- Collon, D. 1995. *Ancient Near Eastern Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Colonna, G., and E. Di Paolo. 1997. “Il letto vuoto, la distribuzione del corredo e la ‘finestra’ della Tomba Regolini-Galassi.” In *Etrusca et Italica: Scritti in ricordo di Massimo Pallottino I*, 131–72. Rome: Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Conkey, M.W. 1990. “Experimenting with Style in Archaeology.” In *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*, ed. M.W. Conkey and C.A. Hastorf, 5–17. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conkey, M.W., and C.A. Hastorf, eds. 1990. *The Uses of Style in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Conze, A. 1913. *Altertümer von Pergamon vol. 1.2, Stadt und Landschaft*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Cook, R.M. 1981. *Clazomenian Sarcophagi*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Cook, R.M. 1989. “East Greek Influences on Etruscan Vase-Painting.” *PP* 44:161–73.
- Cook, R.M. 1997. *Greek Painted Pottery*. 3rd ed. London: Methuen.
- Cook, R.M., and P. Dupont. 1998. *East Greek Pottery*. London: Routledge.
- Cooksey, T. 1996. “William Mudford.” In *British Short-Fiction Writers, 1800–1880: Dictionary of Literary Bibliography* 159, ed. J.R. Greenfield, 236–41. Detroit: Gale Research.
- Cooper, F., and S. Morris. 1990. “Dining in Round Buildings.” In *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 66–85. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cooper, J.S. 1986. *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. 1: *Presargonic Inscriptions*. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Cordano, F. 1980. “Morte e ‘pianto rituale’ nell’Atene del VI sec. a.C.” *ArchCl* 32:186–97.
- Cormack, S. 2004. *The Space of Death in Roman Asia Minor*. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Corner, S. 2005. “Philos and Polites: The Symposium and the Origins of the Polis.” PhD diss., Princeton University.
- Corner, S. 2010. “Transcendent Drinking: The Symposium at Sea Reconsidered.” *CQ* 60:352–80.
- Corsten, T. 2007. “Kibyra 2005.” *AST* 24.1:51–60.
- Çörtük, U. 2008. “Kuzey Karia Akçay (Harpasos) Vadisi Mezar Mimarisi Hakkında bir Araştırma.” In *III. ve IV. Ulusal Arkeolojik Araştırmaları Sempozyumu*, 37–58. Anadolu/Anatolia Suppl. 2. Ankara: Ankara University, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi.
- Coulton, J.J. 2012. *The Balboursa Survey and Settlement in Highland Southwest Anatolia*, vol. 2. *The Balboursa Survey*:

- Detailed Studies and Catalogues*. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- Coupe, P., and P. Demargne. 1969. *Fouilles de Xanthos III: Le monument des Néréides; L'architecture*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Cox, C.W.M., and A. Cameron. 1932. "A Native Inscription from the Myso-Phrygian Borderland." *Klio* 25:34–49.
- Cremer, M. 1981. "Zur Deutung des jüngeren Korfu-Giebels." *AA*: 317–28.
- Cremer, M. 1984. "Zwei neue graeco-persische Stelen." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 3:87–99.
- Cristofani, M. 1985. *I bronzi degli Etruschi*. Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini.
- Cristofani, M. 1987. "Il banchetto in Etruria." In *L'alimentazione nel mondo antico: Gli Etruschi*, ed. G. Barbieri, 123–34. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- Cristofani, M. 1995. "Novità sul commercio etrusco arcaico: Dal relitto del Giglio al contratto di Pech Maho." In *Italy in Europe: Economic Relations 700 BC–AD 50*, ed. J. Swaddling, S. Walker, and P. Roberts, 131–37. London: British Museum Press.
- Croom, A.T. 2007. *Roman Furniture*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Cross, F.M. 1966. "An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion." *BASOR* 184:7–10.
- Crowfoot, J.W., and G.M. Crowfoot. 1938. *Early Ivories from Samaria*. London: Palestine Exploration Fund.
- Csapo, E., and M.C. Miller. 1991. "The 'Kottabos-Toast' and an Inscribed Red-Figured Cup." *Hesperia* 60:367–82.
- Culican, W. 1982. "Cesnola Bowl 4555 and Other Phoenician Bowls." *RStFen* 10:13–32.
- Curri, C.B. 1979. "Nuovi contributi sulla struttura e la tipologia della *klinai* Vetuloniesi." *StEtr* 47:263–80.
- Curtis, C.D. 1925. *Sardis XIII: Jewelry and Goldwork, Part 1: 1910–1914*. Rome: Sindacato Italiano Arti Grafiche.
- Curtis, J. 1983. "Late Assyrian Bronze Coffins." *AnatSt* 33:85–95.
- Curtis, J. 1996. "Assyrian Furniture: The Archaeological Evidence." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 167–80. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Curtis, J., and N. Tallis, eds. 2005. *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*. London: British Museum Press.
- Cygielman, M. 1998. "Un cratere attico a figure nere da Vetulonia." In *In memoria di Enrico Paribeni*, ed. G. Capecchi, O. Paoletti, C. Cianferoni, A.M. Esposito, and A. Romualdi, 133–40. *Archaeologica* 125. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- D'Agostino, B. 1989. "Image and Society in Archaic Etruria." *JRS* 79:1–10.
- Dalby, A. 1996. *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*. London: Routledge.
- Dalton, O.M. 1926. *The Treasure of the Oxus*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Dandamaev, M.A., and V.G. Lukonin. 1989. *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davesne, A., and F. Laroche-Traunecker. 1998. *Gülınar I: Le site de Meydancikkale; Recherches entreprises sous la direction d'Emmanuel Laroche (1971–1982)*. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Dawkins, R.M. 1929. *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. London: Macmillan.
- de Grummond, N. 1986. "Rediscovery." In *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, ed. L. Bonfante, 18–46. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- de la Coste Messelière, P. 1936. *Au Musée de Delphes*. BEFAR 138. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- de la Genière, J. 1982. "Asie Mineure et Occident: Quelques considerations." In *I Focei dall'Anatolia all' Oceano*, 163–81. *Parola del passato* 37, no. 204–207. Naples: G. Macchiaroli.
- De Marinis, S. 1961. *La tipologia del banchetto nell'arte etrusca arcaica*. *StArch* 1. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- De Miro, E. 1988–89. "Gli 'indigeni' della Sicilia centro-meridionale." *Kokalos* 34–35:19–46.
- de Tolnay, C. 1954. *The Tomb of Julius II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- de Vos, G. 1975. "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation." In *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*, ed. G. de Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross, 5–42. Palo Alto: Mayfield.
- Dedeoğlu, H. 1991. "Lydiada Bir Tümülüs Kazısı." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1:119–49.
- Dedeoğlu, H. 1992. "Yabızlar Tepesi Tümülüsü." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 2:65–80.
- Dedeoğlu, H. 1996. "Harta Abidintepe Tümülüsü Kazı Çalışmaları." *ADerg* 4:197–206.

Bibliography

- Delemen, İ. 2004. *Tekirdağ Naip Tümülüsü*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Delemen, İ. 2006. "An Unplundered Chamber Tomb on Ganos Mountain in Southeastern Thrace." *AJA* 110:251–73.
- Delev, P. 1984. "Megalithic Thracian Tombs in South-Eastern Bulgaria." *Anatolica* 11:17–45.
- Deller, K. 1987. "Assurbanipal in der Gartenlaube." *BaM* 18:229–38.
- Demakopoulou, K., and D. Konsola. 1981. *Archäologisches Museum Theben: Führer durch die Ausstellung*. Athens: Generaldir. für Altertümer und Restaurierung.
- Demargne, P. 1974. *Fouilles de Xanthos V: Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Dennis, G. 1907. *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. London: J.M. Dent.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1969. "Reliefs au 'Banquet' dans l'Asie Mineure du Ve siècle av. J.-C." *RA*: 195–224.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1971. "Aux origines de l'iconographie du banquet couché." *RA*: 215–58.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1982. *Le motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII au IV siècle av. J.C.* BEFAR 246. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome.
- Deonna, W. 1938. *Le mobilier Délien*. Délos 18. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Deppert-Lippitz, B. 1985. *Griechischer Goldschmuck*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Derin, Z. 1996. "Van Müzesi'ndeki Bir Grup Tunç Mobilya Aksanı ve Bunların Urartu Gömü Geleneği İle İlişkisi." *ADerg* 4:135–42.
- Devreker, J. 1994. "The New Excavations at Pessinus." In *Forschungen in Galatien*, ed. E. Schwertheim, 105–30. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Devreker, J., and F. Vermeulen. 1991. "Phrygians in the Neighbourhood of Pessinus (Turkey)." In *Liber Amicorum Jacques A.E. Nenquin*, ed. H. Thoen, J. Bourgeois, F. Vermeulen, P. Crombé, and K. Verlaeck, 109–18. Ghent: Ghent University.
- DeVries, K. 1980. "Greeks and Phrygians in the Early Iron Age." In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for R.S. Young*, ed. K. DeVries, 33–47. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- DeVries, K. 1983. "Phrygians and Hellenization." Abstract of paper presented at the eighty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Philadelphia, 27–30 December 1982. *AJA* 87:232.
- DeVries, K. 1988. "Gordion and Phrygia in the Sixth Century B.C." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 7.3–4:51–59.
- DeVries, K. 2000. "The Nearly Other: The Attic Vision of Phrygians and Lydians." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. B. Cohen, 338–63. Leiden: Brill.
- DeVries, K. 2007. "The Date of the Destruction Level at Gordion: Imports and the Local Sequence." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 6: Proceedings of the Sixth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Eskişehir, 16–20 August 2004*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and A. Sagona, 79–101. Leuven: Peeters.
- DeVries, K., P.I. Kuniholm, G.K. Sams, and M.M. Voigt. 2003. "New Dates for Iron Age Gordion." *Antiquity* 77, June 2003, Project Gallery. Accessed April 12, 2013. <http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/devries296/>.
- DeVries, K., P.I. Kuniholm, G.K. Sams, and M.M. Voigt. 2005. "Gordion Re-Dating." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the 2001 Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu, 45–46. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- DeVries, K., and C.B. Rose. 2012. "The Throne of Midas and the Power Politics of Lydia, Phrygia, and Greece." In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, ed. C.B. Rose, 189–200. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Diehl, E. 1964. "Fragments aus Samos." *AA*: 493–611.
- Dieulafoy, M.A. 1893. *Lacropole de Suse*. Paris: Hachette.
- Dinç, R. 1993. "Lidya Tümülüsleri." PhD diss., Ege University.
- Dinç, R., and M. Önder. 1993. "Kayapınarı-Hamamtepe Tümülüsü Kurtarma Kazısı." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 3:31–52.
- Dinsmoor, W.B. 1950. *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*. 3rd ed. New York: Norton.
- Dirckx, J.H. 1988. "Connotations." *American Journal of Dermatopathology* 10:451–56.
- Dolunay, N. 1967. "Daskyleion-Ergili'de Bulunan Kabartmalı Steller." *IstanbAMüzYıl* 13–14:19–33, 97–111.
- Dominguez, A.J. 2000. "Phocaeans and Other Ionians in the Western Mediterranean." In *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer: Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen*, 8. bis

5. *Jhr. v. Chr.*, ed. F. Krinzing, 507–13. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Donati, J. 2005. "Evidence for a Civic Dining Complex in the Northwest Corner of the Athenian Agora." Paper presented at the 106th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Boston, 7 January.
- Donceel-Voûte, P. 1983. "Un banquet funéraire perse en Paphlagonie." In *Archéologie et religions de l'Anatolie ancienne: Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Paul Naster*, ed. R. Donceel and R. Lebrun, 101–18. Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions.
- Dörtlük, K. 1977. "1975 Uylupınar Kazı Rapor." *TürkArkDerg* 24:9–32.
- Dörtlük, K. 1988a. "Elmalı Bayındır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı." *KST* 10.1:171–74.
- Dörtlük, K. 1988b. "An Excavation That Will Change the Historical Geography of the Phrygians: The New Phrygian Tumuli Excavated in Antalya." *Image of Turkey* 14:22–24.
- Dörtlük, K. 1990. "Bayındır: I Tesori dei Frigi." *Archeo* 65:41–47.
- Doumeyrou, E. 1989. "An Ivory Fulcrum Medallion." *GettyMusJ* 17:5–14.
- Draycott, C.M. 2007. "Images and Identities in the Funerary Art of Western Anatolia, 600–450 BC." PhD diss., Oxford University.
- Draycott, C.M. 2010. "Military Identities in Tomb Art of Western Anatolia around the Time of the Persian Wars." In *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 22–26 September 2008, Rome*. Bollettino di Archeologia On Line. Accessed December 29, 2010. http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/2_Draycott_paper.pdf.
- Draycott, C.M. Forthcoming. "Drinking to Death: The 'Totenmahl,' Drinking Culture and Funerary Representation in Late Archaic / Early Achaemenid Western Anatolia." In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the "Funerary Banquet" in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Draycott, C.M., and G.D. Summers. 2008. *Kerkenes Special Studies: Sculptures and Inscriptions from the Monumental Entrance to the Palatial Complex at Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Drerup, H. 1969. *Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit*. Achaemenid History 2. O. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Dreyfus, R., and E. Schraudolph. 1996. *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, vol. 1. San Francisco: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Du Mesnil du Buisson, R. 1948. *Baghouz: L'ancienne Corsôtê*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Dunbabin, K. 1998. "Ut Graeco more bibetur: Greeks and Romans on the Dining Couch." In *Meals in a Social Context*, ed. I. Nielsen and H.S. Nielsen, 81–101. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Dunbabin, K. 2003. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Convivality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dupont-Sommer, M.A. 1966. "Une inscription araméenne inédite d'époque perse trouvée à Daskyléon." *CRAI* 110:44–57.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1997a. "Imperial Style and Constructed Identity: A 'Graeco-Persian' Cylinder Seal from Sardis." *Ars Orientalis* 27:99–129.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1997b. "Satrapal Sardis: Aspects of Empire in an Achaemenid Capital." PhD diss., University of Michigan.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1999. "Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid Bowls in an Achaemenid Capital." *AJA* 103:73–102.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2002a. "An Excavated Ivory from Kerkenes Dag, Turkey: Transcultural Fluidities, Significations of Collective Identity, and the Problem of Median Art." *Ars Orientalis* 32:17–54.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2002b. "King or God? Imperial Iconography and the 'Tiarate Head' Coins of Achaemenid Anatolia." In *Across the Anatolian Plateau: Readings in the Archaeology of Ancient Turkey*, ed. D. Hopkins, 157–71. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2003. *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2005. *Gordion Seals and Sealings: Individuals and Society*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2008. "Circles of Light and Achaemenid Hegemonic Style in Gordion's Seal 100." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 87–98. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2010a. "Ivories from Lydia." In *Lidyahılar*

Bibliography

- ve Dünyaları / *The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 191–200. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2010b. “Lydo-Persian Seals from Sardis.” In *Lidyalılar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 177–90. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Duyuran, R. 1960b. “Çanakkale’de eski Dardanos şehri yakınında bulunan tümülüs hakkında ön rapor.” *TürkArkDerg* 10:64–66.
- Duyuran, R. 1960a. “Decouverte d’un tumulus pres de l’ancienne Dardanos.” *Anadolu/Anatolia* 5:9–12.
- Dyggve, E., F. Poulsen, and K. Rhomaios. 1934. *Das Heroon von Kalydon*. Copenhagen: Levin et Munskaard.
- Ebbinghaus, S. 2000. “A Banquet at Xanthos: Seven Rhyta on the Northern Cella Frieze of the ‘Nereid Monument.’” In *Periplus: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman*, ed. G.R. Tsetskhladze, A.J.N.W. Prag, and A.M. Snodgrass, 99–109. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Ebert, J. 1985. *Parinirvāna: Untersuchungen zur ikonographischen Entwicklung von den indischen Anfängen bis nach China*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Eckardt, H. 1999. “The Colchester ‘Child’s Grave.’” *Britannia* 30:57–90.
- Ekert, A. 1998. “Ein Grab für Könige und Bürger: Studien zum monumentalen Tumulusgrab als Mittel der Selbstdarstellung mittelmeerischer Eliten vom 8. bis zum 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.” PhD diss., University of Hamburg. Accessed April 12, 2013. <http://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/1998/221/>.
- Edwards, M.W. 1986. “The Conventions of a Homeric Funeral.” In *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster*, vol. 1, ed. J.H. Betts, J.T. Hooker, and J.R. Green, 84–92. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Effenberger, A. 1972. “Das Symposion der Seligen: Zur Entstehung und Deutung der Totenmahlreliefs.” *FuB* 14:128–63.
- Eicher, J.B., and T.V. Erekosima. 1987. “Kalabari Funerals: Celebration and Display.” *African Arts* 21.1:38–45, 87–88.
- Ekinci, H.A. 2003a. “Burdur Karamanlı Çeştepe Tümülüsü.” In *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu* 13:61–68.
- Ekinci, H.A. 2003b. “Burdur Müzesi Çalışmaları 2001–2002 / Work by the Burdur Museum in 2001–2002.” *ANMED: News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 1:55–56.
- Ekinci, H.A. 2006. “Burdur, Karamanlı Üç Tümülüsler Kurtarma Kazısı / Rescue Excavations at the Üç Tümülüsler in Karamanlı, Burdur.” *ANMED: News of Archaeology from Anatolia’s Mediterranean Areas* 4:143–45.
- Ekinci, H.A. 2007. “Burdur İli, Karamanlı İlçesi, Üç Tümülüsler 2005 Yılı Kurtarma Kazısı.” *Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu* 15:53–60.
- Ekinci, H.A., and Â. Çankaya. 2008. “2008 Yılı Yuvalak Tümülüsü Kurtarma Kazısı.” *T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı: İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü; Burdur Müze Müdürlüğü*. Accessed July 12, 2011. http://www.burdurmuzesi.gov.tr/yuvalak_tumulusu.htm.
- Ellis, R.S. 1966. “A Note on Some Ancient Near Eastern Linch Pins.” *Berytus* 16:41–48.
- Emiliozzi, A. 1984. “Ferento: Documenti e note su tombe arcaiche da Poggio Marchetti.” In *Studi di antichità in onore di G. Maetzke*, vol. 2, ed. G. Maetzke and M.G. Marzi Costagli, 291–94. *Archaeologica* 49. Rome: G Bretschneider.
- Emiliozzi, A. 1992. “I resti del Carro Bernardini nel quadro delle attestazioni coeve dell’area medio-italica.” In *La Necropoli di Praeneste: Atti del 20 Convegno di Studi Archeologici, Palestrina 21/22 Aprile 1990*, 85–108. Palestrina: Comune di Palestrina.
- Emiliozzi, A., ed. 1997. *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi: Catalogo della mostra, Viterbo 1997–1998*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Erickson, B.L. 2010. “Priniatikos Pyrgos and the Classical Period in Eastern Crete.” *Hesperia* 79:305–49.
- Eskioğlu, M. 1989. “Garipler Tümülüsü ve Kayseri’deki Tümülüs Tipi Mezar.” *TürkArkDerg* 28:189–224.
- Esposito, A.M. 1984. “Cortona.” In *Cento preziosi etruschi: Catalogo della mostra, Arezzo 1984*, ed. G. Catani, 49–50, 122–23. Arezzo: Comune di Arezzo.
- Evren, A. 1997. “Tire-Uzgun Köyü Mezari ve Buluntuları.” *TürkArkDerg* 31:89–105.
- Fabricius, J. 1999. *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs: Grabrepräsentation und Wertvorstellungen in ost-griechischen Städten*. Munich: F. Pfeil.
- Fabricius, J. Forthcoming. “Hellenistic Funerary Banquet

- Reliefs: Thoughts on Problems Old and New." In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the "Funerary Banquet" in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Faita, M. 1989. "Due letti funerari con rivestimento in osso di Aielli." *StClOr* 39:281–309.
- Faust, S. 1989. *Fulcra: Figürlicher und ornamentaler Schmuck an antiken Betten*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Faust, S. 1992. "Antike Betten mit figürlichen Schmuck." *HelvArch* 23:82–110.
- Faust, S. 1994. "Die Klinen." In *Das Wrack der antike Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, ed. G.H. Salies, 573–606. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag.
- Fearn, D. 2007. *Bacchylides: Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fedak, J. 1990. *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study of Selected Tombs from the Pre-Classical to the Early Imperial Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fehr, B. 1971. *Orientalische und griechische Gelage*. Bonn: Bouvier.
- Fehr, B. 2003. "What Has Dionysos to Do with the Symposium?" In *Symposium: Banquet et représentations en Grèce et à Rome*, ed. C. Orfanos and J.-C. Carrière, 23–37. Pallas 61. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
- Feldman, M. 2006. *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Feldman, M. 2009. "Hoarded Treasures: The Megiddo Ivories and the End of the Bronze Age." *Levant* 41:175–94.
- Feng, L. 2001. "Sogdians in Northwest China." In *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*, ed. A.L. Julianio and J.A. Lerner, 238–45. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Fiedler, G., and M. Taşlıalan. 2002. "Un monument rupestre phrygien au bord du Lac de Hoyran." *Anatolia Antiqua* 10:97–112.
- Filow, B.D. 1934. *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien*. Sofia: Staatsdruckerei.
- Finster-Hotz, U. 1984. *Die Bauschmuck des Athenatem-pels von Assos: Studien zur Ikonographie*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Fıratlı, N. 1960. "The Tumulus of Tesiye Köy near Adapazarı." *IstanbAMüzYıl* 9:22–25, 73–76.
- Fıratlı, N. 1970. "Uşak-Selçukler Kazısı ve Çevre Araştırmaları 1966–1970." *TürkArkDerg* 19:109–60.
- Fischer, J. 1990. "Zu einer griechischen Kline und weiteren Südimporten aus dem Fürstengrabhügel Grafenbühl, Asperg, Kr. Ludwigsburg." *Germania* 68:115–27.
- Fleischer, R. 1985. *Der Klagefrauensarkophag aus Sidon*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Forbeck, E., and H. Heres. 1997. *Das Löwengrab von Milet*. BWPR 136. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Forbes, T.B. 1983. *Urartian Architecture*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Foss, C. 1979. "Explorations in Mt. Tmolus." *CSCA* 11:21–60.
- Foxvog, D.A. 1980. "Funerary Furnishings in an Early Sumerian Text from Adab." In *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. B. Alster, 67–75. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Franklin, J.C. 2008. "'A Feast of Music': The Greco-Lydian Musical Movement on the Assyrian Periphery." In *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks, and Their Neighbors; Proceedings of an International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction, Sept. 17–19, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia*, ed. B.J. Collins, M.R. Bachvarova, and I. Rutherford, 193–203. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Frede, S. 2000. *Die phönizische anthropoide Sarkophag*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Fredricksmeier, E.A. 1981. "Again the So-Called Tomb of Philip II." *AJA* 85:330–34.
- Fredricksmeier, E.A. 1983. "Once More the Diadem and Barrel-Vault at Vergina." *AJA* 87:99–102.
- French, D.H. 1997. "Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor: A Stadion-Stone from Ephesus." *ADerg* 5:189–96.
- French, D.H. 1998. "Pre- and Early-Roman Roads of Asia Minor: The Persian Royal Road." *Iran* 36:15–43.
- Freyer-Schauenburg, B. 1974. *Samos XI: Bildwerke der archaischen Zeit und des strengen Stils*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F., and F. Lissarrague. 1990. "From Ambiguity to Ambivalence: A Dionysiac Excursion through the 'Anakreontic' Vases." In *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, ed. D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, and F.I. Zeitlin, 211–56. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fuchs, W., and J. Floren, 1987. *Die griechische Plastik I: Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Furtwängler, A. 1900. *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der*

Bibliography

- Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum. Leipzig: Giesecke und Devrient.
- Furtwängler, A.E. 1980. "Heraion von Samos: Grabungen im Südtemenos 1977, I—Schicht- und Baubefund Keramik." *AM* 95:149–224.
- Gabriel, A. 1952. *La cité de Midas: Topographie; Le site et les fouilles*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Gabriel, A. 1965. *La cité de Midas: Architecture*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Gachet-Bizollon, J. 2001. "Le pannaueu de lit en ivoire de al cour III du palais royal d'Ougarit." *Syria* 78:19–82.
- Gachet-Bizollon, J. 2007. *Les ivoires d'Ougarit et l'art des ivoiriers du Levant au Bronze récent*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Gaier, M. 2007. "Antonio Begarelli und Jacopo Sansovino: Grabmäler für Kardinäle und Protonotare in Rom und Modena." In *Grab—Kult—Memoria: Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Funktion von Erinnerung*, ed. C. Behrmann, A. Karsten, and P. Zitzlsperger, 159–80. Köln: Böhlau Verlag.
- Gaitzsch, W., P.-I. Kuniholm, W. Radt, and S. Schiefer. 1985. "Ein hölzerner hellenistischer Sarkophag aus Elaia bei Pergamon." *IstMitt* 35:139–42.
- Galanakis, I., and D. McCarthy. 2011. *Heracles to Alexander the Great: Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Gallo, P., and O. Masson. 1993. "Une stèle 'Hellénomemphite' de l'ex-Collection Nahman." *BIFAO* 93:265–76.
- Gallou, C. 2004. "The Abodes of the Ancestors: Tomb Design, Ritual and Symbolism in Late Helladic IIIA–B Greece." In *Cult and Death: Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, the University of Liverpool, May 2002*, ed. D.-C. Naoum, G. Muskett, and M. Georgiadis, 17–28. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Gallou, C. 2005. *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Garland, R. 1989. "The Well-Ordered Corpse: An Investigation into the Motives behind Greek Funerary Legislation." *BICS* 36:1–15.
- Garland, R. 2001. *The Greek Way of Death*. 2nd ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Garrison, M.B. 1991. "Seals and the Elite at Persepolis: Some Observations on Early Achaemenid Persian Art." *Ars Orientalis* 21:1–29.
- Garrison, M.B. 2001. "Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period: Glyptic Insights and Perspectives from Persepolis." In *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandirma, 15–18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 65–82. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Garrison, M.B. 2010. "Archers at Persepolis: The Emergence of Royal Ideology at the Heart of the Empire." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art, and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson, 337–59. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Garrison, M.B., and M.C. Root. 1996. *Persepolis Seal Studies: An Introduction*. Achaemenid History 9. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Garstang, J. 1943. "Hittite Military Roads in Asia Minor." *AJA* 47:35–62.
- Gates, C. 1983. *From Cremation to Inhumation: Burial Practices at Ialysos and Kameiros during the Mid-Archaic Period, 625–525 B.C.* Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- Gates, C. 2005. "Tracking the Achaemenid Persians in Anatolia." *AJA* 109:789–92.
- Gates, J. 2002. "The Ethnicity Name Game: What Lies behind 'Graeco-Persian'?" *Ars Orientalis* 32:105–32.
- Gates, M.-H. 1997. "Archaeology in Turkey." *AJA* 101:241–305.
- Gaultier, F. 1992. "La Collection Campana et la collection étrusque du Musée du Louvre." In *Les Etrusques et l'Europe*, ed. P. Parlavecchia, 350–61. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Gay, K.A., and T. Corsten. 2006. "Lycian Tombs in the Kiby-ratis and the Extent of Lycian Culture." *AnatSt* 56:47–60.
- Gebhard, E.R. 2002. "Caves and Cults at the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon." In *Peloponnesian Sanctuaries and Cults: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1994*, ed. R. Hägg, 63–74. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Georgiadis, M. 2004. "The Burial Ritual Tradition in the South-Eastern Aegean during the Mycenaean Period." In *Cult and Death: Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, the University of Liverpool, May 2002*, ed. D.-C. Naoum, G. Muskett, and M. Georgiadis, 29–40. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Georgieva, R. 1995. "Opfergabe von Tieren im thrakischen

- Bestattungsbrauchtum (Ende des 2. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.)” *PZ* 70:115–35.
- Georgieva, R. 1998. “Burial Rites in Thrace and Phrygia.” In *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism; Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology, History, and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia*, ed. N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch, 61–64. Ankara: Centre for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment: METU, Faculty of Architecture Press.
- Giglioli, G.Q. 1955. “Il Museo Campana e le sue vicende.” *StRom* 3:292–306, 413–34.
- Giouri, E. 1990. “Κλαζομενιακή λάρνακα από την Άκανθο.” In *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη: Πόλις και Χώρα στην Αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη*, ed. D. Lazaridis, 151–54. Thessaloniki: Ypourgeio Politismou.
- Gjerstad, E. 1946. “Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus.” *OpArch* 4:1–18.
- Gjødese, M. 1948. “En Graesk Arkaisk Bronze.” *MeddelGlypt* 5:8–30.
- Glendinning, M.R. 1996. “A Mid-Sixth-Century Tile Roof System at Gordion.” *Hesperia* 59:99–119.
- Goetze, A. 1957. “The Roads of Northern Cappadocia in Hittite Times.” *RHA* 61:91–103.
- Goldstein, M.S. 1978. “The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries: 600–300 B.C.” PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Gonnet, H. 1994. “The Cemetery and Rock-Cut Tombs at Beyköy in Phrygia.” In *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–12 August 1990*, ed. A. Cilingiroğlu and D.H. French, 75–90. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Gossel, B. 1980. *Makedonische Kammergräber*. Berlin: Monath.
- Graef, B., and E. Langlotz. 1909. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 1. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Graef, B., and Langlotz, E. 1933. *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, vol. 2. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Graf, D.F. 1994. “The Persian Royal Road System.” In *Continuity and Change: Proceedings of the Last Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kurht, and M.C. Root, 167–89. Achaemenid History 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Granger, R. 2002. “The Great King Invites You to Dine: Food and Ideology in the Achaemenid Empire.” *Ancient History* 32.2:118–43.
- Gras, M. 1991. “Occidentalia: Le concept d’émigration ioniennne.” *ArchCl* 43:269–78.
- Graves-Brown, P., S. Jones, and C. Gamble, eds. 1996. *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*. London: Routledge.
- Grayson, A.K. 1991 [2002 reprint]. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114–859 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Greaves, A.M. 2010. *The Land of Ionia: Society and Economy in the Archaic Period*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1968. “Lydian Vases from Western Asia Minor.” *CSCA* 1:139–54.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1971. “An Exhibitionist from Sardis.” In *Studies Presented to G.M.A. Hanfmann*, ed. D.G. Mitten, J.G. Pedley, and J.A. Scott, 29–46. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1972. “Two Lydian Graves at Sardis.” *CSCA* 5:113–45.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1973. “Ephesian Ware.” *CSCA* 6:91–122.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1978. “The Sardis Campaign of 1976.” *BASOR* 229:57–73.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1979. “The Sardis Campaign of 1977.” *BASOR* 233:1–32.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1995. “Sardis in the Age of Xenophon.” In *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille*, ed. P. Briant, 125–45. Pallas 43. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 2010. “Lydian Pottery.” In *Lidyalılar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 106–24. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 2012. “Gordion Through Lydian Eyes.” In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, ed. C.B. Rose, 259–76. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., N.D. Cahill, and M.L. Rautman. 1987. “The Sardis Campaign of 1984.” *BASOR* Suppl. 25:13–54.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., N.D. Cahill, P.T. Stinson, and F. Yegül. 2003. *The City of Sardis: Approaches in Graphic Recording*. Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., H. Dedeoğlu, N.D. Cahill, and P. Herrmann. 1990. “The Sardis Campaign of 1986.” *BASOR* Suppl. 26:137–77.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., and L.J. Majewski. 1980. “Lydian Textiles.” In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of*

Bibliography

- a *Memorial Symposium for R.S. Young*, ed. K. Devries, 133–47. University Museum Papers 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., C. Ratté, and M.L. Rautman. 1993. “The Sardis Campaigns of 1988 and 1989.” *AASOR* 51:1–43.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., C. Ratté, C., and Rautman, M.L. 1994. “The Sardis Campaigns of 1990 and 1991.” *AASOR* 52:1–36.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., C. Ratté, D.G. Sullivan, and T.N. Howe. 1983. “The Sardis Campaigns of 1981 and 1982.” *BASOR* Suppl. 23:53–92.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr., and M.L. Rautman. 2000. “The Sardis Campaigns of 1996, 1997, and 1998.” *AJA* 104:643–81.
- Greifenhagen, A. 1930. “Bronzekline im Pariser Kunsthandel.” *RM* 45:137–65.
- Greifenhagen, A. 1935. “Attische schwarzfigure Vasen im Akademischen Kunst-Museum in Bonn.” *AA*: 407–91.
- Grewenig, M.M., ed. 1998. *Antike Welten: Meisterwerke griechischer Malerei aus dem Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien*. Vienna: Hatje.
- Grimm, G. 2001. “Der schöne Leagros oder Tyrannenmörder: Künstler und Banausen im spätarchaischen Athen.” *AntW* 32:179–96.
- Gubel, E. 1987. *Phoenician Furniture: A Typology Based on Iron Age Representations with Reference to the Iconographical Context*. Studia Phoenicia 7. Leuven: Peeters.
- Guimier-Sorbets, A.-M., and M.-D. Nenna. 2003a. “Le lit funéraire dans les nécropoles alexandrines.” In *Nécropolis* 2, vol. 2, ed. J.-Y. Empereur and M.-D. Nenna, 533–75. *Études Alexandrines* 7. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Guimier-Sorbets, A.-M., and M.-D. Nenna. 2003b. “Le lit funéraire de la tombe B26, Secteur 5 de la fouille du pont de Gabbari.” In *Nécropolis* 2, vol. 2, ed. J.-Y. Empereur and M.-D. Nenna, 367–74. *Études Alexandrines* 7. Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.
- Gunter, A.C. 1988. “The Art of Eating and Drinking in Ancient Iran.” *Asian Art* 1:7–54.
- Gunter, A.C. 2009. *Greek Art and the Orient*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunter, A.C., and M.C. Root. 1998. “Replicating, Inscribing, Giving: Ernst Herzfeld and Artaxerxes’ Silver *Phiale* in the Freer Gallery of Art.” *Ars Orientalis* 28:3–40.
- Gür, A. 2010. “Political Excavations of the Anatolian Past: Nationalism and Archaeology in Turkey.” In *Controlling the Past, Owning the Future: The Political Uses of Archaeology in the Middle East*, ed. R. Boytner, L.S. Dodd, and B.J. Parker, 68–89. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Gurney, O.R. 1977. *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy.
- Gürtekin-Demir, R.G. 2002. “Lydian Painted Pottery at Daskyleion.” *AnatSt* 52:111–43.
- Gusmani, P. 1964. *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- Gusmani, R., and G. Polat. 1999. “Manes in Daskyleion.” *Kadmos* 38:137–62.
- Guzzone, C. 2005. *Sikania: Tesori archeologici dalla Sicilia centro-meridionale (secoli XIII–VI a.C.)*. Catania: G. Maimone.
- Haas, V. 2000. “Hethitische Bestattungsbräuche.” *AoF* 27:52–67.
- Hachmann, R. 1967. “Das Königsgrab V von Jebeil (Byblos): Untersuchungen zur Zeitstellung des sogen. Ahiram-Grabes.” *IstMitt* 17:93–114.
- Hägg, R. 1983. “Funerary Meals in the Geometric Necropolis at Asine?” In *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century BC: Tradition and Innovation; Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1–5 June 1981*, ed. R. Hägg, 189–94. *SkrAth* 40: 30. Lund: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Hägg, R., and F. Sieurin. 1982. “On the Origin of the Wooden Coffin in Late Bronze Age Greece.” *BSA* 77:177–86.
- Haggis, D.C., M.S. Mook, R.D. Fitzsimmons, C.M. Scarry, L.M. Snyder, M.I. Stefanakis, and W.C. West III. 2007. “Excavations at Azoria, 2003–2004, Part 1: The Archaic Civic Complex.” *Hesperia* 76:243–321.
- Haggis, D.C., M.S. Mook, M. Scarry, L.M. Snyder, and W.C. West III. 2004. “Excavations at Azoria, 2002.” *Hesperia* 73:339–400.
- Hahland, W. 1954. “Neue Denkmäler des attischen Heroen- und Totenkultes.” In *Festschrift für F. Zucker zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. F. Zucker and W. Müller, 175–94. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Hall, A.S. 1986. “R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 9: The Milyadeis and Their Territory.” *AnatSt* 36:137–57.
- Hall, J. 1995. “Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Iron Age of Greece.” In *Time, Tradition, and Society in Greek Archaeology: Bridging the “Great Divide,”* ed. N. Spencer, 6–17. London: Routledge.

- Hall, J. 1997. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, J. 2002. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, J. 2004. "Culture, Cultures and Acculturation." In *Griechische Archaik: Interne Entwicklungen—Externe Impulse*, ed. R. Rollinger and C. Ulf, 35–50. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Hallote, R.S. 2002. "Real and Ideal Identities in Middle Bronze Age Tombs." *NEA* 65:105–11.
- Hamilton, R. 2000. *Treasure Map: A Guide to the Delian Inventories*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hammer, D. 2004. "Ideology, the Symposium, and Archaic Politics." *AJP* 125:479–512.
- Hampe, R., and E. Simon. 1964. *Griechische Sagen in der frühen etruskischen Kunst*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1961. "The Third Campaign at Sardis (1960)." *BASOR* 162:8–49.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1962. "The Fourth Campaign at Sardis (1961)." *BASOR* 166:1–56.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1963. "The Fifth Campaign at Sardis (1962)." *BASOR* 170:1–67.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1964. "The Sixth Campaign at Sardis (1963)." *BASOR* 171:3–58.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1966. "The New Stelae from Daskylion." *BASOR* 184:10–13.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1967. "The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966)." *BASOR* 186:17–52, 187:9–62.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1974. "A Pediment of the Persian Era from Sardis." In *Mansel'e Armağan: Mélanges Mansel*, ed. E. Arkurgal and B. Alkum, 289–302. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1976. "On Lydian and Eastern Greek Anthemion Stelai." *RA*: 35–44.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1978. "Lydian Relations with Ionia and Persia." In *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal, 25–35. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., and A.H. Detweiler. 1960. "Report on the Excavations at Sardis in 1959." *TürkArkDerg* 10:21–38.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., and K.P. Erhart. 1981. "Pedimental Reliefs from a Mausoleum of the Persian Era at Sardis: A Funerary Meal." In *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan in Honor of Dows Dunham*, ed. W.K. Simpson and W. Davis, 82–90. Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., and W.E. Mierse. 1983. *Sardis from Pre-historic to Roman Times*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., and N.H. Ramage. 1978. *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hanson, R.S. 1968. "Aramaic Funerary and Boundary Inscriptions." *BASOR* 192:3–11.
- Härke, H. 1997. "The Nature of Burial Data." In *Burial and Society: The Chronological and Social Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data*, ed. C.K. Jensen and K. Høiland Nielsen, 19–27. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Harper, P.O., J. Aruz, and F. Tallon. 1992. *The Royal City of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern Treasures in the Louvre*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Harris, D. 1995. *The Treasures of the Parthenon and Erechtheion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Harrison, E.B. 1956. "Archaic Gravestones from the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia* 25:25–45.
- Harrison, E.B. 1970. "Notes on the Nike Temple Frieze." *AJA* 74:317–23.
- Hartog, F. 1982. "La mort de l'autre: Les funérailles des rois scythes." In *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, 143–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haspels, C.H.E. 1951. *La cité de Midas: Céramique et trouvailles diverses*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Haspels, C.H.E. 1971. *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hatzivassiliou, E. 2010. *Athenian Black Figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.* Rahden/Westf.: Marie Leidorf GmbH.
- Hawkins, J.D. 1980. "Late Hittite Funerary Monuments." In *Death in Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. B. Alster, 213–25. Mesopotamia 8. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
- Hawkins, J.D. 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age, Part 3*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Haynes, S. 2000. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Head, B.V. 1964. *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British*

Bibliography

- Museum: *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia*. Bologna: A. Forni.
- Hedreen, G. 2012. "The Iambic Artist in the Kerameikos." Paper presented at Athenian Potters and Painters III, Williamsburg, Virginia, 14 September.
- Heinrich, F. 2007. "Bodengelage im Reich des Dionysos: Gelagebilder ohne Klinen in der attischen Bilderwelt des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr." In *Besorgte Mütter und sorglose Zecher: Mythische Exempel in der Bilderwelt Athens*, ed. M. Meyer, 101–53. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.
- Helbig, W. 1874. "Scavi di Chiusi." *BdI*: 203–10.
- Hellström, P. 1989. "Formal Banqueting at Labraunda." In *Architecture and Society in Hecatomnid Caria*, ed. T. Linders and P. Hellström, 99–104. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Hellström, P. 1996. "The Andrones at Labraynda: Dining Halls for Protohellenistic Kings." In *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige*, ed. W. Hoepfner and G. Brands, 164–69. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Hellström, P. 2007. *Labraunda: A Guide to the Karian Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Hellström, P. 2011. "Feasting at Labraunda and the Chronology of the Andrones." In *Labraunda and Karia: Proceedings of the International Symposium Commemorating Sixty Years of Swedish Archaeological Work at Labraunda*, ed. L. Karlsson and S. Carlsson, 149–57. Uppsala: Uppsala University.
- Hemelrijk, J.M. 1984. *Caeretan Hydriae*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Hemelrijk, J.M., and D. Berndt. 1999. "The Phrygian Highlands, a Postscript: Wilful Destruction of the Rock-Monuments." *BABesch* 74:1–20.
- Henkelman, W. 1995–96. "The Royal Achaemenid Crown." *AMIran* 28:275–93.
- Henry, O. 2003. "Les tumuli de la confluence Méandre/Harpasos." In *La campagne antique: Espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, ed. M. Mazoyer, 139–68. Paris: L'Association Kubaba.
- Henry, O. 2009. *Tombes de Carie: Architecture funéraire et culture Carienne, VIe–Ile s. av. J.-C.* Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Heres, H. 1990. "Restaurationische Beobachtungen an den Aschenbehältern aus Chiusi in der Berliner Sammlung." In *Die Welt der Etrusker: Internationales Kolloquium 24.–26. Oktober 1988, Berlin*, ed. H. Heres and M. Kunze, 185–89. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Heres, H., and M. Kunze, eds. 1990. *Die Welt der Etrusker: Internationales Kolloquium 24.–26. Oktober 1988, Berlin*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Herrmann, G. 1992. *Ivories from Nimrud V: The Small Collection from Fort Shalmaneser*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Hersey, G.L. 1993. *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Interpretive Guide*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Heuzey, L. 1873. "Les lits antiques: Considérés particulièrement comme forme de la sépulture." *GBA* ser. 2, 7:305–12, 501–14.
- Heuzey, L., and H. Daumet. 1876. *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- Hitzl, I. 1991. *Die griechischen Sarkophage der archaischen und klassischen Zeit*. Jönsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Höckmann, U. 1982. *Die Bronzen aus dem Fürstengrab von Castel San Mariano bei Perugia*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Höckmann, U. 2001. "'Bilinguen': Zu Ikonographie und Stil der karisch-ägyptischen Grabstelen des 6. Jhs. Methodische Überlegungen zur griechischen Kunst der archaischen Zeit in Ägypten." In *Naukratis: Die Beziehungen zu Ostgriechenland, Ägypten und Zypern in archaischer Zeit; Akten der Table Ronde in Mainz, 25.–27. November 1999*, ed. U. Höckmann and D. Kriekenbom, 217–32. Möhnesee: Bibliopolis.
- Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1984. "Burials, Houses, Women, and Men in the European Neolithic." In *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory*, ed. D. Miller and C. Tilley, 51–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodges, H. 1970. *Technology in the Ancient World*. London: Penguin Press.
- Hoepfner, W., and E.-L. Schwander. 1994. *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Hoffman, G.L. 1997. *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1908. *Excavations at Ephesus: The Archaic Artemisia*. London: British Museum.

- Holloway, R.R. 1965. "Conventions of Etruscan Painting in the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing at Tarquinii." *AJA* 69:341–47.
- Hölscher, F. 1972. *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder*. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag.
- Holtzmann, B. 1991. "Une sphinge archaïque de Thasos." *BCH* 115:125–65.
- Houby-Nielsen, S.H. 1995. "'Burial Language' in Archaic and Classical Kerameikos." *ProcDanInstAth* 1:129–91.
- Houston, M.G. 1954. *Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Persian Costume*. London: A. & C. Black.
- Houwink ten Cate, H.J. 1961. *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Hudson-Williams, T. 1926. *Early Greek Elegy*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board.
- Huguenot, C. 2008. *La Tombe aux Érotes et la Tombe d'Amarynthos: Architecture funéraire et présence macédonienne en Grèce centrale*. Eretria 19: Fouilles et recherches. Gollion: École suisse d'archéologie en Grèce.
- Hülken, O. 2006. *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien): Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt.
- Hülken, O. 2008. "Ethnicity: Persians by Birth or 'Persianized' Locals? The So Called Persian Tombs in Anatolia as a Paradigm for a Specific Cultural Interrelation during the Achaemenid Rule." Paper presented at the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome, 23 September.
- Hülken, O. 2011. "Considerations on the Tumuli of Lycia in the Pre-Classical Period." In *Carie et Lycie aux époques preclassiques: Identités croisées*, ed. O. Mariaud. *Anatolia Antiqua* 19:495–514.
- Hülken, O. 2012. "Neues aus dem Reich des Krösus." *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, September: 64–70.
- Hülken, O. Forthcoming. "Ein archaisches Felsgrab nahe Alanköy (Provinz Burdur)." *IstMitt* 62.
- Humphreys, S.C. 1980. "Family Tombs and Tomb Cult in Ancient Athens." *JHS* 100:96–126.
- Hürmüzli, B. 2003. "Klazomenai-Akpınar Nekropolisi." PhD diss., Ege Üniversitesi.
- Hürmüzli, B. 2009. "Remarks on Cultural Interactions in the Earlier Periods of Northwest Pisidia." In *Zurück zum Gegenstand: Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler*, ed.
- R. Einicke, S. Lehmann, H. Lohr, G. Mehnert, A. Mehnert, and A. Slawisch, 493–500. Langenweißbach: Beier and Beran.
- Hürmüzli, B. 2010. "Die früheste Gruppe Klazomenischer Sarkophage aus Klazomenai." *Jdl* 125:89–153.
- Hurschmann, R. 1985. *Symposienszenen auf unteritalischen Vasen*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.
- Huxley, G.L. 1959. "Titles of Midas." *GRBS* 2:83–100.
- Huxley, G.L. 1998. "A Lydo-Median Treaty in Herodotos (1.74.3–4)." *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 12:9–12.
- Ignatiadou, D. 2007. "Le verre incolore, élément du décor polychrome du mobilier funéraire de Macédoine." In *Peinture et couleur dans le monde grec antique*, ed. S. Descamps-Lequime, 218–27. Paris: Musée du Louvre.
- Iliffe, J.H. 1935. "A Tell Fār'a Tomb Group Reconsidered." *QDAP* 4:182–86.
- Immerwahr, S., ed. 1971. *The Athenian Agora 13: The Neolithic and Bronze Ages*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Immerwahr, S. 1995. "Death and the Tanagra Larnakes." In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, 109–22. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- İren, K. 2010. "A New Discovery in Dascylium: The Persian Destruction Layer." In *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2, ed. P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro, N. Marchetti, and L. Romano, 249–63. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- İren, K. 2012. "Daskyleion Tümülüslerine Çarpıcı Bir Örnek: Koru Tümülüsü." *Aktuel Arkeoloji*, Jan.–Feb., 73–75.
- İren, K., and T. Doğan. 2012. "Daskyleion 2010 Yılı Kazı Çalışmaları." *KST* 33.1:519–32.
- İren, K., and Y.S. Erdal. 2012. "Turkey: The Koru Tumulus." *Current World Archaeology* 54:52.
- Işık, F. 1987a. "Şirinlikale: Eine unbekannte urartäische Burg und Beobachtungen zu den Felsdenkmälern eines schöpferischen Bergvolks Ostanatoliens." *Belleten* 51/200:497–534.
- Işık, F. 1987b. "Zur Entstehung phrygischer Felsdenkmäler." *AnatSt* 37:163–78.
- Işık, F. 2001. "Zur Entstehung der Pfeilergäber in Lykien." In *Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu için Yazılar / Studies in Honor of*

Bibliography

- Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu, ed. C. Bayburtluoğlu and C. Özgünel, 123–31. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi.
- İşkan, H., and N. Çevik. 1999. “Tlos 1997.” *AST* 16.2:423–42.
- Ivantchik, A.I. 2011. “The Funeral of Scythian Kings: The Historical Reality and the Description of Herodotus (4.71–72).” In *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions*, ed. L. Bonfante, 71–106. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- İzmirligil, Ü. 1975. “Uşak-Selçukler Tümüls’leri.” *TürkArk-Derg* 22:41–69.
- J. Paul Getty Museum. 2002. *J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Jacobs, B. 1987. *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft*. Jönsered: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Jacobs, B. 1994. “Drei Beiträge zu Fragen der Rüstung und Bekleidung in Persien zur Achämenidenzeit.” *IA* 29:124–67.
- Jamzadeh, P. 1991. “The Achaemenid Throne: Its Significance and Its Legacy.” Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Jamzadeh, P. 1996. “The Achaemenid Throne-leg Design.” *IrAnt* 31:101–46.
- Jannot, J.-R. 1984. *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi*. Rome: École française de Rome.
- Jantzen, U. 1937. *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien*. Jdl Suppl. 13. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Jehasse, J., and L. Jehasse. 1973. *La nécropole préromaine d’Aléria*. Gallia Suppl. 25. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Jensen, C.K., and K. Højlund Nielsen, eds. 1997. *Burial and Society: The Chronological and Social Analysis of Archaeological Burial Data*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Johnson, F.P. 1943. “Black-Figure Pottery at Chicago.” *AJA* 47:385–402.
- Johnson, P. 2010. “Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia.” *Publicly Accessible Penn Dissertations*. Paper 273. <http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/273>.
- Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, S. 2007. “Discourses of Identity in the Interpretation of the Past.” In *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*, ed. T. Insoll, 44–58. London: Routledge.
- Jucker, H. 1970. “Zechender Silen.” *MusHelv* 27:117–19.
- Juliano, A.L., and J.A. Lerner, 2001a. “The Miho Couch Revisited in Light of Recent Discoveries.” *Orientalis* 32:54–61.
- Juliano, A.L., and Lerner, J.A., eds. 2001b. *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Jung, M. 2004. “Überlegungen zu möglichen Sitz- und Liegepositionen auf der Hochdorfer ‘Kline.’” *ArchInf* 27:123–32.
- Jung, M. 2007. “Kline oder Thron? Zu den Fragmenten eines griechischen Möbelpfostens aus dem späthallstattzeitlichen ‘Fürstengrab’ Grafenbühl in Asperg (Kr. Ludwigsburg).” *Germania* 85:95–107.
- Kahle, P., and F. Sommer. 1926. “Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue.” *KF* 1:18–86.
- Kahya, T. 2012. “The Rock-Cut Tomb on the Düver Peninsula: An Early Example from Pisidia and Remarks on Cultural Interactions.” *Adalya* 15:13–32.
- Kaltsas, N. 1998. *Ακανθος Ι. Ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979*. Athens: Tameio Archaïologikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
- Kaltsas, N. 2000. “Κλαζομενειακές Σαρκοφάγοι από το Νεκροταφείο της Ακάνθου.” *ArchDelt* 51/52 [1996–97]:35–50.
- Kaptan, D. 2002. *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*. Achaemenid History 12. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Kaptan, D. 2003. “A Glance at Northwestern Asia Minor during the Achaemenid Period.” In *A Persian Perspective; Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, ed. W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt, 189–202. Achaemenid History 13. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Karabay, N. “Beylerbeyi I. No’lu Tümüls.” *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 5:229–42.
- Karageorghis, V. 1967. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis I*. Salamis 3. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V. 1970. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis II*. Salamis 4. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V. 1973. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III*. Salamis 5. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V. 1978. “The Relations between the Tomb

- Architecture of Anatolia and Cyprus in the Archaic Period." In *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal, 361–68. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Karageorghis, V. 1999. "A Cypriot Silver Bowl Reconsidered, 1: The Iconography of the Decoration." *MMAJ* 34:13–20.
- Karageorghis, V. 2000. *Ancient Art from Cyprus: The Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Karageorghis, V. 2002. *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- Karageorghis, V. 2007. "Eating and Drinking in Cyprus, 13th–6th Centuries B.C." In *Keimelion: Elitenbildung und elitärer Konsum von der mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche*, ed. E. Alram-Stern and G. Nightingale, 257–62. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Karagöz, Ş. 2007. "Neue Ansichten zu einem freistehenden Grabbau aus Daskyleion." In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, ed. İ. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz, and O. Tekin, 195–214. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Karamitrou-Mentessidi, G. 2011. "Aiani—Historical and Geographical Context." In *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, ca. 650 BC–300 AD*, ed. R.J.L. Fox, 93–112. Leiden: Brill.
- Kasper, S. 1966. "Der Grabtumulus Şeç-Tepe bei Elaia." *AA*: 477–78.
- Kasper, S. 1967. "Belevi-Grabtumulus." *ÖJh* 47 [1964–65], Grabungen 1966:12–16.
- Kasper, S. 1970. "Eine Nekropole nordwestlich von Soma." *AA*: 71–83.
- Kasper, S. 1975. "Der Tumulus von Belevi." *AA*: 223–32.
- Kasper, S. 1976–77. "Der Tumulus von Belevi." *ÖJh* 51 Beibl.:129–79.
- Kasper, S. 1978. "Der Tumulus von Belevi." In *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal, 387–98. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Kassian, A., A. Korolov, and A. Sidel'tsev. 2002. *Hittite Funerary Ritual: Šalliš Waštaiš*. Munster: Ugarit Verlag.
- Kauffmann-Samaras, A. 1990. "Le lit d'Hera dans l'Heraion d'Argos." *Ktema* 15:185–94.
- Keen, A.G. 1995. "The Tombs of Lycia: Evidence for Social Stratification?" In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. S. Campbell and A. Green, 221–25. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Keen, A.G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545–362 B.C.* Leiden: Brill.
- Keenan, D.J. 2004. "Radiocarbon Dates from Iron Age Gordion Are Confounded." *AncWestEast* 3:100–103.
- Keil, J. 1935. "XVIII: Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesos." *ÖJh* 29 Beibl.:104–52.
- Kellner, H.-J. 1991. *Gürtelbleche aus Urartu*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Kendall, T. 1997. *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush: The Archaeological Discovery of an Ancient Nubian Empire*. Washington, DC: National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution.
- Kennedy, J. 1978 [2005 reprint]. "Death Ceremonies." In *Nubian Ceremonial Life: Studies in Islamic Syncretism and Cultural Change*, ed. J. Kennedy, 224–44. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Kenyon, K. 1960. *Excavations at Jericho I: The Tombs Excavated in 1952–54*. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.
- Kenyon, K. 1965. *Excavations at Jericho II: The Tombs Excavated in 1955–8*. London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.
- Kepinski, C. 1982. *L'arbre stylisé en Asie occidentale au 2e millénaire avant J.-C.* Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Kienast, H. 1992. "Die Basis der Geneleos-Gruppe." *AM* 107:29–42.
- Kilker, L. 2009. "Dining Like Divinities: Evidence for Ritual and Marital Dining by Women in Ancient Greece." PhD diss., Ohio State University.
- Killen, G. 1980. *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, vol. 1: 4000–1300 BC. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Killen, G. 1996. "Ancient Egyptian Carpentry: Its Tools and Techniques." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 13–20. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kilmer, M.F. 1993. *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*. London: Duckworth.

Bibliography

- Kimmig, W. 1988. "Unkonventionelle Bemerkungen zu einigen in Mitteleuropa gefunden Südgütern des 6. und 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts." In *Trade and Exchange in Prehistory: Studies in Honour of Berta Stjernquist*, ed. B. Hårdh, 127–39. Lund: Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum.
- King, P.J. 1989. "The Marzēa: Textual and Archaeological Evidence." *ErIsr* 20:98–106.
- Kistler, E. 2005. "Ehefrauen im Megaron, aber keine im Andron! Ranghohe Frauen beim Bankett im vor- und früharchaischen Griechenland." In *Gender Studies in den Altertumswissenschaften: Räume und Geschlechter in der Antike*, ed. H. Harich-Schwarzbauer and T. Späth, 15–36. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.
- Kistler, E. 2010. "Achämenidische Becher und die Logik kommensaler Politik im Reich der Achämeniden." In *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court: Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen"; Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007*, ed. B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 411–36. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Kjellberg, L. 1940. *Larisa II: Die architektonischen Terrakotten*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Kleemann, I. 1958. *Die Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Klinger, S. 1997. "Illusionist Conceit in Some Reclining Symposiast Scenes Painted by Euphronios and His Colleagues." *AA*: 343–64.
- Knigge, U. 1970. "Neue Scherben von Gefäßen des Kleophrades-Malers." *AM* 85:1–22.
- Knigge, U. 1976. *Kerameikos IX: Der Südhusel*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Knigge, U. 1991. *The Athenian Kerameikos*. Athens: Krene Editions.
- Knudsen, A.K. 1964. "From a Sardis Tomb: A Lydian Imitation of a Phrygian Metal Bowl." *Berytus* 15:59–69.
- Koehl, R. 1997. "The Villas at Ayia Triada and Nirou Chani and the Origin of the Cretan *Andreion*." In *The Function of Minoan Villas*, ed. R. Hägg, 137–50. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Kohler, E.L. 1958. "A Study of the Wood and Ivory Carvings from Gordion, Phrygia (c. 750–500 B.C.)." PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- Kohler, E.L. 1980. "Cremations of the Middle Phrygian Period at Gordion." In *From Athens to Gordion: The Papers of a Memorial Symposium for R.S. Young*, ed. K. DeVries, 65–89. University Museum Papers 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Kohler, E.L. 1995. *The Gordion Excavations (1950–1973), Final Reports II. The Lesser Phrygian Tumuli, Part 1: The Inhumations*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Kökten, H. 1998. "Conservation and Reconstruction of Phrygian Chariot Wheels from Mysia." In *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism; Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology, History, and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia*, ed. N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch, 131–46. Ankara: Centre for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment.
- Kökten Ersoy, H. 1998. "Two Wheeled Vehicles from Lydia and Mysia." *IstMitt* 48:107–33.
- Koortbojian, M. 2005. "Mimesis or Phantasia? Two Representational Modes in Roman Commemorative Art." *ClAnt* 24:285–306.
- Koraka, K. 1987. "Πήλινο ομοίωμα ανακλίντρου από τη Φαιστού." In *Ειλαπίνη: Τόμος τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Νικόλαο Ιλάτωνα*, ed. L. Kastrinake and G. Orphanou, 93–100. Herakleion: Dimos Irakleiou.
- Kopcke, G. 1967. "Neue Holzfunde aus Samos." *AM* 82:100–148.
- Köroğlu, K. 2007. "New Observations on the Origin of the Single-Roomed Rock-Cut Tombs of Eastern Anatolia." In *Belkis Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan VITA: Festschrift in Honor of Belkis Dinçol and Ali Dinçol*, ed. M. Alparslan and M. Doğan-Alparslan, 445–56. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Körte, A. 1898. "Kleinasiatische Studien III." *AM* 23:80–153.
- Körte, A., and G. Körte. 1901. "Gordion." *AA*: 1–11.
- Körte, A., and G. Körte. 1904. *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900*. JdI Suppl. 5. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Kottaridi, A. 1989. "Βεργίνα 1989. Ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο στα βορειοδυτικά της αρχαίας πόλης." *AErgoMak* 3:1–11.
- Kottaridi, A. 1999. "Το αρχαιολογικό έργο της ΙΖ' ΕΠΚΑ στη Βεργίνα: Το ιστορικό της έκθεσης των θεσαυρών των βασιλικών τάφων." *AErgoMak* 11 [1997]:129–37.
- Kottaridi, A. 2000. "Vergina: The Discovery of the Ancient Macedonian Capital and the Museum of the Royal Tombs." In *Saving Cultural Heritage. Projects around the*

- Mediterranean*, ed. A. Weyer, 149–58. Hamburg: Glöss Verlag.
- Kottaridi, A. 2002. "Discovering Aegae, the Old Macedonian Capital." In *Excavating Classical Culture*, ed. M. Stam-atopoulou and M. Yeroulanou, 75–81. Oxford: Beazley Archive and Archeopress.
- Kourouniotis, K. 1899. "Τάφοι καμαρωτοί Ερετρίας." *ArchEph*: 221–34.
- Krause, C. 1977. "Grundformen des griechischen Pastashauses." *AA*: 164–79.
- Krauskopf, I. 2006. "The Grave and Beyond in Etruscan Religion." In *The Religion of the Etruscans*, ed. N.T. de Grummond and E. Simon, 66–89. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Krauß, D. 1993. "Trinkhorn und Kline: Zur griechischen Vermittlung orientalischer Trinksitten an die frühen Kelten." *Germania* 71:188–97.
- Kreuzer, B. 1992. *Frühe Zeichner: 1500–500 vor Chr. Ägyptische, griechische, und etruskische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung H.A. Cahn*, Basel. Freiburg: Freundeskreis der Archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Freiburg.
- Kreuzer, B. 1998. *Samos XXII: Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Kroll, J.H. 2010. "The Coins of Sardis." In *Lidyahılar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 142–56. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Kron, U. 1988. "Kultmahle im Heraion von Samos archaischer Zeit: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion." In *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Swedish Institute in Athens, 1986*, 135–48. *SkrAth* 40: 38. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Krzyszowska, O.H. 1996. "Furniture in the Aegean Bronze Age." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 85–103. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kubala, A. 2003. "Funerary Steles from Daskyleion: Remarks on the So-Called Greek-Persian Style in Anatolia." In *The Orient and the Aegean: Papers Presented at the Warsaw Symposium, 9th April 1999*, ed. F.M. Stepniowski, 103–22. Warsaw: Warsaw University, Institute of Archaeology.
- Kuban, Z. 1997. "Die Nekropolen von Limyra." In "Grabungen und Forschungen in Limyra aus den Jahren 1991–1996." *ÖJh* 66 Beibl.:348–52.
- Kuban, Z. 2005. "Grabtypen in Limyra." In *Güneybatı Anadolu'da Mezar Tipleri ve Ölü Kültü: Grabtypen und Totenkult im Südwestlichen Kleinasien*, ed. H. Işkan and F. Işık, 195–209. Antalya: Akdeniz University.
- Kuban, Z. 2012. *Die Nekropolen von Limyra: Bauhistorische Studien zur klassischen Epoche*. Vienna: Phoibos Verlag.
- Kubba, S.A.A. 2006. *Mesopotamian Furniture from the Mesolithic to the Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 10,000 B.C.–600 B.C.)*. BAR International Series 1566. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd.
- Kübler, K. 1933. "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos." *AA*: 262–87.
- Kübler, K. 1934. "Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos 1933/34." *AA*: 196–246.
- Kübler, K. 1954. *Kerameikos V.1: Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kübler, K. 1959. *Kerameikos VI.1: Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kübler, K. 1970. *Kerameikos VI.2: Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kübler, K. 1973. "Eine archaische Grabanlage vor dem heiligen Tor und ihre Deutung." *AA*: 172–93.
- Kübler, K. 1976. *Kerameikos VII.1: Die Nekropole der Mitte des 6. bis ende des 5. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kuniholm, P.I., M.W. Newton, and C.B. Griggs. 2007. "Dendrochronological Analysis of the Tatarlı Tomb Chamber." Appendix to L. Summerer, "From Tatarlı to Munich: The Recovery of a Painted Wooden Tomb Chamber in Phrygia." In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, ed. İ. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz, and O. Tekin, 131–56. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Kuniholm, P.I., M.W. Newton, and R.F. Liebhart. 2011. "Dendrochronology at Gordion." In *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, ed. C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire, 79–122. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Kunisch, N. 1997. *Makron*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kunisch, N. 2005. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland*, vol. 79: Bochum, Kunstsammlungen der Ruhr-Universität, vol. 1. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Kunze, E. 1931. *Kretische Bronzereliefs*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Kunze, E. 1958. "Terrakottaplastik." *OlBer* 6:169–94.
- Kunze, E. 1967. "Kleinplastik aus Bronze." *OlBer* 8:213–50.

Bibliography

- Kunze-Götte, E. 1992. *Der Kleophrades-Maler unter Malern schwarzfigurer Amphoren: Eine Werkstattstudie*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Kunze-Götte, E. 2010. *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Deutschland, München, Antikensammlungen*, vol. 15: *Attisch weissgrundige Lekythen*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Kunze-Götte, E., K. Tancke, and K. Vierneisel. 1999. *Kerameikos VII.2: Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum ende des 5. Jahrhunderts; Die Beigaben*. Munich: Hirmer.
- Kurke, L. 1992. "The Politics of ἀποροσύνη in Archaic Greece." *ClAnt* 11:91–120.
- Kurke, L. 1997. "Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece." *ClAnt* 16:106–50.
- Kurke, L. 1999. *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kurtz, D.C. 1975. *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kurtz, D.C. 1984. "Vases for the Dead: An Attic Selection, 750–400 B.C." In *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium*, ed. H.A.G. Brijder, 314–28. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Kurtz, D.C., and J. Boardman. 1971. *Greek Burial Customs*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kurtz, D.C., and J. Boardman. 1986. "Booners." *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3:35–70.
- Kurz, S., and S. Schiek. 2002. *Bestattungsplätze im Umfeld der Heuneburg*. Stuttgart: K. Theiss.
- Kütük, S. 1995. "Balıkesir Üçpınar Tümülüsü." *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 69:17–22.
- Kyrieleis, H. 1969. *Throne und Klinen: Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Zeit*. JdI Suppl. 24. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Kyrieleis, H. 1997. "Ein Sonnenschirm." *Akurgal'a Armağan: Festschrift Akurgal*, vol. III, ed. C. Bayburtluoğlu and E. Akurgal, 131–58. Anadolu 23 [1984/1997]. Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Basımevi.
- Labarre, G., M. Özsaıt, and N. Özsaıt. 2010. "Monuments funéraires et inscriptions de Pisidie (Burdur-Isparta)." *Anatolia Antiqua* 18:59–89.
- Lambole, J.-L. 1982. "Les hypogées indigènes apuliens." *MÉFRA* 94:91–148.
- Landolfi, M. 1992. "Scavi e scoperte: Sirolo (Ancona)." *StEtr* 58:629–31.
- Landolfi, M. 1995. "Quale musealizzazione per le necropoli preromane del Conero?" In *I siti archeologici. Un problema di musealizzazione all'aperto*, ed. B. Amendolea, 326–34. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.
- Landolfi, M. 1997. "Siroli, necropoli picena 'I Pini': Tomba monumentale a circolo con due carri (520–500) a.C." In *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi: Catalogo della mostra, Viterbo 1997–1998*, ed. A. Emiliozzi, 229–41. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Landolfi, M. 2000. "Greci e Piceni nelle Marche in età arcaica." *Hesperia: Studia sulla grecità di Occidente* 12:125–49.
- Landolfi, M. 2001. "La tomba della Regina nella necropoli picena 'I Pini' di Sirolo-Numana." In *Eroi e Regine: Piceni Popolo d'Europa*, ed. G. Colonna and L. Franchi Dell'Orto, 350–65. Rome: Edizioni de Luca.
- Landskron, A. 2012. "Aspekte der Grabreliefs in Limyra: Die Reliefs mit Klinen." In *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra: Akten des internationalen Symposions, Wien, 3.–5. Dezember 2009*, ed. M. Seyer, 179–97. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Laneri, N. 2007. "An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals." In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, ed. N. Laneri, 1–13. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
- Lange, K.E. 2005. "Unearthing Ancient Syria's Cult of the Dead." *National Geographic* 207.2:108–23.
- Langlotz, E. 1975. *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Lapatin, K.D.S. 2001. *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laser, S. 1968. *Hausrat*. *Archaeologica Homerica* 2. P. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck.
- Laubscher, H.P. 1966. "Eine Fikellura-Scherbe." *AA*: 488–91.
- Laumonier, A. 1956. *Delos XXIII: Les figurines de terre cuite*. Paris.
- Lauter, H. 1985. *Lathuresa: Beiträge zur Architektur und Siedlungsgeschichte in spätgeometrischer Zeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Lawrence, A.W. 1983. *Greek Architecture*. 4th ed., ed. R.A. Tomlinson. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lazaridis, D. 1966. "Ανασκαφαί και έρευναι εις Αμφίπολιν." *Prakt* [1960]:67–73.
- Leaf, W. 1886. *Homer: The Iliad*. London: Macmillan.

- Lebessi, A. 1969. "Ανασκαφή σπηλαιώδους τάφου εις Πόρον Ηρακλείου." *Prakt* [1967]:195–209.
- Lefèvre-Novaro, D. 2001. "Échanges commerciaux et 'culturels' entre Picéniens et Grecs: L'exemple de Numana (VIe–IVe siècle av. J.-C.)." *MÉFRA* 113:71–93.
- Lehmann, P.W. 1982. "The So-Called Tomb of Philip II: An Addendum." *AJA* 86:437–42.
- Leighton, R. 2004. *Tarquinia: An Etruscan City*. London: Duckworth.
- Lemaire, A. 2001. "Les inscriptions araméennes de Daskyleion." In *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma, 15–18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 21–35. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Lembke, K. 2001. *Phönizische anthropoide Sarkophage*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Lemos, A.A. 2008. "The Painter of Rhodes 13472: Observations on a Vase-Painter of the Leagros Group." In *Essays in Classical Archaeology for Eleni Hatzivassiliou 1977–2007*, ed. D. Kurtz, 121–30. BAR International Series 1796. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Lepore, L. 1998. "Di quattro kylikes attiche a figure nere della collezione Ceccanti." In *In Memoria di Enrico Paribeni*, ed. G. Capecchi, O. Paoletti, C. Cianferoni, A.M. Esposito, and A. Romualdi, 271–80. Rome: Bretschneider.
- Lerner, J.A. 1991. "Some So-Called Achaemenid Objects from Pazyryk." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 10.4:8–15.
- Lerner, J.A. 2001. "The Merchant Empire of the Sogdians." In *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China*, ed. A.L. Juliano and J.A. Lerner, 220–29. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Letta, C. 1984. "Due letti funerari in osso dal centro italico-romano della valle d'Amplero (Abruzzo)." *MonAnt* 52:67–115.
- Leypold, C. 2008. *Bankettgebäude in griechischen Heiligtümern*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Liebhart, R.F., and C. Brixhe. 2009. "The Recently Discovered Inscriptions from Tumulus MM at Gordion: A Preliminary Report." *Kadmos* 48:141–56.
- Libibaki-Akamati, M. 1995. "Από τη διακόσμηση των νεκρικών κλινών." *AAA* 22 [1989]:123–30.
- Libibaki-Akamati, M. 1996. "Ανατολικό νεκροταφείο Πέλλας: Ανασκαφή 1989." *ArchDelt* 44–47 [1989–91]:72–152.
- Linders, T. 1984. "The Kandys in Greece and Persia." *OpAth* 15:107–14.
- Lindsay, H. 1998. "Eating with the Dead: The Roman Funerary Banquet." In *Meals in a Social Context*, ed. I. Neilsen and H.S. Nielsen, 67–80. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Linington, R.E. 1980. *Lo scavo nella zona Laghetto della necropoli della Banditaccia a Cerveteri*. Milan: Comune di Milano, Ripartizione Cultura e Spettacolo.
- Lintz, Y. 2008. "Greek, Anatolian, and Persian Iconography in Asia Minor: Material Sources, Method, and Perspectives." In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters; First International Conference, Athens, 11–13 November 2006*, ed. S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi, 257–63. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990a. *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lissarrague, F. 1990b. *L'Autre guerrier: Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Lissarrague, F. 2001. *Greek Vases: The Athenians and Their Images*. New York: Riverside Book Co.
- Littauer, M.A., and J.H. Crouwel. 1979. *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Littmann, E. 1916. *Sardis VI, Part 1: Lydian Inscriptions*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Lockwood, S. 2011. "Aytaş Mevkii / İslamlar in the Elmalı Basin, Turkey: A Multi-Period Sepulchral Site in Northern Lycia." PhD diss., University of Cincinnati.
- Lockwood, S. Forthcoming chapter on Lycian tombs. In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the "Funerary Banquet" in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Lombardo, M. 1983. "Habrosyne e habra nel mondo greco arcaico." In *Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche: Atti del convegno di Cortona (24–30 Maggio 1981)*, 1077–103. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome.
- Lozano, M., M. Mosquera, J. de Castro, J. Arsuaga, and E. Carbonell. 2009. "Right Handedness of Homo heidelbergensis from Sima de los Huesos (Atapuerca, Spain) 500,000 Years Ago." *Evolution and Human Behavior* 30:369–76.
- Luckenbill, D.D. 1926 [1968 reprint]. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1: *Historical Records of Assyria*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Bibliography

- Luckenbill, D.D. 1927 [1968 reprint]. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 2: *Historical Records of Assyria*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Luke, C., and C.H. Roosevelt. 2009. "For Sale from 'East Greece' or 'Persia': Lydia and the Antiquities Market." Paper presented at the 110th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Philadelphia, 9 January.
- Lumsden, S. 2002. "Gavurkalesi: Investigations at a Hittite Sacred Place." In *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, ed. K.A. Yener and H.A. Hoffner, Jr., 111–25. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Luschey, H. 2002. *Rechts und Links: Untersuchungen über Bewegungsrichtung, Seitenordnung und Höhenordnung als Elemente der antiken Bildsprache*. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag.
- L'vov-Basirov, O.P.V. 2001. "Achaemenian Funerary Practices in Western Asia Minor." In *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma, 15–18 August 1997*, ed. T. Bakır and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 101–7. Leiden: Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Lynch, K.M. 2007. "More Thoughts on the Space of the Symposium." In *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond; Proceedings of a Conference Held at Cardiff University, 17–21 April 2001*, ed. R. Westgate, N. Fisher, and J. Whitley, 243–49. London: British School at Athens.
- Machatschek, A. 1967. *Die Nekropolen und Grabmäler im Gebiet von Elaiussa Sebaste und Korykos im rauhen Kilikien*. Vienna: H. Böhlau.
- Macintosh, J. 1974. "Representations of Furniture on the Frieze Plaques from Poggio Civitate, Murlo." *RM* 81:15–40.
- Mack, R.L. 2000. *Thomas Gray, A Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Macleod, C., ed. 1982. *Homer: Iliad Book XXIV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macqueen, J.G. 1975. *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Macridy, T. 1911. "Un tumulus macédonien à Langaza." *JdI* 26:193–215.
- Macridy, T. 1913. "Reliefs Gréco-Perses de la Région de Dascylyon." *BCH* 37:340–58.
- Macridy, T. 1926. "Ankara Höyüklerindeki Hafriyata Dair Rapor." *Maarif Vekâleti Mecmuası* 6:38–45. [Reprinted in modern Turkish in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 100 (2001):38–44.]
- Magness, J. 2001. "A Near Eastern Ethnic Element among the Etruscan Elite?" *EtrStud* 8:79–117.
- Mahoney, A. 2008. Review of *The Origin of the Etruscans*, by R.S.P. Beekes. *EtrStud* 11:171–74.
- Makaronas, C.I. 1956. "Ανασκαφή του παρά την Σταυρούπολιν—Ξάνθης 'Μακεδονικού' Τάφου." *Prakt* [1953]:133–40.
- Makaronas, C.I. 1960. "Ανασκαφική έρευνα 'Μακεδονικού' τάφου εις Καρύτσαν Πιερίας." *Prakt* [1955]:151–59.
- Maléki, Y. 1961. "Stule à scène de banquet." *IrAnt* 1:20–41.
- Malkin, I. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mallory, J.P., F.G. McCormac, P.J. Reimer, and L.S. Marsadlov. 2002. "The Date of Pazyryk." In *Ancient Interactions: East and West in Eurasia*, ed. K. Boyle, C. Renfrew, and M. Levine, 199–211. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1966. *Nimrud and Its Remains*. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Mallowan, M.E.L., and G. Herrmann. 1974. *Ivories from Nimrud III: Furniture from SW.7 Fort Shalmaneser*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Mangani, E. 1994. "Castellnuovo Berardenga (Siena): Necropoli principesca in località Poggiono, Tombe B e C (1983 e 1985)." *NSc ser.* 9, 1–2 [1990/91]:5–84.
- Mannack, T. 2001. *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manning, S.W., B. Kromer, P.I. Kuniholm, and M.W. Newton. 2001. "Anatolian Tree Rings and a New Chronology for the East Mediterranean Bronze-Iron Ages." *Science* 294:2532–35.
- Manning, S.W., and B. Kromer. 2011. "Radiocarbon Dating Iron Age Gordion, and the Early Phrygian Destruction in Particular." In *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, ed. C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire, 123–53. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Maqdissi, M., D. Morandi Bonacossi, and P. Pfälzner. 2009. *Schätze des alten Syrien: die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*. Stuttgart: Landesmuseum Württemberg.
- Marangou, L. 1969. *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.

- Marangou, L. 1986. "Γλυπτά αρχαϊκών και κλασικών χρόνων στην Αμοργό." *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* I, ed. H. Kyrieleis, 119–38. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Maras, S. 2010. "A Reassessment of Brick Motifs and Brick-Building Techniques at Achaemenid Susa." In *The World of Achaemenid Persia. History, Art, and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson, 206–19. New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Margreiter, I. 1988. *Alt-Ägina, II.3: Die Kleinfunde aus dem Apollon-Heiligtum*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Markoe, G.E. 1985. *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Markoe, G.E. 2000. *Phoenicians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marksteiner, T. 1997. "Wohn- oder Sakralbauten: Die Suche nach den hölzernen Vorbildern lykischer Felsgräber." *ÖJh* 62:87–94.
- Martens, D. 1992. *Une esthétique de la transgression: Le vase grec de la fin de l'époque géométrique au début de l'époque classique*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique.
- Martin, R. 1971. "Le Monument des Néréides et l'architecture funéraire." *RA*: 327–37.
- Masson, O. 1978. *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqara and Buhen*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Mastrocinque, A. 1991. "Avori intarsiati in ambra da Quinto Fiorentino." *BA* 10:1–10.
- Mathieson, I., E. Bettles, S. Davies, and H.S. Smith. 1995. "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara." *JEA* 81:23–41.
- Matthäus, H. 1999. "The Greek Symposion and the Near East: Chronology and Mechanisms of Cultural Transfer." In *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12–17, 1998: Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium; Reflections and Perspectives*, ed. R.F. Docter and E.M. Moormann, 256–60. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Matthäus, H. 1999–2000. "Das griechische Symposion und der Orient." *NüBIA* 16:41–64.
- Matthäus, H. 2005. "Toreutik und Vasenmalerei in früh-eisenzeitlichen Kreta: Minoisches Erbe, lokale Traditionen und Fremdeinflüsse." In *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art in the First Millennium BCE*, ed. C.E. Suter and C. Uehlinger, 291–350. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Matthäus, H. 2009. "Near Eastern Ivories in the Aegean during the Early First Millennium B.C." In *Syrian and Phoenician Ivories of the Early First Millennium BCE: Chronology, Regional Styles, and Iconographic Repertoires, Patterns of Inter-regional Distribution*, ed. S.M. Cecchini, S. Mazzoni, and E. Scigliuzzo, 319–35. Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
- Matthews, R. 2003. *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Mattusch, C. 1991. "Corinthian Metalworking on an Inlaid Fulcrum Panel." *Hesperia* 60:525–28.
- Mau, A. 1897. *RE* 3.1:370–73 s.v. "Betten."
- Mawhinney, L.E. 2012. "Sympotic and Rhapsodic Discourse in the Homeric Epics." PhD diss., University of Toronto.
- Mayer, W. 1980. "Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu—714 v. Chr." *MDOG* 115 [1983]:65–132.
- Mayo, M. 1981. "Architectural Terra Cottas from Phrygia." *Arts in Virginia* 21.2:28–35.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A. 1995. "New Evidence for the Study of the Late Geometric–Archaic Settlement at Lathouriza in Attica." In *Klados: Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, ed. C. Morris, 143–56. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies.
- Mazzarello, P., and M. Harari. 2007. "Left to Digest." *Nature* 448 (16 August):753.
- McGinnis, J. 1986. "Herodotus' Description of Babylon." *BICS* 33:67–86.
- McGinnis, J. 1987. "A Neoassyrian Text Describing a Royal Funeral." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 1:1–12.
- McGovern, P.E. 2000. "The Funerary Banquet of 'King Midas.'" *Expedition* 42:21–29.
- McGovern, P.E. 2010. "Chemical Identification of the Beverage and Food Remains in Tumulus MM." In *The Gordion Wooden Objects*, vol. 1: *The Furniture from Tumulus MM*, ed. E. Simpson, 177–87. Leiden: Brill.
- McLauchlin, B.K. 1985. "Lydian Graves and Burial Customs." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- McLellan, J.A. 1975. "The Iron Objects from Gordion: A Typological and Functional Analysis." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- McManus, C. 2002. *Right Hand, Left Hand: The Origins of Asymmetry in Brains, Bodies, Atoms and Cultures*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- McNally, S. 1985. "Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art." *ClAnt* 4:152–92.

Bibliography

- McNiven, T. 2012. "The View from Behind the Kline: Symposial Space and Beyond." Paper presented at Athenian Potters and Painters III, Williamsburg, Virginia, 14 September.
- Melikian-Chirvani, A.S. 1993. "The International Achaemenid Style." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 7:111–30.
- Mellink, M.J. 1961. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 65:51–52.
- Mellink, M.J. 1964. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1963." *AJA* 68:269–78.
- Mellink, M.J. 1965. "Mita, Mushki, and Phrygians." *AnadoluAraş* 2:317–25.
- Mellink, M.J. 1966. "Anatolia: Old and New Perspectives." *PAPS* 110.2:111–29.
- Mellink, M.J. 1968. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 72:125–47.
- Mellink, M.J. 1969. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 73:203–27.
- Mellink, M.J. 1970. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1969." *AJA* 74:245–59.
- Mellink, M.J. 1971. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1970." *AJA* 75:245–55.
- Mellink, M.J. 1972a. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 76:165–88.
- Mellink, M.J. 1972b. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1971." *AJA* 76:257–69.
- Mellink, M.J. 1973. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1972." *AJA* 77:293–303.
- Mellink, M.J. 1974a. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973." *AJA* 78:351–59.
- Mellink, M.J. 1974b. "Notes on Anatolian Wall Painting." In *Mansel'e Armağan: Mélanges Mansel*, ed. E. Arkurgal and B. Alkım, 537–47. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.
- Mellink, M.J. 1975. "Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1974." *AJA* 79:349–55.
- Mellink, M.J. 1976a. "Excavations in the Elmalı Area, Lycia, 1975." *AJA* 80:377–84.
- Mellink, M.J. 1976b. "Local, Phrygian, and Greek Traits in Northern Lycia." *RA*: 21–34.
- Mellink, M.J. 1977. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 81:289–321.
- Mellink, M.J. 1978. "Mural Paintings in Lycian Tombs." In *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, ed. E. Akurgal, 805–9. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Mellink, M.J. 1979a. "Fouilles d'Elmalı, en Lycie du nord (Turquie): Découvertes préhistoriques et tombeaux à fresques." *CRAI* 123:476–96.
- Mellink, M.J. 1979b. "The Symbolic Doorway of the Tumulus at Karaburun, Elmalı." In *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 11–15 Ekim 1976*, 383–88. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Mellink, M.J. 1980a. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 84:501–18.
- Mellink, M.J. 1980b. "Report on the Work at Elmalı and Karataş Semayük in 1979." *KST* 2:155–56.
- Mellink, M.J. 1982. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 86:557–76.
- Mellink, M.J. 1983a. "Archaeology in Asia Minor." *AJA* 87:427–42.
- Mellink, M.J. 1983b. "Wall Paintings of West Anatolian Tombs: Elements of a Tradition." *KST* 5:171–74.
- Mellink, M.J. 1987. "Lydia and Sardis in Anatolian Context." In *Sardis: Twenty-Seven Years of Discovery*, ed. E. Guralnick, 16–25. Chicago: Chicago Society of the Archaeological Institute of America.
- Mellink, M.J. 1988. "The Painted Tomb at Karaburun (Elmalı): Problems of Conservation and Iconography." *KST* 10.2:271–76.
- Mellink, M.J. 1989. "Archaeology in Anatolia." *AJA* 93:105–34.
- Mellink, M.J. 1990. "Archaeology in Anatolia." *AJA* 94:125–52.
- Mellink, M.J. 1991. "The Tumulus of Nemrud Dağı and Its Place in the Anatolian Tradition." In *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien: Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. A. Schütte, D. Pohl, and J. Teichmann, 7–10. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Mellink, M.J. 1993. "Phrygian Traits at Boğazköy and Questions of Phrygian Writing." *IstMitt* 43:293–98.
- Mellink, M.J. 2006. "Sevim Buluç's Excavations of Phrygian Tumuli at Ankara." In *Sevim Buluç Anı Kitabı / In Memoriam Sevim Buluç*, ed. V. Tolun and T. Takaoğlu, 1–6. Çanakkale: Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University.
- Mellink, M.J., R.A. Bridges Jr., and F.C. di Vignale. 1998. *Kızılbel: An Archaic Painted Tomb Chamber in Northern Lycia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Mengarelli, R. 1927. "Caere e le recenti scoperte." *StEtr* 1:145–71.
- Mengarelli, R. 1937. "La necropoli di Caere: Nuovi osservazioni su speciali usi e riti funerari." *StEtr* 11:77–94.

- Mengarelli, R. 1938. "L'evoluzione delle forme architettoniche nelle tombe etrusche di Caere." *Atti del Convegno Nazionale di Storia dell'Architettura* 3:1–32.
- Merhav, R., ed. 1991. *Urartu: A Metalworking Center in the First Millennium B.C.E.* Jerusalem: Israel Museum.
- Meriç, R. 1985. "1984 Yılı İzmir ve Manisa İlleri Yüzey Araştırmaları." *AST* 3:199–208.
- Meriç, R. 1993. "Neue Ostgriechische Grabreliefs aus Ionien und Lydien." *ÖJh* 62:57–75.
- Meriçboyu, Y., and S. Atasoy. 1969. "İzmit Kanlıbağ Tümülsü." *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yayınlarından* 15–16:67–95.
- Mertens, J.R. 1975. "A White Lekythos in the Getty Museum." *GettyMusJ* 2:27–36.
- Metzger, H. 1963. *Fouilles de Xanthos II: Lacropole lycienne.* Paris: Klincksieck.
- Metzger, H. 1971. "Sur deux groupes de reliefs 'gréco-perses' d'Asie Mineure." *AntCl* 40:505–318.
- Metzger, M. 1985. *Königsthron und Gottesthron.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Metzger, H., and J.-M. Moret. 1999. "Observations sur certaines peintures tombales de le Kızılbel, en Lycie du Nord-Est." *JSav* (Jul.–Dec.):285–318.
- Metzler, D., R. Altheim-Stiehl, and E. Schwertheim. 1983. "Eine neue gräko-persische Grabstele aus Sultaniye Köy und ihre Bedeutung für die Geschichte und Topographie von Daskyleion." *EpigAnat* 1:1–23.
- Micoff, V. 1954. *Le tombeau antique pres de Kazanlak.* Sofia: Académie Bulgare des Sciences.
- Miller, M.C. 1991. "Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?" In *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W.J. Slater, 61–64. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Miller, M.C. 1992. "The Parasol: An Oriental Status-Symbol in Late Archaic and Classical Athens." *JHS* 112:91–105.
- Miller, M.C. 1995. "Priam, King of Troy." In *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. J.B. Carter and S.P. Morris, 449–65. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, M.C. 1999. "Reexamining Transvestism in Archaic and Classical Athens: The Zewadski Stamnos." *AJA* 103:223–53.
- Miller, M.C. 2006. "Betwixt and Between: Western Anatolia in the Persian Period." In *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities. Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23–26, 2003*, ed. C.C. Mattusch, A.A. Donahue, and A. Brauer, 225–27. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Miller, M.C. 2007. "The Poetics of Emulation in the Achaemenid World: The Figured Bowls of the 'Lydian Treasure.'" *AncWestEast* 6:43–72.
- Miller, M.C. 2010. "Luxury Toreutic in the Western Satrapies: Court-Inspired Gift-Exchange Diffusion." In *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court: Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen"*; *Landgut Castelen bei Basel*, 23.–25. Mai 2007, ed. B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 853–97. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Miller, M.C. 2011. "'Manners Makyth Man': Diacritical Drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia." In *Cultural Identity and the Peoples of the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E. Gruen, 96–134. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Miller, S.G. 1980. "Eros and the Arms of Achilles." *AJA* 90:159–70.
- Miller, S.G. 1982. "Macedonian Tombs: Their Architecture and Architectural Decoration." In *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*, ed. B. Barr-Sharrar and E.N. Borza, 153–71. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.
- Miller, S.G. 1993. *The Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles: A Painted Macedonian Tomb.* Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Miller, S.G. 2010. "Two Painted Chamber Tombs of Northern Lycia at Kızılbel and Karaburun." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüş / The Return of Colours*, ed. L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 318–29. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Minns, E.H. 1913 [1965 reprint]. *Scythians and Greeks.* New York: Biblo & Tannen.
- Minto, A. 1921. *Marsiliana d'Albegna: Le scoperte archeologiche del Principe Don Tommaso Corsini.* Florence: Fratelli Alinari.
- Mitchell, T.C. 1996. "Furniture in the West Semitic Texts." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 49–60. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Mitropoulou, E. 1996. "Cybele in Funerary Banquets and

Bibliography

- with an Equestrian Hero." In *Cybele, Attis, and Related Cults: Essays in Memory of M.J. Vermaseren*, ed. E.N. Lane, 135–65. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Mittmann, S. 1976. "Amos 3,12–15 und das Bett der Samarier." *ZDPV* 92:149–67.
- Möbius, H. 1971. "Zu den Stelen von Daskyleion." *AA*: 442–55.
- Mols, S.T.A.M. 1999. *Wooden Furniture from Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Mommsen, H. 1997. *Exekias 1: Die Grabtafeln*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Moore, M.B. 1997. *Agora 30: Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Moore, M.B., and M.Z.P. Philippides. 1986. *Agora 23: Attic Black-Figured Pottery*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Moorey, P.R.S. 1980a. *Cemeteries of the First Millenium B.C. at Deve Hüyük*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Moorey, P.R.S. 1980b. "Metal Wine-Sets in the Ancient Near East." *Iran* 15:181–97.
- Moran, S.F. 1974. "The Death of Buddha, a Painting at Kōyasan." *Artibus Asiae* 36:97–146.
- Morris, I. 1992. *Death-Ritual and Social Structure in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, I. 1996. "The Strong Principle of Equality and the Archaic Origins of Greek Democracy." In *Dēmokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*, ed. J. Ober and C. Hedrick, 19–48. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mühlbauer, L. 2007. *Lykische Grabarchitektur: Vom Holz zum Stein*. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Muhly, P. 1996. "Furniture from the Shaft Graves: The Occurrence of Wood in Aegean Burials of the Bronze Age." *BSA* 91:197–211.
- Müller, K.F. 1937. *Das Assyrische Ritual I: Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual*. MVAG 41.3. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs Verlag.
- Müller-Wiener, W. 1977–78. "Milet 1973–1975: Vorbericht über die Arbeiten der Jahre 1973 und 1975; Mit Beiträgen von Willi Real und Otto Feld." *IstMitt* 27/28:93–125.
- Munn, M. 2006. *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Murray, O. 1988. "Death and the Symposium." *AnnArchStorAnt* 10:239–57.
- Murray, O., ed. 1990. *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Murray, O. 1991. "War and the Symposium." In *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W.J. Slater, 83–103. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Murray, O. 1994. "Nestor's Cup and the Origins of the Greek Symposium." In *ΑΠΟΙΚΙΑ: I più antichi insediamenti Greci in occidente; Funzioni e modi dell'organizzazione politica e sociale; Scritti in onore di Giorgion Buchner*, ed. B. D'Agostino and D. Ridgway, 47–54. Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1969. "The Tumuli at Sé Girdan: A Preliminary Report." *MMAJ* 2:5–25.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1971. "Phrygian or Lydian?" *JNES* 31:49–63.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1974. "Decorated Bronze Beakers from Iran." *AJA* 78:239–54.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1980. *The Catalog of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1989. "King Midas of Phrygia and the Greeks." In *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. M. Mellink and N. Özgüç, 333–44. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Muscarella, O.W. 1999. "Parasols in the Ancient Near East." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 18.2:1–7.
- Muscarella, O.W. 2003. "The Date of the Destruction of the Early Phrygian Period at Gordion." *AncWestEast* 2:225–52.
- Muscarella, O.W. 2008. "Again Gordion's Early Phrygian Destruction Date: ca. 700 +/- B.C." In *Aykut Çınaroğlu'na Armağan / Studies in Honor of Aykut Çınaroğlu*, ed. E. Genç and D. Çelik, 175–87. Ankara: Ekici Form Ofset.
- Musche, B. 1992. *Vorderasiatischer Schmuck von dem Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Achaemeniden*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Muss, U. 1983. "Studien zur Bauplastik des archaischen Artemisions von Ephesos." PhD diss., University of Bonn.
- Muss, U. 1994. *Die Bauplastik des archaischen Artemisions von Ephesos*. Vienna: Eigenverlag des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
- Mussche, H.F., J. Bingen, J. Servais, J. De Geyter, T. Hackens, P. Spitaels, and A. Gautier. 1967. *Thorikos 1965*, vol. 3: *Rapport préliminaire sur la troisième campagne de fouilles*. Brussels: Comité des Fouilles Belges en Grèce.
- Muyldermans, R. 1989. "Two Banquet Scenes in the Levant:

- A Comparison between the Ahiram Sarcophagus from Byblos and a North Syrian Pyxis Found at Nimrud." In *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe*, ed. L. de Meyer and E. Haerink, 394–407. Gent: Peeters.
- Mylonas, G.E. 1966. *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Myres, J.L. 1914. *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. New York: Arno Press.
- Nagel, W. 1986. "Die Entwicklung des Wagens im frühen Vorderasien." In *Achse, Rad, und Wagen: Fünftausend Jahre Kultur- und Technikgeschichte*, 9–34. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Napoli, M. 1970. *La Tomba del tuffatore: La scoperta della grande pittura greca*. Bari: De Donato.
- Naso, A. 1991. *La Tomba dei Denti di Lupo a Cerveteri*. Florence: L.S. Olschki.
- Naso, A. 1996a. *Architetture Dipinte: Decorazioni parietali non figurate nelle tombe a camera dell'Etruria meridionale (VII–V sec. a. C.)*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Naso, A. 1996b. "Osservazioni sull'origine dei tumuli monumentali nell'Italia centrale." *OpRom* 20:69–85.
- Naso, A. 1998. "I tumuli monumentali in Etruria Meridionale: Caratteri propri e possibili ascendenze orientali." In *Archäologische Untersuchungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen Altitalien und der Zone Nordwärts der Alpen während der Frühen Eisenzeit Alteuropas*, 117–57. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg.
- Naso, A. 2007. "Klinai lignee intarsiate dalla Ionia all'Europa centrale." *RM* 113:9–33.
- Nayır, K. 1980. "Alahıdır Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı 1979." *KST* 2:73–75.
- Nayır, K. 1981. "Alahıdır Tümülüsleri Kazısı 1979." *AnadoluAraş* 7:115–29.
- Nayır, K. 1982. "Alibeyli Tümülüsleri Kurtarma Kazısı 1981." *KST* 4:199–204.
- Neer, R.T. 2002. *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530–460 B.C.E.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neils, J. 1995. "The Euthymides Krater from Morgantina." *AJA* 99:427–44.
- Neils, J. 2009. "The 'Unheroic' Corpse: Re-reading the Sarpedon Krater." In *Athenian Potters and Painters*, vol. 2, ed. J.H. Oakley and O. Palagia, 212–19. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Neugebauer, K.A. 1931. *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen in Antiquarium*, vol. 1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Neumann, G. 1997. "Die zwei Inschriften auf der Stele von Vezirhan." In *Frige e Frigio: Atti del 10 Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 1995*, 13–32. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Neumann, G. 1999. "A Cypriot Silver Bowl Reconsidered 3: The Inscription." *MMAJ* 34:33–35.
- Neutsch, B. 1956. "Archäologische Grabungen und Funde in Unteritalien 1949–1955." *AA*: 194–450.
- Neve, P. 1989. "Einige Bemerkungen zu der Kammer B in Yazılıkaya." In *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of T. Özgüç*, ed. M. Mellink and N. Özgüç, 345–55. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Nicholls, R.V. 1979. "A Roman Couch in Cambridge." *Archaeologia* 106:1–32.
- Nicosia, F., and G. De Marinis. 1984. "Quinto Fiorentino." In *Cento Preziosi Etruschi: Catalogo della mostra, Arezzo 1984*, ed. G. Cateni, 83–91, 149–55. Arezzo: Comune di Arezzo.
- Nielsen, I. 1994. *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Nimchuk, C.L. 2000. "The Lion-and-Bull-Coinage of Croesus." *Classical and Medieval Numismatic Society Journal* 1.1:5–44.
- Nimchuk, C.L. 2002. "The 'Archers' of Darius: Coinage or Tokens of Royal Esteem?" *Ars Orientalis* 32:55–79.
- Nollé, M. 1992. *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion: Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Novák, M. 2000. "Das 'Haus der Totenpflege': Zur Sepulkral-symbolik des Hauses im Alten Mesopotamien." *AoF* 27:132–54.
- Nylander, C. 1970. *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian Architecture*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Nylander, C. 1991. "The Toothed Chisel." *ArchCl* 43:1037–52.
- Nylander, C. 1999. "Breaking the Cup of Kingship: An Elamite Coup in Nineveh?" In *Neo-Assyrian, Median, Achaemenian and Other Studies in Honor of David Stronach*, vol. 2, ed. R. Boucharlat, J.E. Curtis, and E. Haerink, 71–83. *IrAnt* 34. Leuven: Peeters.
- Oakley, J. 2004. *Picturing Death in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bibliography

- Oates, D. 1961. "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1960." *Iraq* 23:1–14.
- Oates, D. 1963. "The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalhu), 1962." *Iraq* 25:6–37.
- Oates, J., and D. Oates. 2001. *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Obmann, J. 1998. "Zur Kline im Grabbauch und ihrem archäologischen Nachweis in Gräbern der römischen Nordwestprovinzen." In *Bestattungssitte und Kulturelle Identität: Grabanlagen und Grabbeigaben der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit in Italien und den Nordwest-Provinzen*, ed. P. Fasold, T. Fischer, H. von Hesberg, and M. Witteyer, 419–29. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag.
- Ögün, B. 1978. "Die urartäischen Bestattungsbräuche." In *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976*, vol. 2, ed. F.K. Dörner; S. Sahin, E. Schwertheim, and J. Wagner, 639–78. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Oliver-Smith, P. 1969. "Architectural Elements on Greek Vases before 400 B.C." PhD diss., New York University.
- Olson, S.D. 2009. *Athenaeus, The Learned Banqueters, Books 10.420e–11*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Orthmann, W. 1971. *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Orthmann, W. 1980. "Burial Customs of the 3rd Millennium B.C. in the Euphrates Valley." In *Le Moyen Euphrate: Zone de contacts et d'échanges; Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 10–12 mars 1977*, ed. J. Cl. Margueron, 97–105. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Orthmann, W. 1981. *Halawa 1977 bis 1979: Vorläufiger Bericht über die 1. bis 3. Grabungskampagne*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Osborne, R. 2007. "Projecting Identities in the Greek Symposium." In *Material Identities*, ed. J. Sofaer, 31–52. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Otten, H. 1940. "Ein Totenritual hethitischer Könige." *MDOG* 78:3–28.
- Otten, H. 1958. "Bestattungssitten und Jenseitsvorstellungen nach den hethitischen Texten." In *Die hethitischen Grabfunde von Osmankaya, "Boğazköy-Hattuša" II*, ed. K. Bittel, 81–84. WVD OG 71. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.
- Özçatal, M.F. 1992. "Yazılıkaya, Uluçayır ve Karasakaltekke Kazi, Onarım ve Çevre Düzenleme Çalışmaları." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 2:209–32.
- Özgan, R. 1978. "Untersuchungen zur archaischen Plastik Ioniens." PhD diss., University of Bonn.
- Özgen, İ. 1998. "Survey and Preliminary Excavations at Hacımusalı (Ancient Choma) near Elmalı in Northern Lycia." In *Light on the Top of the Black Hill: Studies Presented to Halet Çambel*, ed. H. Çambel, G. Arsebük, M.J. Mellink, and W. Schirmer, 603–9. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Özgen, İ. 2010. "Lydian Treasure." In *Lidyalar ve Dünyaları / The Lydians and Their World*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 305–38. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Özgen, İ., and E. Özgen, eds. 1988. *Antalya Museum*. Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- Özgen, İ., J. Öztürk, M.J. Mellink, C.H. Greenewalt Jr., K. Akbıyıkoglu, and L.M. Kaye. 1996. *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure*. Istanbul: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.
- Özgüç, T. 1946. "Archaeologische Funde aus Anatolien." *Belleten* 10/40:556–624.
- Özgüç, T. 1948. *Die Bestattungsbräuche im vorgeschichtlichen Anatolien*. Ankara: Ankara University.
- Özgüç, T. 1961. "Excavations at Altuntepe." *Belleten* 25/98:269–90.
- Özgüç, T. 1969. *Altıntepe II: Tombs, Storehouses, and Ivories*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Özgüç, T., and M. Akok. 1947. "Anıt-Kabir Alanında Yapılan Tümülsüz Kazıları / Die Ausgrabungen an zwei Tumuli auf dem Mausoleumshügel bei Ankara." *Belleten* 11/41:27–85.
- Özgüç, T., and Akok, M. 1958. *Horoztepe*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Özsait, M., and N. Özsait. 2007. "Delipınar Mezar Stelleri." In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, ed. İ. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz, and O. Tekin, 159–66. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Pader, E.-J. 1982. *Symbolism, Social Relations and the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Padgett, J.M. 2002. "A Unique Vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art." In *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, ed. A.J. Clark and J. Gaunt, 249–66. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Page, D.L. 1951. *Alcman: The Partheneion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Pala, E. 2007. "Iconografie e mito—La figura di Arianna nella ceramica attica." In *Imago: Studi di iconografia antica*, ed. S. Angiolillo and M. Giuman, 139–82. Cagliari: Edizioni AV.
- Palagia, O., and R.S. Bianchi. 1994. "Who Invented the Claw Chisel?" *OJA* 13:185–97.
- Palagia, O., and E.N. Borza. 2007. "The Chronology of the Macedonian Royal Tombs at Vergina." *Jdl* 122:81–125.
- Pallottino, M. 1952. *Etruscan Painting*. Geneva: Skira.
- Pandermalis, D. 1989. "Η νεκρόπολη του Δίου." *Archaialogia* 33:35–39.
- Panofsky, E. 1964. *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini*. New York: Harry N. Abrams.
- Paolucci, G. 2000. "Prime considerazioni sulla necropoli di Tolle presso Chianciano Terme." *AnnFaina* 7:219–48.
- Papalexandrou, N. 2010. "Are There Hybrid Visual Cultures? Reflections on the Orientalizing Phenomena in the Mediterranean of the Early First Millennium BCE." *Ars Orientalis* 38:31–48.
- Pare, C.F.E. 1992. *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology.
- Pareti, L. 1947. *La Tomba Regolini-Galassi del Museo Gregoriano Etrusco a la civiltà dell'Italia centrale nel sec. VII A.C.* Vatican: Tip. Poliglotta Vaticana.
- Paribeni, E. 1938. "I rilievi Chiusini arcaici." *StEtr* 12:57–139.
- Parker Pearson, M. 2000. *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Parlasca, K. 1982. *Syrische Grabreliefs hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Parpola, S. 2004. "National and Ethnic Identity in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Assyrian Identity in Post-Empire Times." *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18:5–49.
- Parr, P.J. 1996. "Middle Bronze Age Furniture from Jericho and Baghouz." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 41–48. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Parrot, A. 1937. *Le "Refrigerium" dans l'au-delà*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Parrot, A. 1960. *Sumer: The Dawn of Art*. New York: Golden Press.
- Paspalas, S.A. 2000a. "On Persian-Type Furniture in Macedonia: The Recognition and Transmission of Forms." *AJA* 104:531–60.
- Paspalas, S.A. 2000b. "A Persianizing Cup from Lydia." *OJA* 19:135–74.
- Pasztor, E. 1989. "Identity and Difference: The Uses and Meanings of Ethnic Styles." In *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, ed. S.J. Barnes and W.S. Melion, 15–40. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art.
- Paton, W.R. 1900. "Sites in E. Karia and S. Lydia." *JHS* 20:57–80.
- Payne, H. 1931. *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Pedde, F. 1991. "Frehat en-Nufegi: Zwei Seleukidenzeitliche Tumuli bei Uruk." *BaM* 22:521–35.
- Pedersen, P. 2009. "The Palace of Mausollos in Halikarnassos and Some Thoughts on Its Karian and International Context." In *Die Karer und die Anderen: Internationales Kolloquium an der Freien Universität Berlin 13. bis 15. Oktober 2005*, ed. F. Rumscheid, 315–48. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Pedrina, M. 2001. *I gesti del dolore nella ceramica attica (VI–V sec.)*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti.
- Pelon, O. 1976. *Tholoi, tumuli et cercles funéraires: Recherches sur les monuments funéraires de plan circulaire dans l'Égée de l'âge du Bronze (IIIe et IIe millénaires av. J.-C.)*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Perkins, P. 2009. "DNA and Etruscan Identity." In *Etruscan by Definition: Papers in Honour of Sybille Haynes*, ed. P. Perkins and J. Swaddling, 95–111. London: British Museum Press.
- Perlman, P. 1999. "KRÊTES AEI LÊISTAI? The Marginalization of Crete in Greek Thought and the Role of Piracy in the Outbreak of the First Cretan War." In *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, ed. V. Gabrielsen, P. Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, and J. Zahle, 132–61. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Perrot, G., and C. Chipiez. 1892. *History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia*. London: Chapman and Hall.
- Peschel, I. 1987. *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch-rotfiguren Vasenmalerei des 6.–4. Jahrh. v. Chr.* Frankfurt: P. Lang.
- Petersen, E., and F. von Luschan. 1889. *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyris*. Vienna: Gerold.
- Petrie, F. 1930. *Beth-Pelet I (Tell Fara)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Bibliography

- Petsas, F.M. 1975. "Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικά 1968–1970." *Makedonika* 15:175–355.
- Pfister, F. 1937. *RE* 19.1 s.v. *perideipnon*, 720–24.
- Pfisterer-Haas, S. 1999. "Funde aus Milet II: Die Frühstufe des Middle Wild Goat I-Stils." *AA*: 263–90.
- Pfuhl, E., and H. Möbius. 1977. *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Philipp, H. 1981. "Archaische Gräber in Ostionien." *IstMitt* 31:149–66.
- Pieraccini, L. 2000. "Families, Feasting, and Funerals: Funerary Ritual at Ancient Caere." *EtrStud* 7:35–49.
- Pieraccini, L. Forthcoming. "The Ever Elusive Etruscan Egg." *EtrStud*.
- Piggott, S. 1962. "Heads and Hoofs." *Antiquity* 36:110–18.
- Piggott, S. 1983. *The Earliest Wheeled Transport*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Pincelli, R. 1943. "Il tumulo vetuloniese della Pietrera." *StEtr* 17:47–113.
- Pitrovskii, B.B. 1966. *Il Regno di Van: Urartu*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Polat, G. 1994. "Eine Neuerwerbung des Uşak Museums: Eine anatolisch-persische Grabstele." *ADerg* 2:61–66.
- Polat, G. 1998. "Anadolu Akhaemenid Dönemi Plastik Eserleri." PhD diss., Ege University.
- Polat, G. 2007. "Daskyleion'dan Yeni bir Anadolu-Pers Steli / A New Perso-Anatolian Stele from Daskyleion." In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, ed. İ. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz, and O. Tekin, 215–24. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Pollington, S. 2008. *Anglo-Saxon Burial Mounds: Princely Burial in the 6th and 7th Centuries*. Swaffham, Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books.
- Pontrandolfo, A. 1995. "Simposio e élites sociali nel mondo etrusco e italico." In *In Vino Veritas*, ed. O. Murray and M. Tecusan, 176–95. Oxford: British School at Rome.
- Pontrandolfo, A., and A. Rouveret. 1992. *Le tombe dipinte di Paestum*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini.
- Popham, M.R. 1995. "An Engraved Near Eastern Bronze Bowl from Lefkandi." *OJA* 14:103–8.
- Popham, M.R., and I.S. Lemos. 1996. *Lefkandi III: The Tomba Cemetery*. Athens: British School of Archaeology at Athens.
- Popham, M.R., E.A. Catling, and H.W. Catling. 1974. "Sellapoulo Tombs 3 and 4, Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos." *BSA* 69:195–258.
- Porada, E. 1965. *The Art of Ancient Iran: Pre-Islamic Cultures*. New York: Crown.
- Praschniker, C., and M. Theuer. 1979. *Das Mausoleum von Belevi: Forschungen in Ephesos VI*. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Prayon, F. 1975a. *Frühetruskische Grab- und Hausarchitektur*. RM Suppl. 22. Heidelberg: F.H. Kerle.
- Prayon, F. 1975b. "Zur Datierung der drei frühetruskischen Sitzstatuetten aus Cerveteri." *RM* 82:165–79.
- Prayon, F. 1986. "Architecture." In *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, ed. L. Bonfante, 174–201. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Prayon, F. 1987. *Phrygische Plastik: Die früheisenzeitliche Bildkunst Zentral-Anatoliens und ihre Beziehungen zu Griechenland und zum Alten Orient*. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth.
- Prayon, F. 1989. "L'architettura funeraria etrusca: La situazione attuale delle ricerche e problemi aperti." In *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale Etrusco, Firenze 1985*, 441–49. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Prayon, F. 1995. "Ostmediterrane Einflüsse auf den Beginn der Monumentalarchitektur in Etrurien?" *JRGZM* 37 [1990]:501–19.
- Price, S.D. 1990. "Anacreontic Vases Reconsidered." *GRBS* 31:133–75.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1953. "The Attic Stelai, Part I." *Hesperia* 22:225–99.
- Pritchett, W.K. 1956. "The Attic Stelai, Part II." *Hesperia* 25:178–317.
- Pryce, F.N. 1928. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities I: 1*. London.
- Psara, I. 2006. "Ένας νέος μακεδονικός τάφος στη Βέροια." *AErgoMak* 18 [2004]:495–508.
- Quiller-Couch, A., ed. 1936. *The Oxford Book of English Verse, 1250–1900*. New York: Blue Ribbon Books.
- Rabinowitz, A. 2007. "Drinking Places: The Language of Space in the Archaic Symposium." Paper presented at the 108th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Diego, 5 January.
- Rabinowitz, A. 2009. "Drinking from the Same Cup: Sparta and Late Archaic Commensality." In *Sparta: Comparative Approaches*, ed. S. Hodkinson, 113–91. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

- Radt, W. 1983. "Eine gräko-persische Grabstele im Museum Bergama." *IstMitt* 33:53–68.
- Ramage, A. 1972. "The Fourteenth Campaign at Sardis (1971)." *BASOR* 206:9–39.
- Ramage, A. 1978. *Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Ramage, A. 1994. "Early Iron Age Sardis and Its Neighbours." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–12 August 1990*, ed. A. Cilingiroğlu and D.H. French, 163–72. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Ramage, A., and P. Craddock. 2000. *King Croesus' Gold: Excavations at Sardis and the History of Gold Refining*. Cambridge: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Harvard University Art Museums, in association with the British Museum Press.
- Ramage, N.H. 1979. "A Lydian Funerary Banquet." *AnatSt* 29:91–95.
- Ramsay, W.M. 1882. "Studies in Asia Minor." *JHS* 3:1–68.
- Ramsay, W.M. 1888. "A Study of Phrygian Art." *JHS* 9:350–82.
- Ramsay, W.M. 1889. "A Study of Phrygian Art (Part II)." *JHS* 10:147–89.
- Ransom, C. 1902. "Reste griechischer Holzmöbel in Berlin." *JdI* 17:125–40.
- Ransom, C. 1905. *Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rathje, A. 1988. "Manners and Customs in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period: Influence from the Near East." In *East and West: Cultural Relations in the Ancient World*, ed. T. Fischer-Hansen, 81–90. Acta Hyperborea 1. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum.
- Rathje, A. 1990. "The Adoption of the Homeric Banquet in Central Italy in the Orientalizing Period." In *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 279–88. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rathje, A. 1991. "Il banchetto presso i Fenici." In *Atti del II. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9–14 Novembre 1987*, vol. 3, ed. E. Acquaro, 1165–68. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Rathje, A. 1993. "Il fregio di Murlo: Status sulle considerazioni." In *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December 1990*, ed. E. Rystedt, C. Wikander, and Ö. Wikander, 135–38. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet.
- Rathje, A. 1994. "Banquet and Ideology: Some New Considerations about Banqueting at Poggio Civitate." In *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. R.D. De Puma and J.P. Small, 95–99. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rathje, A. 1995. "Il banchetto in Italia centrale: Quale stile di vita?" In *In Vino Veritas*, ed. O. Murray and M. Tecuşan, 167–75. Oxford: British School at Rome.
- Ratté, C. 1989. "Lydian Masonry and Monumental Architecture at Sardis." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Ratté, C. 1992. "The Pyramid Tomb at Sardis." *IstMitt* 42:135–61.
- Ratté, C. 1993. "Lydian Contributions to East Greek Architecture." In *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.-C.: Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23–25 Mai 1991*, ed. J. des Courtis and J.-C. Moretti, 1–12. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Ratté, C. 1994. "Anthemion Stelae from Sardis." *AJA* 98:593–607.
- Ratté, C. 2009. "The Carians and the Lydians." In *Die Karer und die Anderen: Internationales Kolloquium an der Freien Universität Berlin 13. bis 15. Oktober 2005*, ed. F. Rumscheid, 135–47. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Ratté, C. 2011. *Lydian Architecture: Ashlar Masonry Structures at Sardis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Ratté, C. 2012. "Tumulus Tombs." In *Aphrodisias V: The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, ed. C. Ratté and P.D. De Staebler, 39–58. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Rawlinson, G. 1858. *The History of Herodotus*, vol. 1. London: Murray.
- Rayet, O. 1884. *Monuments de l'art antique*, vol. I. Paris: A. Quantin.
- Razmjou, S. 2005. "Religion and Burial Customs." In *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia*, ed. J. Curtis and N. Tallis, 150–56. London: British Museum Press.
- Reade, J.E. 1982. "Nimrud." In *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery: The Work of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1932–1982*, ed. J. Curtis, 99–112. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Reade, J.E. 1995. "The Symposion in Ancient Mesopotamia: Archaeological Evidence." In *In Vino Veritas*, ed. O.

Bibliography

- Murray and M. Tecuşan, 35–56. Oxford: British School at Rome.
- Reade, J.E. 1998. *Assyrian Sculpture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Reeder, E.D., ed. 1995. *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rehm, E. 2005. "Assyrische Möbel für den assyrischer Herrscher!" In *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art in the First Millennium BCE*, ed. C.E. Suter and C. Uehlinger, 187–206. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Rehm, E. 2010. "The Classification of Objects from the Black Sea Region Made or Influenced by the Achaemenids." In *Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea: Communication of Powers*, ed. J. Nieling and E. Rehm, 161–94. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Rehm, E. 2011. "Stylistic Groups of Achaemenid and Achaemenid-Inspired Objects." Paper presented at conference on Achaemenid Traces in Ancient Cultural Monuments of Eurasian Nomads, Freie Universität, Berlin, 21–22 January.
- Rehm, R. 1994. *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Reinach, S. 1892. *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- Reinsberg, C. 1989. *Ehe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Reinsberg, C. 2004. "Der Polyxena-Sarkophag in Çanakkale." In *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jh. v. Chr.–1 Jh. n. Chr.): Kulturbegegnungen im Spannungsfeld von Akzeptanz und Resistenz; Akten des Internationalen Symposiums Mainz, 01.–03.11.2001*, ed. R. Bol and D. Kreikenbom, 199–217. Möhnesee: Bibliopolis.
- Reisner, G.A. 1923. *Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV–V*. Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Harvard University.
- Reverdin, O. 1945. *La religion de la cité platonicienne*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Rhomiopoulou, K., and B. Schmidt-Dounas. 2010. *Das Palmettengrab in Lefkadia*. AM Beiheft 21. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1925. "Black-Figured Vases: Recent Accessions." *BMMA* 20:297–301.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1926. *Ancient Furniture: A History of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Furniture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1961. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*. London: Phaidon Press.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1966. *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans*. London: Phaidon Press.
- Richter, G.M.A. 1970. *Perspective in Greek and Roman Art*. New York: Phaidon Press.
- Ridgway, B.S. 1967. "The Banquet Relief from Thasos." *AJA* 71:307–9.
- Robertson, M. 1983. "Fragments of a Dinos and a Cup Fragment by the Kleophrades Painter." *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 1:51–54.
- Robertson, M. 1992. *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, D.M. 1956. "Unpublished Greek Vases in the Robinson Collection." *AJA* 60:1–25.
- Robinson, D.M., and J.W. Graham. 1938. *Excavations at Olynthus, Part VIII: The Hellenic House*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Robinson, H.S. 1962. "Excavations at Corinth, 1960." *Hesperia* 31:95–133.
- Robinson, T. 1999. "Erbinna, the 'Nereid Monument' and Xanthus." In *Ancient Greeks: West and East*, ed. G.R. Tsatskheladze, 361–78. Mnemosyne Suppl. 196. Leiden: Brill.
- Robsjohn-Gibbings, T.H., and C.W. Pullin. 1963. *Furniture of Classical Greece*. New York: Knopf.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1921. *RE* 11.1:846–61 s.v. "Kline."
- Roebuck, C. 1951. *Corinth XIV: The Asklepieion and Lerna*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Roesch, P. 2007. *Les inscriptions de Thespies, I*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux.
- Rojas, F. 2010. "Empire of Memories: Anatolian Material Culture and the Imagined Past in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Rolle, R. 1979. *Totenkult der Skythen I: Das Steppengebiet*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Rolle, R. 1989. *The World of the Scythians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rolle, R., M. Müller-Wille, and K. Schietzel. 1991. *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine*. Neumünster: K. Wachholtz.
- Roller, L.E. 1999. "Early Phrygian Drawings from Gordion

- and the Elements of the Phrygian Artistic Style." *AnatSt* 49:143–52.
- Roller, M. 2006. *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rollinger, R. 1993. *Herodots babylonischer Logos*. Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- Rollinger, R. 2003. "The Western Expansion of the Median 'Empire': A Re-Examination." In *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia*, ed. G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf, and R. Rollinger. Padova: Sargon.
- Rollinger, R. 2008. "The Median 'Empire,' the End of Urartu and Cyrus the Great's Campaign in 547 BC (Nabonidus Chronicle II 16)." *AncWestEast* 7:51–65.
- Roncalli, F. 1965. *Le lastre dipinte da Cerveteri*. Florence: Sansoni.
- Roos, P. 1971. "The Rock-Tomb Doors of the Lyco-Carian Borderland." *OpAth* 10.5:25–30.
- Roos, P. 1972. *The Rock Tombs of Caunus*. Göteborg: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Roos, P. 1985. *Survey of Rock-Cut Chamber Tombs in Caria I: South-Eastern Caria and the Lyco-Carian Borderland*. Göteborg: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Roos, P. 1989. "Rock-Tombs in Hecatomnid Caria and Greek Architecture." In *Architecture and Society in Hecatomnid Caria*, ed. T. Linders and P. Hellström, 63–68. Uppsala: Academiae Upsaliensis.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2003. "Lydian and Persian Period Settlement in Lydia." PhD diss., Cornell University.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2006a. "Symbolic Door Stelae and Graveside Monuments in Western Anatolia." *AJA* 110:65–91.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2006b. "Tumulus Survey and Museum Research in Lydia, Western Turkey: Determining Lydian- and Persian-Period Settlement Patterns." *JFA* 31:61–76.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2007. "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2005 Results." *AST* 24.2:135–54.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2008. "Lale Tepe: A Late Lydian Tumulis Near Sardis—1. Introduction, Excavation, and Finds." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 1–23. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2009. *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roosevelt, C.H., and C. Luke. 2006. "Looting Lydia: The Destruction of an Archaeological Landscape in Western Turkey." In *Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, and the Antiquities Trade*, ed. N. Brodie, M.M. Kersel, C. Luke, and K.W. Tubb, 173–87. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Roosevelt, C.H., and C. Luke. 2008. "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2006 Results." *AST* 25.3:305–26.
- Roosevelt, C.H., and C. Luke. 2010a. "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2008 Results." *AST* 27.2:1–24.
- Roosevelt, C.H., and C. Luke. 2010b. "Painted Tomb Chambers in Lydia." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü / The Return of Colours*, ed. L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 342–53. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Root, M.C. 1979. *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire*. Leiden: Brill.
- Root, M.C. 1991. "From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire." In *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kurht, 1–30. Achaemenid History 6. Leiden: Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Rose, C.B. 2012. "Introduction: The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion." In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, ed. C.B. Rose, 1–19. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Rose, C.B., B. Tekkök, R. Körpe, et al. 2007. "Granicus River Valley Survey Project, 2004–2005." *StTroica* 17:65–150.
- Rose, M., and Ö. Acar. 1996. "Turkey's War on the Illicit Antiquities Trade." In *Archaeological Ethics*, ed. K.D. Vitelli, 71–89. Walnut Creek: Alta Mira.
- Roux, G. 1989. "Loikos double dans le sanctuaire d'Athéna." *RA*: 62–64.
- Ruby, J. 1995. *Secure the Shadow. Death and Photography in America*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Rudenko, S. 1970. *Frozen Tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron Age Horsemen*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rumpf, A. 1927. *Chalkidische Vasen*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Russell, J.M. 1991. *Sennacherib's Palace without Rival at Nineveh*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rutter, J. 2003. "Children in Aegean Prehistory." In *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, ed. J. Neils and J.H. Oakley, 31–57. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bibliography

- Rykwert, J. 1996. *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1977. "Ανασκαφή Αρχαίων." *Prakt* [1975]:254–320.
- Sakellarakis, Y., and Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E. 1997. *Arch-anes: Minoan Crete in a New Light*. Athens: Ammos Foundations.
- Sams, G.K. 1989. "Sculpted Orthostates at Gordion." In *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç*, ed. K. Emre, 447–54. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Sams, G.K. 1994. "Aspects of Early Phrygian Architecture at Gordion." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–12 August 1990*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu and D.H. French, 211–20. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Sams, G.K. 1997. "Gordion and the Kingdom of Phrygia." In *Frige e Frigio: Atti del 10 Simposio Internazionale, Roma, 1995*, ed. R. Gusmani, M. Salvini, and P. Vannicelli, 239–48. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Sams, G.K. 2009. "Gordion, 2007." *KST* 30.3:139–50.
- Sams, G.K. 2011. "Artifacts." In *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, ed. C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire, 59–78. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Sams, G.K., and M.M. Voigt. 2011. "In Conclusion." In *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, ed. C.B. Rose and G. Darbyshire, 155–68. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1990. "The Quest for an Elusive Empire." In *Centre and Periphery: Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, 263–74. Achaemenid History 4. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Sapelli Ragni, M., ed. 2008. *Tra luce e tenebre: Letti funerari in osso da Lazio e Abruzzo*. Milan: Electa.
- Şare, T. 2010. "An Archaic Ivory Figurine from a Tumulus near Elmalı: Cultural Hybridization and a New Anatolian Style." *Hesperia* 79:53–78.
- Schachner, A., and E. Bucak. 2005. "Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Hittite? An Orthostat in Şanlıurfa Archaeological Museum." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the 2001 Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu, 157–66. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- Schachner, S., and A. Schachner. 1996. "Eine späthethitische Grabstele aus Maraş im Museum von Antakya." *Anatolica* 22:203–23.
- Schaeffer, C.F.-A. 1954. "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit: Quinzième, seizième et dix-septième campagnes (1951, 1952, et 1953); Rapport sommaire." *Syria* 31:14–67.
- Schaeffer, J.S., N.S. Ramage, and C.H. Greenewalt, Jr. 1997. *The Corinthian, Attic, and Lakonian Pottery from Sardis*. Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monographs 10. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Schäfer, A. 1997. *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion: Darbietungen, Spiele und Wettkämpfe von homerischer bis in spätklassische Zeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Schauenburg, K. 1973. "Silene beim Symposion." *JdI* 88:1–28.
- Schede, M. 1930. "Archäologische Funde: Anatolien." *AA*: 446–86.
- Schiefer, S. 1985. "Zeichnerische Aufnahme der Holzteile und zeichnerische Rekonstruktion der Sarkophages von Elaia." *IstMitt* 35:143–58.
- Schiering, W., and A. Mallwitz. 1991. *Die Werkstatt des Pheidias in Olympia*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1957. *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1970. *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, G. 1968. *Samos VII: Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Schmidt-Colinet, C. 1997. "Ashurbanipal Banqueting with His Queen? Wer thronet bei Assurbanipal in der Weinlaube?" *Mesopotamia* 32:289–308.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1990. "Sacrificial Meal and Symposion: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 14–33. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Schmitt-Pantel, P. 1992. *La cité au banquet: Histoire des repas publics dans les cités grecques*. Rome: Ecole Française de Rome.
- Scholten, F. 1996. "Good Widows and the Sleeping Dead: Rombout Verhulst and Tombs for the Dutch Aristocracy."

- Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24:328–49.
- Schwaiger, H. 2012. "Prehellenistic Domestic Architecture in Limyra." In *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra: Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien*, 3–5. Dezember 2009, ed. M. Seyer, 315–26. Vienna: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Schwartz, M. 1985. "The Religion of Achaemenian Iran." In *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, ed. I. Gershevitch, 664–97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schweyer, A.-V. 2002. *Les Lyciens et la mort: Une etude d'histoire sociale*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Scott, D.A., and J.P. Maish. 2010. "A Lydian Bed of Iron, Bronze and Copper: Technical Examination of a Metallurgical Masterpiece." *Studies in Conservation* 55:3–19.
- Seaford, R. 1994. *Reciprocity and Ritual: Homer and Tragedy in the Developing City-State*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Seehrer, J. 1998. "The Early Iron Age Settlement on Büyükkaya, Boğazköy: First Impressions." In *Thracians and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism; Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology, History, and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia*, ed. N. Tuna, Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch, 71–77. Ankara: METU, Faculty of Architecture Press.
- Seehrer, J. 1999. *Hattusha-Guide: A Day in the Hittite Capital*. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.
- Seidl, U. 1994. "Achaemenidische Entlehnungen aus der Urartäischen Kultur." In *Continuity and Change: Proceedings of the Last Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M.C. Root, 107–29. Achaemenid History 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Seidl, U. 1996. "Urartian Furniture." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 181–86. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Seiterle, G. 1985. "Die Urform der phrygischen Mütze." *AW* 16:33–13.
- Sekunda, N. 1985. "Achaemenid Colonization in Lydia." *REA* 87:7–29.
- Sekunda, N. 1991. "Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia, and Greater Phrygia." *Asia Minor and Egypt; Old Cultures in a New Empire*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt, 83–144. Achaemenid History 6. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.
- Selçuk Başer, S. 1991. "1988–89 Yılları Kibyra Kurtarma Kazıları." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 1:235–60.
- Senff, R. 1992. "Der Einzeltrinker." In *Kunst der Schale: Kultur des Trinkens*, ed. K. Vierneisel and B. Kaeser, 310–12. Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek.
- Sestieri, P.C. 1940. "Metaponto." *NSc*: 51–122.
- Sestieri, P.C. 1956. "An Underground Shrine at Paestum." *Archaeology* 9:22–33.
- Sevin, V. 1980. "A Rock-Cut Columbarium from Van Kale and the Urartian Cremation Rite." *AnadoluAraş* 8:151–66.
- Sevin, V. 1986. "Urartu Mezar Mimarisine Yeni Katkılar." *AnadoluAraş* 10:329–40.
- Sevin, V. 1987. "Malatya-Elazığ-Bingöl İlleri Yüzey Araştırması, 1985." *AST* 4:279–300.
- Sevin, V. 1988. "The Oldest Highways between the Regions of Van and Elazığ in Eastern Anatolia." *Antiquity* 62:547–51.
- Sevin, V. 1989. "Elazığ-Bingöl Yüzey Araştırması 1987." *AST* 6:451–500.
- Sevin, V. 1991. "The Southward Expansion of Urartu: New Observations." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 2: Proceedings of the Second Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Izmir, 4–8 May 1987*, ed. A. Cilingiroğlu and D.H. French, 97–105. London: Oxbow Books.
- Sevinç, N. 1996. "A New Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay." *StTroica* 6:251–64.
- Sevinç, N., R. Körpe, M. Tombul, C.B. Rose, D. Strahan, H. Kiesewetter, and J. Wallrodt. 2001. "A New Painted Graeco-Persian Sarcophagus from Çan." *StTroica* 11:383–420.
- Sevinç, N., C.B. Rose, and D. Strahan. 1999. "A Child's Sarcophagus from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay." *StTroica* 9:489–510.
- Sevinç, N., C.B. Rose, D. Strahan, and B. Tekkök-Biçken. 1998. "The Dedetepe Tumulus." *StTroica* 8:305–27.
- Sevinç, N., and M. Treister. 2003. "Metalwork from the Dardanos Tumulus." *StTroica* 13:215–60.
- Seyer, M. 1991–92. "Die Wohnsiedlung auf den Hangterrassen in Limyra." *ÖJh* 61 Beibl.: 125–91.
- Seyer, M. 2007. *Der Herrscher als Jäger: Untersuchungen zur*

Bibliography

- königlichen Jagd im persischen und makedonischen Reich vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. sowie unter den Diadochen Alexanders des Großen. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Seyer, M. 2009. "Zur Ausstattung der Kammern lykischer Felsgräber." *IstMitt* 59:51–82.
- Sgubini Moretti, A.M., and L. Ricciardi. 1993. "Terrecotte architettoniche di Tuscania." In *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December 1990*, ed. E. Rystedt, C. Wikander, and Ö. Wikander, 163–81. *SkrRom* 40: 50. Stockholm: P. Åströms Förlag.
- Shapiro, H.A. 1991. "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art." *AJA* 95:629–56.
- Shapiro, H.A. 2000. "Modest Athletes and Liberated Women: Etruscans on Attic Black-Figure Vases." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. B. Cohen, 315–37. Leiden: Brill.
- Shapiro, H.A. 2009. "Looking at Sculpture and Vases Together: The Banqueting Hero." In *Hermeneutik der Bilder: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Interpretation griechischer Vasenmalerei*, ed. S. Schmidt and J.H. Oakley, 177–86. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Shear, T.L. 1922a. "A Hoard of Staters of Croesus at Sardes." *Numismatist* 35:349–52.
- Shear, T.L. 1922b. "Sixth Preliminary Report on the American Excavations at Sardes in Asia Minor." *AJA* 26:389–409.
- Sheedy, K. 1990. "A Prothesis Scene from the Analatos Painter." *AM* 105:117–51.
- Sheftel, P.A. 1974. "The Ivory, Bone and Shell Objects from Gordion from the Campaigns of 1950 through 1973." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Shefton, B.B. 2003. "Contacts between Picenum and the Greek World to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.: Imports, Influences, and Perceptions." In *I Piceni e l'Italia medio-adriatica: Atti del XXII Convegno di Studi Etruschi ed Italici; Ascoli Piceno—Teramo—Ancona, 9–13 aprile 2000*, 315–37. Pisa and Rome: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali.
- Shennan, S., ed. 1989. *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Shipley, G. 1987. *A History of Samos 800–188 BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Shorey, P. 1969. *Plato in Twelve Volumes*, vols. 5–6. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Siebert, G. 1973. "Mobilier délien en bronze." In *Études déliennes publiées à l'occasion du centième anniversaire du début des fouilles de l'École française d'Athènes à Délos*. BCH Suppl. 1, ed. A. Plassart, 555–87. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. 2002. "The Early Phases of the Hyria Sanctuary on Naxos: An Overview of the Pottery." In *Excavating Classical Culture: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Greece*, ed. M. Stamatopoulou and M. Yeroulanou, 269–80. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E. 2004. "Kyprische Einflüsse I: Ein anthropomorphes Gefäß aus Iria auf Naxos." *AM* 119:33–54.
- Simmons, M.A. 2011. "A Bed Burial from an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Street House, Loftus, North Yorkshire." *MedievA* 55:268–77.
- Simpson, E. 1990. "'Midas' Bed" and a Royal Phrygian Funeral." *JFA* 17:69–87.
- Simpson, E. 1993. "A Carved Stretcher from the Big Tumulus at Gordion." In *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbors; Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç*, ed. N. Özgüç and M.J. Mellinik, 569–72. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Simpson, E. 1995. "Furniture in Western Asia." In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Sasson and K. Rubinson, 1647–71. New York: Scribner.
- Simpson, E. 1996. "Phrygian Furniture from Gordion." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 187–209. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Simpson, E. 1999. "Early Evidence for the Use of the Lathe in Antiquity." In *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener As He Enters His 65th Year*, vol. 3, ed. P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, 781–86. Liège: University of Liège.
- Simpson, E. 2002. "The Andokides Painter and Greek Carpentry." In *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, ed. A.J. Clark and J. Gaunt, 303–16. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Simpson, E. 2010. *The Gordion Wooden Objects*, vol. 1: *The Furniture from Tumulus MM*. Leiden: Brill.

- Simpson, E. 2012. "Royal Phrygian Furniture and Fine Wooden Artifacts from Gordion." In *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, ed. C.B. Rose, 149–64. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum.
- Simpson, E., and K. Spirydowicz. 1999. *Gordion Wooden Furniture*. Ankara: Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.
- Sismanidis, K. 1997. *Κλίνες και κλινοειδείς κατασκευές των μακεδονικών τάφων*. Athens: Tameio Archaologikon Poron kai Apallotriseon.
- Sivas, H. 2008. "Rock Cut Necropoleis of Western Phrygia (from Phrygian Period to Roman Imperial Period)." In *SOMA 2005: Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Chieti (Italy), 24–26 February 2005*, ed. O. Menozzi, M.L. di Marzio, and D. Fossataro, 161–68. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Slater, W.J. 1990. "Sympotic Ethics in the *Odyssey*." In *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*, ed. O. Murray, 213–20. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Small, J.P. 1971. "The Banquet Frieze from Poggio Civitate." *StEtr* 39:25–61.
- Small, J.P. 1994. "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry." In *Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, ed. R.D. De Puma and J.P. Small, 85–94. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Smith, C. 1896. "Report on Archaeology in Greece, 1895–6." *JHS* 16:335–56.
- Smith, D.E. 2003. *From Symposion to Eucharist. The Banquet in the Early Christian World*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Smith, D.N. 1982. "The Early Greek 'Totenmahl' Reliefs." M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- Smith, T.J. 2010. *Komast Dancers in Archaic Greek Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Snodgrass, A.M. 2001. "Pausanias and the Chest of Kypselos." In *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, ed. S.E. Alcock, J.F. Cherry, and J. Elsner, 127–41. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Snyder, J.M. 1972. "The *Barbitos* in the Classical Period." *CJ* 67:331–40.
- Sotiriadis, G. 1932a. "Ανασκαφαί Δίου Μακεδονίας." *Prakt* [1930]:36–51.
- Sotiriadis, G. 1932b. "Ανασκαφαί εν Δίω: Ο Καμαρωτός Τάφος." *EpistEpetThess* 2:1–19.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 1981. "To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before, and After." In *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. J. Whaley, 15–39. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. 2003. *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Sparkes, B.A. 1991. *Greek Pottery: An Introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Speake, G. 1989. *A Saxon Bed Burial on Swallowcliffe Down*. London: English Heritage.
- Spekke, A. 1957. *The Ancient Amber Routes and the Geographical Discovery of the Eastern Baltic*. Stockholm: Ares.
- Spencer, A.J. 1982. *Death in Ancient Egypt*. London: Penguin Books.
- Spencer, J.R. 1966. "Volterra, 1466." *ArtBull* 48:95–96.
- Spivey, N. 1997. *Etruscan Art*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Splitter, R. 2000. *Die "Kypseloslade" in Olympia: Form, Funktion, und Bildschmuck; Eine archäologische Rekonstruktion*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Sprenger, M., and G. Bartoloni. 1983. *The Etruscans: Their History, Art, and Architecture*. New York: H.N. Abrams.
- Srinivasan, D.M. 2006. "Local Crafts in Early Gandhāran Art." In *Gandhāran Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*, ed. P. Brancaccio and K. Behrendt, 243–69. Toronto: University of British Columbia Press.
- St. Clair, A. 2003. *Carving as Craft: Palatine East and the Greco-Roman Bone and Ivory Carving Tradition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Stager, J.M.S. 2005. "'Let No One Wonder at This Image': A Phoenician Funerary Stele in Athens." *Hesperia* 74:427–49.
- Starr, S.F. 1963. "Mapping Ancient Roads in Anatolia." *Archaeology* 16:162–69.
- Steiner, A. 2002. "Private and Public: Links between *Symposion* and *Syssition* in Fifth-Century Athens." *ClAnt* 21:347–80.
- Steiner, A. 2007. *Reading Greek Vases*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Steingraber, S. 1979. *Etruskische Möbel*. Rome: G. Bretschneider.
- Steingraber, S. 1981. "Frühe griechische Möbelformen in Etruria." In *Die Aufnahme fremder Kultureinflüsse in Etrurien und das Problem des Retardierens in der etruskischen Kunst*, 133–36. Mannheim: Deutscher Archäologenverband, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum.
- Steingraber, S., ed. 1985. *Etruskische Wandmalerei*. Stuttgart: Belser Verlag.

Bibliography

- Steingraber, S. 1996. "New Discoveries and Research in Southern Etruscan Rock Tombs." *EtrStud* 3:75–104.
- Steingraber, S. 2000. *Arpi-Apulien-Makedonien: Studien zum unteritalischen Grabwesen in hellenistischer Zeit*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Steingraber, S. 2010. "Etruscan Tomb Painting of the Archaic Period and Its Relationship to the Painting in Ionian Asia Minor." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü / The Return of Colours*, ed. L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 354–67. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Steinhart, M., and W.J. Slater. 1997. "Phineus as Monoposias." *JHS* 117:203–10.
- Stern, E. 1980. "Achaemenian Tombs from Shechem." *Levant* 12:90–111.
- Stern, E. 1981. "Achaemenid Tombs at Shechem" *Eretz-Israel* 15:312–30.
- Stern, E. 1982. *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 B.C.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Steuernagel, D. 1998. "Ein spätarchaischer Sarkophag aus Gümüşçay im Museum von Çanakkale: Ikonographische Beobachtungen." In *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*, ed. R. Rolle and K. Schmidt, 165–77. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Stewart, A.F. 1980. Review of *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, by B.S. Ridgway. *ArtB* 62:484–86.
- Stewart, A.F. 1997. *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stibbe, C.M. 1972. *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Stibbe, C.M. 2000. *The Sons of Hephaistos: Aspects of the Archaic Greek Bronze Industry*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Stibbe, C.M. 2004. *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Supplement*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Stinson, P.T. 2008. "Lale Tepe: A Late Lydian Tumulus near Sardis, 2: Architecture and Painting." In *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.*, ed. N.D. Cahill, 25–47. Cambridge, MA: Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.
- Stopponi, S., ed. 1985. *Case e palazzi d'Etruria: Catalogo della Mostra*. Milan: Electa.
- Strobel, K. 2004. "Neue Fragen zur Chronologie Gordions und Anatoliens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr." In *Die Ausenwirkung des späthethitischen Kulturraumes: Gütertausch—Kulturkontakt—Kulturtransfer*, ed. M. Novák, F. Prayon, and A.-M. Wittke, 260–84. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Stronach, D. 1964. "Excavations at Pasargadae: Second Preliminary Report." *Iran* 2:21–39.
- Stronach, D. 1978. *Pasargadae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stronach, D. 1985. "Pasargadae." In *The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, ed. I. Gershevitch, 838–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stronach, D. 1995. "The Imagery of the Wine Bowl: Wine in Assyria in the Early First Millennium B.C." In *The Origins and History of Ancient Wine*, ed. P.E. McGovern, S.J. Fleming, and S.H. Katz, 175–95. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach.
- Stronach, D. 2000. "Of Cyrus, Darius, and Alexander: A New Look at the 'Epitaphs' of Cyrus the Great." In *Variatio Delectat: Iran und der Westen; Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*, ed. R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Matthiae, R. Mayer-Opficus, and S. Thürwächter, 681–702. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Stronach, D. 2002. "Icons of Dominion: Review Scenes at Til Barsip and Persepolis." *Iran* 37:373–402.
- Stronach, D. 2008. "The Building Program of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae and the Date of the Fall of Sardis." In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters; First International Conference, Athens, 11–13 November 2006*, ed. S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi, 149–73. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Stronach, D. 2010. "Court Dress and Riding Dress at Persepolis: Some New Perspectives." In *Elam and Persia*, ed. J. Alvarez-Mon, 475–87. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Strong, D.E. 1966. *Catalogue of the Carved Amber in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. London: British Museum.
- Stroszeck, J. 2003. "Fremde Keramik im Kerameikos." In *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext: Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposiums in Kiel vom 24.–28.9.2001 veranstaltet durch das Archäologische Institut der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel*, ed. B. Schmaltz and M. Söldner, 82–86. Münster: Scriptorium.
- Struble, E.J. Forthcoming chapter on the Zincirli stele. In *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the*

- "Funerary Banquet" in *Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, ed. C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou. Leuven: Peeters.
- Struble, E.J., and V.R. Herrmann. 2009. "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context." *BASOR* 356:15–49.
- Stuart Jones, H. 1926. *A Catalogue of Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Stucchi, S. 1974. "Questioni relative al Tempio A di Priniàs ed al formasi degli ordini dorico e ionico." In *Antichità Cretesi II: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 89–119. Catania: Università di Catania, Istituto di Archeologia.
- Stucky, R.A. 1985. "Achämenidische Hölzer und Elfenbeine aus Ägypten und Vorderasien im Louvre." *AntK* 28:7–32.
- Studniczka, F. 1914. *Das Symposion Ptolemaios II*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.
- Summerer, L. 2007a. "From Tatarlı to Munich: The Recovery of a Painted Wooden Tomb Chamber in Phrygia." In *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, ed. İ. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz, and O. Tekin, 131–58. Istanbul: Turkish Institute of Archaeology.
- Summerer, L. 2007b. "Picturing Persian Victory: The Painted Battle Scene on the Munich Wood." In *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus and Iran*, ed. A. Ivantchik and V. Licheli, 3–30. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia 13. Leiden: Brill.
- Summerer, L. 2008. "Imaging a Tomb Chamber: The Iconographic Program of the Tatarlı Wall Paintings." In *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters; First International Conference, Athens, 11–13 November 2006*, ed. S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi, 265–99. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation.
- Summerer, L. 2010. "Wall Paintings." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü / The Return of Colours*, ed. L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 120–85. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Summerer, L., and A. von Kienlin. 2010. "Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia: Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley." In *Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea: Communication of Powers*, ed. J. Nieling and E. Rehm, 195–221. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Summers, G.D. 1997. "The Identification of the Iron Age City on Kerkenes Dağ in Central Anatolia." *JNES* 56:81–94.
- Summers, G.D. 2000. "The Median Empire Reconsidered: A View from Kerkenes Dağı." *AnatSt* 50:57–73.
- Summers, G.D. 2006a. "Architectural Terracottas in Greater Phrygia: Problems of Chronology and Distribution." In *Hayat Erkanal'a Armağan: Kültürlerin Yansıması / Studies in Honor of Hayat Erkanal: Cultural Reflections*, ed. H. Erkanal and B. Avunç, 684–88. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi.
- Summers, G.D. 2006b. "Aspects of Material Culture at the Iron Age Capital on the Kerkenes Dağ in Central Anatolia." *AncNearEastSt* 43:163–201.
- Summers, G.D. 2006c. "Phrygian Expansion to the East: Evidence of Cult from Kerkenes Dağ." *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 37:647–58.
- Summers, G.D., F. Summers, and S. Branting. 2006. "Stone Idols and Sculpted Monument." *Kerkenes News* 9:10–11.
- Suter, C.E. 1992. "Die Frau am Fenster in der orientalischen Elfenbein-Schnitzkunst des frühen I. Jahrtausends v. Chr." *JbBadWürt* 29:7–28.
- Svarth, D. 1998. *Egyptian Furniture-Making in the Age of the Pharaohs*. Denmark: Skippershoved.
- Syme, R. 1995. *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Symington, D. 1996. "Hittite and Neo-Hittite Furniture." In *The Furniture of Western Asia, Ancient and Traditional: Papers of the Conference Held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, June 28 to 30, 1993*, ed. G. Herrmann, 111–38. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Szilágyi, J.-G., and N. Szabó. 1976. "Art antique au Musée Déri de Debrecen et dans d'autres collections Hongroises." *Bulletin Musée Beaux-Arts Budapest* 46–47:3–86.
- Talamo, E. 1989. "Un letto funerario da una tomba dell'Esquilino." *BullCom* 92 [1987–88]:17–102.
- Talloon, P., J. Poblome, M. Waelkens, and H. Vanhaverbeke. 2006. "Matar in Pisidia: Phrygian Influences in Southwestern Anatolia." In *Pluralismus und Wandel in den Religionen im vorhellenistischen Anatolien: Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums in Bonn, 19.–20. Mai 2005*, ed. M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar, 175–90. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Tappeiner, M. 1986. "Ein Beitrag zu den Wagenzügen auf den Stelen aus Daskyleion." *EpigAnat* 7:81–95.
- Tarhan, M.T. 1986. "Van Kalesi'nin ve Eski Van Şehri'nin Tarihi-Milli Park Projesi Üzerinde Ön Çalışmaları (1): Anıt Yapılar." *AST* 3:279–300.

Bibliography

- Taslıkoğlu, Z. 1963. "Dardanos Şehri Yakınındaki Tümülüs'te Yeni Bulunana Grekçe Kitabeler." *Tarih Dergisi* 13:17–18, 159–74.
- Taylor, J.H. 2001. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tedeschi, G. 1978. "Lelegia parenetica-guerriera e il simposio: A proposito del fr. 1 West di Callino." *RivStCl* 26:203–9.
- Tekkaya, İ. 1988. "Ankara Atlı Spor Kulübü Yakınındaki Tümülüs'te Bulunan Bos (Öküz) Kemikleri." *AST* 4:81–87.
- Terrace, E.L.B. 1963. "Two Achaemenian Objects in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts." *AntK* 6:72–80.
- Texier, C. 1839. *Description de l'Asie Mineure faite par l'ordre du Gouvernement Français de 1833 à 1837 et publié par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts: Monuments historique, plans et topographie des cités antiques*, vol. 1. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- Texier, C. 1849. *Description de l'Asie Mineure faite par l'ordre du Gouvernement Français de 1833 à 1837 et publié par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux-Arts: Monuments historique, plans et topographie des cités antiques*, vol. 3. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- Tezcan, B. 1979. "İkiztepe Kazısı." In *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 11–15 Ekim 1976*, 391–98. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Thiersch, H. 1904. *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandrien*. Leipzig: G. Reimer.
- Thimme, J., ed. 1973. *Phönizische Elfenbeine: Möbelverzierungen des 9. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Karlsruhe: Badischen Landesmuseums.
- Thompson, D.B. 1956. "The Persian Spoils in Athens." In *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, ed. S.S. Weinberg, 281–91. New York: J.J. Augustin.
- Thompson, H.A. 1968. "Activity in the Athenian Agora: 1966–1967." *Hesperia* 37:36–72.
- Thönges-Stringaris, R.N. 1965. "Das griechische Totenmahl." *AM* 80:1–99.
- Thumb, A. 1911. "Lydian Inscriptions from Sardes." *AJA* 15:149–60.
- Thureau-Dangin, F., and M. Dunand. 1931. *Arslan-Tash*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Thureau-Dangin, F., and M. Dunand. 1936. *Til-Barsib*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Tiné Bertocchi, F. 1964. *La pittura funeraria apula*. Naples: G. Macchiaroli.
- Tofi, M.G. 2006. "The Banquet Iconography of the Funerary Reliefs of Achaemenid and Classical Lycia." In *The 3rd Symposium on Lycia: 07–10 November 2005, Antalya; Symposium Proceedings*, ed. K. Dörtlük, 829–46. Antalya: Suna & Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Toker, A. 1992. *Metal Vessels: Museum of Anatolian Civilizations*. Ankara: Turkish Republic, Ministry of Culture, General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.
- Tölle, R. 1963. "Figürlich bemalte Fragmente vom Kerameikos." *AA*: 642–65.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1969. "Perachora: The Remains Outside of the Two Sanctuaries." *BSA* 64:155–258.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1980. "Two Notes on Possible Hestiatoria." *BSA* 75:221–28.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1987. "The Architectural Context of the Macedonian Vaulted Tombs." *BSA* 82:305–12.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1990. "The Chronology of the Perachora Hestiatorion and Its Significance." In *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, 95–101. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tomlinson, R.A. 1993. "Furniture in the Macedonian Tombs." In *Ancient Macedonia V. Papers Read at the Fifth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, October 10–15, 1989*, vol. 3, ed. M. Andronikos, 1495–99. Thessalonike: Hidryma Meleton Chersonesou tou Haimou.
- Topper, K. 2009. "Primitive Life and the Construction of the Sympotic Past in Athenian Vase Painting." *AJA* 113:3–26.
- Topper, K. 2012. *The Imagery of the Athenian Symposion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Torelli, M., ed. 2001. *The Etruscans*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Toth, N. 1985. "Archaeological Evidence for Preferential Right-Handedness in the Lower and Middle Pleistocene, and Its Possible Implications." *Journal of Human Evolution* 14:607–14.
- Treister, M.Y. 2007. "The Toreutics of Colchis in the 5th–4th Centuries BC: Local Traditions, Outside Influences, Innovations." In *Achaemenid Culture and Local Traditions in Anatolia, Southern Caucasus, and Iran; New Discoveries*, ed. A. Ivantchik and V. Licheli, 67–107. Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia 13. Leiden: Brill.
- Treister, M.Y. 2011. "Achaemenid and Achaemenid-Inspired

- Objects from the Burials of the Early Nomads of the Southern Urals." Paper presented at a conference on Achaemenid Traces in Ancient Cultural Monuments of Eurasian Nomads, Freie Universität, Berlin, 21–22 January.
- Trendall, A.D. 1967. *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania, and Sicily*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Trendall, A.D. 1989. *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Treu, M. 1968. *RE Suppl.* 11:19–29 s.v. "Alkman."
- Trias de Arribas, G. 1967–68. *Ceramicas Griegas de la Peninsula Iberica*. Valencia: William L. Bryant Foundation.
- Trummer, R. 1986. "West-östliche Grabbautraditionen." In *Kulturrkontakte und ihre Bedeutung in Geschichte und Gegenwart des Orients*, ed. H.D. Galter, 67–77. Graz: Verlag.
- Tsakos, K. 1977. "Ελληνιστικοί λαξευτοί τάφοι στη Σάμο." *ArchDelt* A:344–420.
- Tsatskladze, G.R. 1998. "Who Built the Scythian and Thracian Royal and Elite Tombs?" *OJA* 17:55–92.
- Tsatskladze, G.R. 2000. "Ionian Influence in the West and East." In *Die Ägäis und das westliche Mittelmeer: Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen, 8. bis 5. Jhr. v. Chr.*, ed. F. Krinzinger, 521–24. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Tsimbidou-Avloniti, M. 2002. "Revealing a Painted Macedonian Tomb near Thessaloniki." In *La pittura parietale in Macedonia and Magna Grecia: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi in ricordo di Mario Napoli*, ed. A. Pontrandolfo, 37–42. Salerno: Pandemos.
- Tsimbidou-Avloniti, M. 2005. *Μακεδονικοί τάφοι στον Φοίνικα και στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης*. Athens: Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
- Tuchelt, K. 1970. *Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Tuck, A.S. 1994. "The Etruscan Seated Banquet: Villanovan Ritual and Etruscan Iconography." *AJA* 98:617–28.
- Tuck, A.S. 2012. "The Performance of Death: Monumentality, Burial Practice, and Community Identity in Central Italy's Urbanizing Period." In *Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture: Ideology and Innovation*, ed. M.L. Thomas and G.E. Meyers, 41–60. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2003. "Eskişehir-Kütahya-Afyonkarahisar İlleri 2001 Yılı Yüzey Araştırması." *AST* 20.2:285–98.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2004. "The 2003 Season in Western Phrygia: Phrygian Settlements and Rock Monuments." Paper presented at the 105th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco, 5 January.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2005. "Phrygian Rock-Cut Monuments from Western Phrygia, with Observations on Their Cult Functions." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the 2001 Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–10 August 2001*, ed. A. Çilingiroğlu, 217–26. London: British Institute at Ankara.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2008a. "Kabartmalı bir Phryg Kaya Mezarı: Karacakaya/Gelin Kız Mezarı." In *Muhibbe Darga Armağanı*, ed. T. Tarhan, A. Tibet, and E. Konyar, 437–50. Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2008b. "Karakaya Frig Kaya Mezarı." In *Euergetes: Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu'na 65. Yaş. Armağanı*, ed. İ. Delemen, S. Çokay-Kepçe, A. Özdzibay, and Ö. Turak, 1169–76. Antalya: Suna and Inan Kiraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T. 2010. "A New Phrygian Painted Tomb: The Tumulus Taşlık." In *Tatarlı: Renklerin Dönüşü / The Return of Colours*, ed. L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 330–41. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T., and H. Sivas. 2004. "Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar İlleri Arkeolojik Envanteri 2003." *TÜBA Kültür Envanteri Dergisi* 2:101–19.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T., and H. Sivas. 2005. "Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar İlleri 2004 Yılı Arkeolojik Envanteri ve Yüzey Araştırması." *TÜBA Kültür Envanteri Dergisi* 4:33–57.
- Tüfekçi Sivas, T., and H. Sivas. 2006. "2004 Yılı Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyonkarahisar İlleri Yüzey Araştırmaları." *AST* 23.2:163–74.
- Tuna, K., and M.D. Çağlar. 2000. "Yazılıkaya Frig anıtsal kaya mezarı restorasyonu v 'F' sarnıcı temizlik çalışmaları." *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 10:69–78.
- Tuna, N. 2001a. "The Great Tumulus." *TAÇDAM: Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment, Middle East Technical University*. Accessed April 18, 2013. <http://tacdham.metu.edu.tr/node/112>.
- Tuna, N. 2001b. "METU Tumulus I–II" *TAÇDAM: Center for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment, Middle East Technical University*. Accessed April 18, 2013. <http://tacdham.metu.edu.tr/node/113>.
- Tuna, N., Z. Aktüre, and M. Lynch, ed. 1998. *Thracians*

Bibliography

- and Phrygians: Problems of Parallelism: Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Archaeology, History, and Ancient Languages of Thrace and Phrygia. Ankara: METU, Faculty of Architecture Press.
- Tuna-Nörling, Y. 2009. "Hektor's Ransom on a Krater from Tekirdağ." In *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12–17, 1998: Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium; Reflections and Perspectives*, ed. R.F. Docter and E.M. Moormann, 418–20. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Tuplin, C. 2007. "Treacherous Hearts and Upright Tiaras: The Achaemenid King's Head-dress." In *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, ed. C. Tuplin, 67–97. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- Tuplin, C. 2011. "The Limits of Persianization: Some Reflections on Cultural Links in the Persian Empire." In *Cultural Identity and the Peoples of the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E. Gruen, 150–82. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Türktünüzün, M. 1999. "Kütahya İli Aslanapa İlçesi Karadığın Köyü Akalan Tümülüsü Kurtarma Kazısı 1997" *Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri* 9:125–40.
- Tzanavari, K. 2002. "Πόρνη ανθεμωτή επίστεψη από το νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Αθήνας." In *Color in Ancient Greece: The Role of Color in Ancient Greek Art and Architecture (700–31 B.C.)*, ed. M.A. Tiberios and D.S. Tsiafaki, 129–46. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Hidryma Meleton Lampraki.
- Uçankuş, H.T. 1979. "Afyon'un Tatarlı Kasabasında Bulunan Phryg Tümülüsü Kazısı." *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 11–15 Ekim 1976*, 305–34. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Ucko, P.J. 1969. "Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains." *World Archaeology* 1:262–77.
- Usher, M. 2002. "Satyr Play in Plato's Symposium." *AJP* 123:205–28.
- Ussishkin, D. 1970. "The Necropolis from the Time of the Kingdom of Judah at Silwan, Jerusalem." *BibAr* 33:34–46.
- Ussishkin, D. 1993. *The Village of Silwan: The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Ussishkin, D. 1994. "The Rock-Cut Tombs at Van and Monumental Tombs in the Near East." In *Anatolian Iron Ages 3: Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium, Van, 6–12 August 1990*, ed. A. Cilingiroğlu and D.H. French, 253–64. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.
- van Buren, E.D. 1923. *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*. London: J. Murray.
- van den Hout, T.P.J. 1994. "Death as a Privilege: The Hittite Royal Funeral Ritual." *Hidden Futures: Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical and Arabic-Islamic World*, ed. J.M. Bremer, T.P.J. van den Hout, and R. Peters, 37–76. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- van den Hout, T.P.J. 2002. "Tombs and Memorials: The (Divine) Stone-House and Hegur Reconsidered." In *Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock*, ed. K.A. Yener and H.A. Hoffner, Jr., 73–91. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- van Dommelen, P. 2006. *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Processes of Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. C. Riva and N.C. Vella, 135–52. London: Equinox Publishing.
- van Effenterre, H. 1948. *Nécropoles du Mirabello*. Paris: Geuthner.
- van Hulsteyn, Y. 1981. "Urartian Built and Rock-Cut Tombs." PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- van Loon, M.N. 1966. *Urartian Art: Its Distinctive Traits in the Light of New Excavations*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut.
- van Straten, F.T. 1995. *Hiera kalá: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- van Wees, H. 1995. "Princes at Dinner: Social Event and Social Structure in Homer." In *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History, and Archaeology, Including the Papers of a Conference Organized by the Netherlands Institute at Athens (15 May 1993)*, ed. J.P. Crielaard, 147–82. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. 1999. "Between the Aegean and the Levant: The Philistines." In *Ancient Greeks: West and East*, ed. G.R. Tsatsikhladze, 85–108. Mnemosyne Suppl. 196. Leiden: Brill.
- Varinlioglu, E. 1992. "The Phrygian Inscriptions from Bayındır." *Kadmos* 31:10–20.
- Varkivanc, B. 2005. "Spuren makedonischer Kammergräber in westkleinasien." In *Güneybatı Anadolu'da Mezar Tipleri ve Ölü Kültü: Grabtypen und Totenkult im südwestlichen*

- Kleinasien, ed. H. İşkan and F. Işık, 277–90. Antalya: Akdeniz Üniversitesi.
- Vassileva, M. 1994. “Phrygian Tumuli: An Argument for Thracian-Phrygian Kinship?” In *Seuthopolis: Burial Tumuli in the South East of Europe; First International Symposium, Kazanlak, Bulgaria, 4–8 June 1993*, ed. K. Zarev, 63–67. Veliko Tarnovo: Izd-vo “PIK.”
- Vaulina, M., and A. Wasowicz. 1974. *Bois grecs et romains de l'Ermitage*. Warsaw: Académie Polonaise des Sciences.
- Vella, N. 2010. “‘Phoenician’ Metal Bowls: Boundary Objects in the Archaic Period.” In *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 22–26 September 2008, Rome*. Bollettino di Archeologia On Line 1. Accessed April 18, 2013. http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/bao_document/articoli/5_VELLA.pdf.
- Venit, M.S. 1997. “The Tomb from Tigrane Pasha Street and the Iconography of Death in Roman Alexandria.” *AJA* 101:701–29.
- Venit, M.S. 1999. “The Stagni Painted Tomb: Cultural Interchange and Gender Differentiation in Roman Alexandria.” *AJA* 103:641–69.
- Venit, M.S. 2002. *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verdenius, W.J. 1972. “Callinus Fr. 1. A Commentary.” *Mnemosyne* 25:1–8.
- Vermeule, E. 1979. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vetters, H. 1974. “Ephesos.” *ÖJh* 50 [1972–74], Grabungen 1971/72:32–62.
- Vierneisel, K., and B. Kaeser, eds. 1992. *Kunst der Schale: Kultur des Trinkens*. Munich: Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb, B. 1997. *Kerameikos XV: Die Figürlichen Terrakotten I; Spätmykenisch bis späthellenistisch*. Munich: Hirmer.
- Visconti, G. 2008/9. “Il riscatto del corpo di Ettore nella ceramografia attica.” *Ricerche di Storia Antica* n.s. 1:35–59.
- Voigt, M.M. 2009. “The Chronology of Phrygian Gordion.” In *Tree-Rings, Kings, and Old World Archaeology and Environment: Papers Presented in Honor of Peter Ian Kuniholm*, ed. S. Manning and M.J. Bruce, 219–37. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Voigt, M.M., and R.C. Henrickson. 2000. “Formation of the Phrygian State: The Early Iron Age at Gordion.” *AnatSt* 50:37–54.
- Vokotopoulou, I. 1990. *Οι ταφικοί τύμβοι της Αίλαιας*. Arch-Delt Suppl. 41. Athens: Ekdosē tou Tameio Archaialogikon Poron kai Apallotrioseon.
- Vokotopoulou, I., A. Despoini, V. Misailidou, and M. Tiberios. 1985. *Σίνδος: Κατάλογος της έκθεσης*. Thessaloniki: Archaialogiko Mouseio Thessalonikis.
- Vollmoeller, K.G. 1901a. *Griechische Kammergräber mit Totenbetten*. Bonn: Universitäts-buchdruckerei von C. Georgi.
- Vollmoeller, K.G. 1901b. “Über zwei euböische Kammergräber.” *AM* 26:332–76.
- von Bothmer, D. 1981. “Les trésors de l’orfèvrerie de la Grèce orientale au Metropolitan Museum de New York.” *CRAI* 125:194–207.
- von Bothmer, D. 1984. *A Greek and Roman Treasury*. BMMA 42. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- von der Mühl, P. 1926 [1976]. “Das griechische Symposion.” In *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften*, ed. B. Wyss, 483–505. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt.
- von der Osten, H.H. 1928. *Explorations in Central Anatolia (Season 1926)*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- von der Osten, H.H. 1956. *Die Welt der Perser*. Stuttgart: G. Klipper.
- von Gall, H. 1966. *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber*. Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- von Gall, H. 1974. “Neue Beobachtungen zu den sog. medizinischen Felsgräbern.” In *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran*, ed. F. Bagherzadeh, 139–54. Tehran: Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research.
- von Gall, H. 1979. “Bemerkungen zum Kyros Grab in Pasargadae und zu verwandten Denkmälern.” *AMIran* 12:271–79.
- von Gall, H. 1989a. “Das Achämenidische Königsgrab: Neue Überlegungen und Beobachtungen.” In *Archeologia Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in honorem Louis vanden Berghe*, ed. L. vanden Berghe, L. de Meyer, and E. Haerinck, 503–23. Gent: Peeters.
- von Gall, H. 1989b. “Zum Bildgehalt der graeco-persischen Grabstelen.” *Akurgal’a Armağan: Festschrift Akurgal*, vol. I, ed. C. Bayburtluoğlu and E. Akurgal, 143–65. Anadolu 22 [1981/83]. Ankara: Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Basımevi.

Bibliography

- von Gall, H. 2001. "Die Löwenbilder des Büyük Arslan Taş und der Zerbrochenen Löwengraves (Yılantaş) in Phrygien." In *Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu için Yazılar / Studies in Honor of Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu*, ed. C. Bayburtluoğlu and C. Özgünel, 257–66. Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi.
- von Graeve, V. 1970. *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- von Hofsten, S. 2007. *The Feline-Prey Theme in Archaic Greek Art: Classification-Distribution-Origin-Iconographical Context*. Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- von Mehren, M. 1993. "The Murlo Frieze Plaques: Considerations on Their Distribution and Number." In *Deliciae Fictiles: Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December 1990*, ed. E. Rystedt, C. Wikander, and Ö. Wikander, 139–45. Stockholm: P. Aströms Förlag.
- von Mercklin, E. 1962. *Antike Figuralkapitelle*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- von Olfers, J.F.M. 1858. "Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardeis und den Grabhügel des Alyattes nach dem Bericht des kaiserlichen General-Consuls Spiegelthal zu Smyrna." *AbhBerlin*, 539–56.
- von Steuben, H. 1989. "Zur Geneleosgruppe in Samos." In *Jale İnan Armağanı / Festschrift Jale İnan*, ed. N. Başgelen and M. Lugal, 137–44. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Waelkens, M. 1980. "Das Totenhaus in Kleinasien." *AW* 11:3–12.
- Waelkens, M. 1982. "Hausähnlicher Gräber in Anatolien vom 3. Jht. v. Chr. bis in die Römerzeit." In *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum von Archäologen, Vor- und Frühgeschichten*, 421–45. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Waelkens, M. 1986. *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine: Typologische und epigraphische Untersuchungen der kleinasiatischen Grabreliefs mit Scheintür*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Waelkens, M., E. Paulissen, H. Vanhaverbeke, J. Reyniers, J. Poblome, R. Degeest, W. Viaene, J. Deckers, B. De Cupere, W. Van Neer, H.A. Ekinci, and M.O. Erbay. 2000. "The 1996 and 1997 Surveys in the Territory of Sagalassos." In *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997*, ed. M. Waelkens and L. Loots, 17–216. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Waiblinger, A. 1972. "Remarques sur une coupe a fond blanc du Musée du Louvre." In *Études de céramique et de peinture antiques offerte à Pierre Devambez II*. RA: 233–42.
- Waldbaum, J.C. 1983. *Metalwork from Sardis*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wallace, S. 2010. *Ancient Crete from Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 2008. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Walter, H. 1968. *Samos V: Frühe samische Gefässe: Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe*. Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 1973. *Samos VI.1: Samische Gefässe des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Bonn: R. Habelt.
- Walter-Karydi, E. 1987. *Alt-Ägina II.2: Die äginetische Bildhauerschule: Werke und schriftliche Quellen*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Ward, W.H. 1910. *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.
- Warden, P.G., ed. 2004. *Greek Vase Painting: Form, Figure, and Narrative. Treasures from the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid*. Dallas: SMU Press.
- Wartke, R.-B. 1990. *Toprakkale: Untersuchungen zu den Metallobjekten in Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin*. Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients 22. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Watrous, L.V. 1991. "The Origin and Iconography of the Late Minoan Painted Larnax." *Hesperia* 60:285–307.
- Watzinger, C. 1905. *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*. WVDÖG 6. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Watzinger, C. 1935. *Denkmäler Palästinas I*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Waxman, S. 2008. *Loot: The Battle over the Stolen Treasures of the Ancient World*. New York: Times Books.
- Weber-Lehmann, C. 1985. "Spätarchaische Gelagebilder in Tarquinia." *RM* 92:19–44.
- Weber-Lehmann, C. 2007. "The Evidence for Wooden Sarcophagi in Etruscan Tombs." *EtrStud* 10 [2004–2007]:141–51.
- Węcowski, M. 2002a. "Homer and the Origins of the Symposium." In *Omero tremila anni dopo*, ed. F. Montanari and P. Ascheri, 625–37. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.

- Węcowski, M. 2002b. "Towards a Definition of the Symposium." In *Euergerias Charin: Studies Presented to Benedetto Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by Their Disciples*, ed. Tomasz Derda, J. Urbanik, and M. Węcowski, 337–61. Warsaw: Fundacja im. Rafala Taubenschlaga.
- Weiss, R. 1969. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Wells, B. 1990. "Death at Dendra: On Mortuary Practices in a Mycenaean Community." In *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11–13 June 1988*, ed. R. Hägg and G.C. Nordquist, 125–40. Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen.
- Wells, P.S. 1980. *Culture Contact and Culture Change: Early Iron Age Central Europe and the Mediterranean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Welter, G. 1941. *Troizen und Kalaureia*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Wescoat, B.D. 1995. "Wining and Dining on the Temple of Athena at Assos." In *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. S.C. Scott, 292–320. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Whitfield, S. 2004. *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. Chicago: Serindia Publications.
- Wiegand, T., and H. Schrader. 1904. *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898*. Berlin: G. Reimer.
- Wiesner, J. 1938. *Grab und Jenseits: Untersuchungen im agäischen Raum zur Bronzezeit und frühen Eisenzeit*. Berlin: Töpelmann.
- Willemsen, F. 1970. "Mitteilungen aus dem Kerameikos: Stelen." *AM* 85:23–44.
- Williams, B. 1983. *Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier V: C-Group, Pan Grave, and Kerma Remains at Abindan Cemeteries T, K, U, and J*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Williams, D., and J. Ogden. 1994. *Greek Gold: Jewellery of the Classical World*. London: British Museum Press.
- Winter, I.J. 1976. "Carved Ivory Furniture Panels from Nimrud: A Coherent Subgroup of the North Syrian Style." *MMAJ* 11:25–54.
- Winter, I.J. 1998. Review of *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*, by G. Herrmann. *JNES* 57:150–53.
- Winter, N.A. 1982. "News Letter from Greece." *AJA* 86:539–56.
- Winter, N.A. 1993. *Greek Architectural Terracottas: From the Prehistoric to the End of the Archaic Period*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Winterer, C. 2005. "Venus on the Sofa: Women, Neoclassicism, and the Early American Republic." *Modern Intellectual History* 2:29–60.
- Winterer, C. 2010. *The Mirror of Antiquity. American Women and the Classical Tradition, 1750–1900*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wiseman, D.J. 1959. *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*. London: Batchworth Press.
- Witt, C.M. 1997. "Barbarians on the Greek Periphery? Origins of Celtic Art." PhD diss., University of Virginia. Accessed April 18, 2013. <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/Barbarians/first.html>.
- Witt, C.M. 2004. "Bronzes, Booze, and Boasting: The 'Celts' at Banquet." Paper presented at the 105th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Francisco, 3 January.
- Wolf, S.R. 1993. *Herakles beim Gelage: Ein motiv- und bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Bildes in der archaisch-frühklassischen Vasenmalerei*. Vienna: Böhlau.
- Woolley, C.L. 1955. *Excavations at Ur*, vol. 2. 2nd ed. London: E. Benn.
- Woudhuizen, F.C. 1993. "Old Phrygian: Some Texts and Relations." *JIES* 21:1–26.
- Wright, J.C. 2004. "A Survey of Evidence for Feasting in Mycenaean Society." *Hesperia* 73:133–78.
- Yakar, J. 2000. *Ethnoarchaeology of Anatolia: Rural Socio-Economy in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology.
- Yıldırım, N. 2012. "Lykia Klineleri." In *Uluslararası Genç Bilimciler Buluşması I. Anadolu Akdenizi / International Young Scholars Conference I. Mediterranean Anatolia*. Ed. K. Dörtlük, 509–20. Istanbul: Suna-İnan Kıraç Akdeniz Medeniyetleri Araştırma Enstitüsü.
- Young, R.S. 1953. "Making History at Gordion." *Archaeology* 6:159–66.
- Young, R.S. 1957. "Gordion 1956: A Preliminary Report." *AJA* 61:319–31.
- Young, R.S. 1958. "The Gordion Campaign of 1957: A Preliminary Report." *AJA* 62:139–54.
- Young, R.S. 1960. "The Gordion Campaign of 1959: A Preliminary Report." *AJA* 64:227–43.

Bibliography

- Young, R.S. 1972. Review of *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments*, by C.H.E. Haspels. *AJA* 76:444–47.
- Young, R.S. 1981. *The Gordion Excavations, Final Reports I: Three Great Early Tumuli*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Zamarchi Grassi, P., ed. 1992. *La Cortona dei principes*. Cortona: Banca Popolare di Cortona.
- Zettler, R.L., and L. Horne, ed. 1998. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Zimansky, P.E. 1998. *Ancient Ararat: A Handbook of Urartian Studies*. New York: American Oriental Society.
- Zschietzschmann, W. 1928. “Die Darstellungen der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst.” *AM* 53:17–47.
- Zürn, H. 1970. *Hallstattforschungen in Nordwürttemberg: Die Grabhügel von Asperg (Kr. Ludwigsburg), Hirschlanden (Kr. Leonburg), und Mühlacker (Kr. Vaihingen)*. Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff.
- Zürn, H., and H.-V. Herrmann. 1966. “Der ‘Grafenbühl’ auf der Markung Asperg, Kr. Ludwigsburg, ein Fürstengrabhügel der späten Hallstattzeit.” *Germania* 44:74–102.

Index

- abacus, 49, 54–55, 61, 63–65, 114, 115, 294, 295, 302, 308
 Abradatas, 392n33
 Abusir, 373n3, 395n107
 Abydos, 192
 Acem Höyük, 368n315
 Achaemenid: Anatolia, 4, 7, 14, 182, 233–66, 271, 273, 281; bowl, 122, 240, 245, 255, 288, 294, 299, 319, 411n76; style, 13, 134, 158, 236, 244; usage of term, 236. *See also* Anatolian-Persian; “international Achaemenid” style; Persian
 Achilles, 53, 55, 70, 84, Plate 7
 Acrocorinth. *See* Corinth
 Aeolic volute. *See* volutes
 Aeolis, 4, 5
 Aeschylus, 220
 Afirözü, 252–55, 413n112, 415n159, 416n181, 417n208
 Afyon, 7, 133
 Agios Athanasios, 269, 271, 372n3, 421n28, 422n33
 Ahmetli, 97, 99, 111
 Aigina, 218, 365n232
 Aineia, 268
 Akalan, 411n91
 Akanthos, 22, 24, 78, 413n121
 akanthos motif, 155
 Akhisar, 99
 Aksakal. *See* Daskyleion
 alabastron, 118, 172–74, 241, 244, 284, 285, 288–89, 291, 294, 299, 302, 304, 306, 308, 309, 312–14, 316–18, 320, 410n45, 410n67, 418n218
 Alaca Höyük, 183
 Alaçehir, 99
 Alexander the Great, 177–82, 269
 Alexandria, 10, 73, 270, 363n208, 364n217, 364n222, 368n313, 391n25, 421n18
 Alibeyli, 99
 Alkestis, 352n10
 Alkibiades, 69, 77
 Alkmaionis, 200
 Alkman, 216–17, 220–21
 Altıntaş, 133
 Altıntaş, relief from, 253, 416n180
 Altintepe, 5, 185–86, 219–20, 414n150
 Alyattes, 6, 98, 225, 230, 263, 409n19. *See also* Bin Tepe: Tumulus of Alyattes
 amber, 30, 38, 49, 61–65, 77, 89, 91, 96, 105, 108, 118, 225, 279, 365n239, 365n243, 368n313, 370–71n363, 374n28, 376n67, 378n129
 Amos, 201–2, 209, 211, 218
 Amyntas, 256
 anaklintron, 69
 anaklisis, 69
 Anakreon, 220
 “Anakreontic vases,” 220–21, 414n131
 anathyrosis, 100–101, 283–84, 286, 288, 292–97, 299, 301, 304, 355, 377n97, 380n186
 Anatolia, geography and cultures of, 4–8, 262–63, 349n6
 Anatolian-Persian, 14, 180, 233, 235–36, 244–45, 247–49, 254, 256–57, 261–66
 anaxyrides, 178
 andreion, 214
 andron, 24, 78, 83, 86, 137, 171, 217–18, 220, 227, 270. *See also* dining rooms
 Anglo-Saxon burial beds, 351n63
 animal protomes, 158, 194, 221, 239, 240, 244, 246, 309, 371n367, 394n86, 411n95
 animals as furniture decoration, 49, 65, 112, 114–15, 146–47, 164, 192, 210, 248, 332, 334. *See also* boar; bull; hawk; horsemen; lion; snake; sphinx
 Ankara, 5, 88, 186, 188, 411n90
 anthemion. *See* stele
 Antiphellos. *See* Kaş, “Doric Tomb”
 Aphrodisias, 5, 7, 171, 376n83
 Aphrodite, 215, 318, 399n202
 Apollo, 34, 221
 appliqué plaques (on textiles). *See* bracteates
 Apulia, 269–70
 Aramaeans, 201–2, 214
 Aramaic, 252
 archer, 237, 242, 316, 409n14, 411n82
 Archilochos, 216–17
 Ariadne, 24, 257–58, 354n36, 355nn49–50, 400n206
 Aristoboulos, 177–80
 Aristophanes, 69
 Aristotle, 27
 armrest. *See* headrest
 Arrian, 177–80
 Arslan Kaya, 264, 383n239
 Arslan Taş. *See* Köhnüş Valley
 Artabazos II, 264
 Artemon, 405n339
 Artimas, 240
 Arymaxa, 158
 Asperg. *See* Grafenbühl
 Assos, banquet frieze from, 418n225
 Assurbanipal, 201–2, 223. *See also* Nineveh: “Garden Party” relief of Assurbanipal
 Assurnasirpal II, 202, 209
 Assyria, 5, 180, 193–94, 197, 201–2, 207, 213, 221, 223, 232, 237. *See also* Assurbanipal; Assurnasirpal II; Nimrud; Nineveh; Sargon II
 Assyrian: furniture, 73, 75–76, 115, 181, 190, 205, 207–13, 218, 223, 244; jewelry, 239; sculpture. *See* Balawat Gates; Nimrud; Nineveh
 Athenaios, 214
 Athens, 45, 201, 224; Kerameikos, remains of *klinai* from, 19, 30, 54, 61–63, 77, 87, 89–93, 105, 108, 109, 117, 119, 162, 225, 268, 378n134; Parthenon, 34
 Attica, 18–19, 189. *See also* Brauron; Keos; Vari
 Attic vases, 16–18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 30–33, 41–43, 46, 47, 49, 51–52, 217, 247, 257, 336, 338–47
 Avşar, 99, 321
 Ayazın, 133, 326
 Azoria, 214
 Babylonia, 5, 178, 209–10, 237, 391n27
 Bacon, Francis H., 112, 285, 287, 379n150, 379n152, 381n208, 381n208

- Baghouz, 193
 Bagis, 410n54
 Balawat Gates, 212
 Balboura, 147
 banquet: concept of eternal banquet, 3, 172, 175–76, 183, 186, 190, 260; equipment placed in tomb, 3, 64, 129, 148, 172–73, 180, 182–88, 193–94, 219, 230, 248, 269–71, 305–6, 316–20; “funerary banquet,” 10–11, 177, 182–83, 190; iconography of, 3, 10; nuptial, 27, 257–61; represented in funerary art, 173–74, 182–83, 190, 201, 226, 228–29, 233, 248–62, 277, 278, 311, 313; ritual funeral meal, 175–76, 182–83, 186–88, 200, 230, 260–61. *See also* reclining banquet; Totenmahl
barbiton, 220
 Bayındır, 7, 88, 188, 248, 263
 bead-and-reel, 64, 127, 264, 294, 297, 299
 bedding, 93, 182, 197. *See also* *kline*: cloth coverings on; mattress
 beds: burial, 12, 96, 97, 182, 192–97; funeral, 21, 88, 93, 177, 182, 188; marriage, 18, 27, 169, 189, 227, 231, 232, 257–61, 279; represented in Geometric art, 8, 23, 28–30, 35, 44, 65, 68, 74–75, 146, 189, 215–16, 226, 336, 353n32, 369n327; represented in Late Bronze Age art, 23, 28, 30, 354n40. *See also* Anglo-Saxon burial beds; bier; floorbeds; Homeric poetry; *kline*
 Belevi, 99, 350n32; Mausoleum, 8, 421n25; tumulus, 8, 102, 225
 bench, 38
 Beyce, 99, 130, 147, 264, 299
 Beyköy, 133, 139, 326–27
 Beylikova, 133
 bier, 88, 89, 93, 95, 97, 169, 172, 189, 192–94, 268
 Bin Tepe, 6, 98, 99, 112, 237, 387n366;
 Belenovası B, 103, 291; BT63.2, 93–96, 102, 263, 287; BT62.4, 102, 286–87; BT66.1, 102, 130, 287; BT66.2, 102, 382n218; BT66.4, 102, 288, 389n410; BT80.2 (*see* Bin Tepe: Belenovası B); BT89.1, 102, 118–19, 164–65, 243–44, 261, 288–89, 379n146; BT05.58, 102, 106–7, 164–65, 289; Çağlayan Tepe (*see* Bin Tepe: Belenovası B); Canbaz Tepe, 93; Choisy A, 102, 164, 166, 285; Choisy B–C, 103, 109, 164–66, 285–86; Choisy D, 102, 164–66, 286; Dennis A, 102, 286; Kendirklik Tomb 1, 102, 105–6, 164–66, 289–90, Plate 8; Kendirlik Tomb 2, 102, 105–6, 164–65, 290–91; marble reliefs from, in British Museum, 127–28; Tomb 1976–1 (*see* Bin Tepe: Belenovası B); Tumulus of Alyattes, 6, 9, 93, 106. *See also* Sardis; Sardis tumuli
 Bit-Adini, 202
 Bit-Zamani, 20
 boar, 55
 Boğaz Köy. *See* Hattusa
 bone, used in furniture decoration, 30, 32, 49, 61, 96, 268, 296, 304
 bones. *See* skeletal remains
 bracteates, 237–39, 243, 304, 316–17
 Branchidai, 225, 357n72, 362n179
 Brauron, 28
 bronze: couches or decoration on couches or beds, 21, 30, 35–36, 37, 48, 49, 72, 87, 97–98, 111, 193, 211, 213, 219, 226, 292–93; vessels and other items, 24, 28, 75, 185–86, 188, 194, 204, 206, 210–11, 215, 241, 243, 270, 288, 289, 293, 296, 305, 307, 310–11, 314, 316–19, 353n19, 354n34, 366n249, 369n318, 393n67, 394n86, 401n234, 402n250, 404n319, 404n321
 Bronze Age, 23, 28, 76, 98, 183, 188, 189, 193, 195, 197, 211, 215, 240, 357n76, 370n334, 370n341, 396n128–29, 393nn54–56, 394–95n95, 402n251
 Buddha, dying, 277–78
 Bulgaria, 45, 46
 bull, 55, 146, 158, 237, 240, 303, 332
 Burdur, 5
 burial hollow, anthropoid, 104, 111, 168, 170, 172, 195, 269, 291, 293–94, 296–97, 300, 303
 burial language, 3, 11
 Butler, Howard Crosby, 6, 97, 147–48, 383n268
 Byzantine, 201, 326, 330, 415n159
 Caberburhan, 99
 Caere: *kline*-sarcophagi from, 111, 353n29, 363n195, 363n207, 408n408; Regolini-Galassi Tomb and bronze bed, 35, 98, 226, 387n356, 406n373; rock-cut chambers of tumuli at, 166, 167, 226, 227, 230, 350n43, 226–27, 230; Tomb of the Five Chairs, 407n393
 Çaldağ, 257
 Çamköy, 159
 Çamyazı, 240
 Carchemish, 202
 Caria, 4, 5, 7, 8, 97, 132, 152, 157–59, 170, 171, 190, 262, 376n83, 382n220, 384n299. *See also* Aphrodisias; Arymaxa; Çamköy; Delikkaya; Derincedere; Karındere; Kaunos; Labraunda
 “Caromemphite” stelai, 181, 190–92
 Castel di Decima, 230
 Castelnuovo Berardenga, 45, 64
 Çavuşköy, relief from, 253, 256, 417n208, 418n220
 Central Lydia Archaeology Survey, 6, 375n61, 387n366
 Cerveteri. *See* Caere
 Çeştepe, 103, 171, 311
 chair. *See* chaise-longue; stool; throne
 chaise-longue, 65, 67–69
 “Chalkidian” vases, 47, 337–38
 Chamaileon of Pontos, 405n339
 Chariton of Aphrodisias, 21
 Chianciano Terme, 228
 Chios, 5, 74–78, 127, 224
 Chiusi, 189, 228–29
 Choisy, Auguste, 6, 9, 93, 109, 112, 164
 Chorsiai, 65
 Cilicia, 307, 382n220, 398n164
 cinerary urn, 172, 185, 194, 197, 228, 353n19, 381n193, 387n374, 407n382, 408n408
 cippus, 47, 189, 231, 318, 371n376, 407n382
 cist tomb, 154, 158, 172, 181, 197, 267–68, 272, 318, 330, 331, 373n3, 383n240, 392n34, 398n156, 407n391
 clamps and clamp cuttings, 100–101, 283, 286, 288, 289, 291, 292, 294–97, 299–301, 304, 305, 309, 310, 380n186
 claw chisel, 100–101, 284, 286, 291, 292, 294, 295–97, 304, 307, 309–12, 377n93, 380n186
 cock, 240, 247, 312, 354n38, 410n67, 411n68
 coffin, 88, 89, 93, 94, 97, 169, 178–80, 186, 188, 193, 228. *See also* log-coffin; sarcophagus
 coin, 122, 148, 242, 263, 306, 308, 314, 317, 318, 411n80
 copper, 49, 97, 193
 cords, of *kline* bed surfaces. *See* *tonoi*
 Corinth: Acrocorinth, Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, 38; Asklepieion, 359n102; Tomb of the Funeral Bed, 353n17, 380n191, 386n330; treasury at Delphi, 223, 406n352
 Corinthian vases, 22, 25, 39, 40, 44, 47, 49, 53, 217, 223, 336
 Cortona, 64, 228
 couch. *See* funeral couches; *kline*
 cremation, 21, 89, 91, 268–69
 Crete, 38, 45, 75, 204, 206–7, 213, 214, 223. *See also* Azoria; Idaean Cave; Katsambas; Poros; Tripytos
 Croeseid. *See* coin
 Croesus. *See* Kroisos of Lydia
 cross-rail, 53, 65
 cushion. *See* mattress, or bed cushion; pillow
 cutouts, on Type B *kline* legs, 50, 53, 58, 60, 105, 111, 112, 117, 119
 cypress, 93
 Cypro-Phoenician bowls, 75, 146, 202–7, 212–13, 216, 219, 257, 352n14, 399n195

Index

- Cyprus, 5, 170, 194, 195, 202–6, 213–14, 219, 223, 256. *See also* Golgoi; Kourion; Salamis
- Cyrus the Great, 5, 177–82, 255. *See also* Pasargadae: Tomb of Cyrus
- Danae, 363n195
- Dardanos Tumulus, 103, 123, 169, 170, 309–10, 389n408
- Dareios I, 225, 255, 306, 419n250
- Daskyleion, 5, 8, 96, 102, 104, 166, 233, 244, 264, 279, 281, 307–8, 377n102, 409n20; Kocaresul Tumulus, 281; Koru Tumulus, 96, 103, 115, 117, 162, 166, 307–8, 377n101, 380n174, 381n196, 388n377, 389n408, 412n98, 417n193; stelai from, 249–59, 415n159, 417n208, 418n234, 420n272
- Daskylos, 264
- Dedetepe, 71, 103, 112, 115–17, 169, 173, 244, 246, 254, 308–9, 387n354, 387n369, 412n96, Plate 10
- deer, 112, 127–28, 244, 304, 309
- Delikkaya, 376n75
- Della Rovere family, 275
- Delos, 27, 35, 73, 356n63, 359n98, 380n180
- Delphi, 34, 112, 221, 223
- Demetrias, ivory relief from, 392n42, 412n100, 417n203
- Demosthenes, 33
- Dennis, George, 6, 127
- Dereköy, relief from, 253, 418n220
- Derincedere, 376n75
- diamond motif, 64, 91
- dining rooms, 23, 28, 38, 44, 171–72, 217, 270; cultic, 38, 218; host's position, 24; numbers of *klinai*, 28, 65, 78, 171, 217; off-center door, 28, 171; position of honor, 39, 65, 79, 171, 271. *See also* *andron*; *triclinium*
- Dion, 270, 421n21, 421n26, 421n28, 421n30
- Dionysos, 22, 24, 38, 39, 65, 82, 257–58, 268, 354n36, 355n50, 368n296, 371n392, 400n206, 404n293
- Dioskouroi, 70
- diphros*, 34, 77, 422n37
- dog, 247, 248, 312, 354n38, 355n50, 372n414
- Doğanlı Kale, 133
- Doğuluşah, 133, 140, 327
- dromos, 96, 130–32, 150, 170, 171, 194, 234, 243
- duck's head decoration, 240–41, 418n239
- Duvanli, 45–48, 95, 267, 389n403
- Düver, rock-cut tomb, 140, 147, 335, 383n246, 419n263
- eagle, 239
- East Greece, 13, 15, 65, 76–78, 112, 206, 214, 216, 217, 219, 221, 223, 224, 225, 232, 237, 246–49, 252, 263, 265, 268, 271, 279, 335.
- See also* Assos, banquet frieze from; Chios; Ephesos; Ionia; Klazomenai; Larisa; Miletos; Samos
- egg, 259–61, 416n179
- egg-and-dart, 54, 119, 127, 264, 294, 297, 299. *See also* kymation
- Egypt, 68, 73, 167, 172, 181, 189–92, 195, 211, 237, 243, 373n3, 377n93. *See also* Abusir; Memphis; Saqqara; Tarkhan
- ekphora*, 21, 48, 189–90, 244, 247, 249–52, 261–62, 299, 395n100, 406n374, 413n123
- Elaia, 95
- Elamite, 237
- elites, expressions of identity, 158, 170, 188, 201, 221, 226, 235, 243, 271
- Elmalı, 5, 7, 88, 97, 117, 129, 188, 248, 263. *See also* Karaburun, Tumulus II; Kızılbel Tumulus; Milyas; Müğren
- Elnaf, 249–51, 254, 269, 261
- Ephesos, 45, 99, 225, 350n32, 378n129, 381n207. *See also* Belevi
- epi dexia*, 24, 215
- epigraphic evidence, 6, 7, 8, 19, 67, 69, 97, 123, 132, 152, 154, 156–57, 169, 176, 180, 181, 183–84, 186, 190, 195, 201, 207, 215, 218, 220, 225, 240, 242, 249, 252, 256, 309–10, 314, 317–18, 331, 350n36, 382n224, 393n49, 399n188, 404n316, 415n165, 423n74. *See also* Keos
- epiklintron*, 69
- Eretria, 9, 10, 270; Tomb of Amarynthos, 270, 422n32, Plate 2
- Erythrai, 127
- Eskişehir, 7, 133
- Etenna, 168, 383n250, 384n289
- ethnicity. *See* identity: cultural and ethnic
- ethnographic analysis, 11–12
- Etruria, 4, 45, 48, 65, 98, 189, 221, 226–32, 267. *See also* Caere; Castel di Decima; Castelnuovo Berardenga; Chianciano Terme; Chiusi; Cortona; Etruscan; Ferento-Acquarossa; Giglio, Etruscan shipwreck at; Montescudaio; Poggio alla Sala; Poggio Civitate; Populonia; Quinto Fiorentino; reclining banquet: women's participation in; San Giuliano; Tarquinia; Tolf; Vetulonia; Volterra
- Etruscan: art, 47, 49, 53, 247, 371n376; funerary beds or couches, 137, 162, 167, 226–32, 267; *klinai* represented in Etruscan art, 22, 230, 275; origins, 231; sarcophagi, 407nn381–82, 408n408; sarcophagus-beds, 226–27; tombs, 10, 35, 166, 226–32, 406–7n378
- Euboia, 9, 215, 223. *See also* Lefkandi, bronze bowl from; Vathia
- “Eurytios krater,” 39, 44, 49, 217
- family tomb, 152, 156–57, 169–70, 385n300, 387n374
- fan, 190, 246, 369, 395n106, 411n92, 411n95, 413n116, 417n206
- Ferento-Acquarossa, 227
- Filippovka, 34
- Findik, 133
- floorbeds, 101, 111, 168, 170, 284, 291, 294
- fly-whisk, 183, 246
- footstool, 44, 58, 65, 128, 146, 209, 323, 324, 395–96n109
- Fort Shalmaneser. *See* Nimrud
- frit, 268
- fulcrum*, 35, 45, 68–71, 77, 211, 213, 353n19
- funeral couch, 87–176, 225, 283–335; arrangements of, 102–4, 130, 136–40, 148–50, 154–55, 157–58, 171, 226–28, 270, 272, 281, 283–335; burial orientation, 168–71, 226–27; Chinese type, 278; dimensions of, 102–4, 136, 150, 160; double width, 38, 103, 111, 125, 150, 154, 168–70, 174, 270, 293, 295, 296, 300–301, 314–15, 317–21, 333, 384; incorporated with tomb chamber walls, 97, 98, 101, 111, 124, 125, 130, 150, 154, 171, 234, 284, 287, 293–94, 306–7, 311; medium, 87, 98, 101–4, 161; monolithic, 3, 38, 87, 104, 115, 117, 123, 128, 166, 174, 247, 302–3, 305–7, 312, 377n98; number of occupants, 168–69; painted decoration on, 9, 98, 105, 108, 111–19, 124–25, 129, 162, 164, 166, 244, 269, 281, 285–86, 289–90, 293–99, 301–4, 308–13, 335, 378n129, 379n146, 386n330, 386n347, 395n109; popularity in Achaemenid Anatolia, 233–66, 279; rear position, privileging of, 104, 111, 137, 147, 148, 155, 171; representationality of, 4, 87, 98, 277, 279; symbolism of, 169–76, 225, 230–32, 248, 268, 270–72, 273, 279; triple width, 136, 140, 150, 319; usage of term, 88, 274. *See also* burial hollow, anthropoid; *kline*; rock-cut: couches or benches
- funerary banquet. *See* banquet
- gable, 134, 147, 158, 177, 180, 248, 264, 294, 300, 303, 310–12, 322–26, 329–35, 386n349
- Gandharan art, 277–78
- Gaul, 267
- Gāvurkalesi, 195
- Geneleos Group, 221, 416n173
- Geometric style, 8
- Getty Museum, bronze *kline*, 48, 97–98, 111, 292–93, 357n71, 378n121
- Giglio, Etruscan shipwreck at, 27, 28, 30, 45, 47, 49, 64, 76, 360n135
- Gilgamesh, 188, 399n190

- glass: decoration on couches or other furniture, 38, 49, 58, 65, 91, 268–69, 272, 279, 366n256, 397n138; jewelry, 239, 304; vessels, 286, 288, 296, 308, 314, 317, 318, 319, 393n90
- gold: decoration on couches or other furniture, 34–35, 58, 95, 202, 221, 272; other items, 148, 172, 178, 237–41, 268, 288, 296, 304, 308, 309, 314, 316–18, 320–21, 351n63, 366n249. *See also* *kline: epichrusos*
- Golgoi, 68, 78
- Gordion, 5, 7, 9, 11, 45, 225, 248, 263; Megaron 3, 219, 409n14; new chronology of, 132–33, 197, 219; Tumulus A, 239; Tumulus G, 89; Tumulus H, 88; Tumulus J, 88; Tumulus K-II, 91–93; Tumulus, K-III, 91–92, 186, 393n70; Tumulus MM, 75–76, 88, 89, 186–88, 219, 390n423, 393n70, 414n149; Tumulus P, 88, 89, 91, 186, 219, 393n70, 394n72, 394n78; Tumulus W, 89, 186, 393n70, 394n78
- gorgoneion, 134, 155, 325, 326
- Göynüş Valley. *See* Köhnüş Valley
- Graeco-Persian, 146, 237, 249. *See also* Anatolian-Persian
- Grafenbühl, 45, 64, 89, 90–91, 225, Plate 5
- Granikos Valley, 8
- Gray, Thomas, 274
- Greece. *See* Aigina; Athens; Attica; Chorsiai; Corinth; Crete; Delos; Delphi; Demetrias; East Greece; Eretria; Ionia; Iria; Isthmia; Kalydon; Naxos; Olympia; Perachora; Plataia; Prosymna; reclining banquet: adoption of custom in Greece; Sparta; Thespiai; Troizen
- griffin, 194, 236, 303, 409n26
- guilloche, 91
- Gümüşçay, 5, 244. *See also* Dedetepe; Polyxena Sarcophagus
- Güre, 6, 112, 119, 240, 242, 410n54. *See also* Çamyazı
- Gyges, 221
- habrosyne*, 220
- Halaf, 190
- Harpasa, 7
- Harran, 190, 218
- Hathor, 167
- Hattusa, 5, 183, 195, 198
- hawk, 146, 334
- Hazael of Damascus, 399n188
- headrest, 45, 53, 55, 68, 104, 106, 115, 117, 123, 137, 164–68, 195, 269–70, 281, 303, 308–10
- Hektor, Ransom of, 46, 55, 71, 82, 84, 361n142
- Hellenistic couches, 9, 32, 35, 37, 45, 68, 71–72, 87, 267, 277, 372n3, 420n2
- hemiklinon*, 67
- hemp, 45
- hen, 247, 312, 354n38
- Hephaistos, Return of, 361n163
- Herakleides of Kyme, 254
- Herakles, 16, 17, 38, 39, 44, 70, 82, 368n295, 371n392
- Hermos River, 4, 6
- Herodotos, 7, 19, 33–35, 200, 221, 254–56, 358n90, 389n397, 391n27, 409n19
- hestiatorion*. *See* dining rooms
- hetaira*, 24–27, 274, 355n49
- Heuzey, Léon, 9
- Hierakome, 99
- himation*, 252
- Hipponax, 220, 405n333
- Hittite: funeral customs, 183, 190, 192, 195, 232; road network, 264. *See also* Syro-Hittite sculpture
- Hochdorf, 366
- Homeric poetry: beds described in, 30, 75, 214; burial traditions in, 21, 189; lack of reclining banquet in, 214–16; performance context of, 215–16
- hoplite warrior, 134
- Horoztepe, 195
- horsemen, 114–15, 127, 245, 303–4, 335, 420n272
- “house-tomb” concept, 152, 154, 157, 226, 228, 277
- Hoyran, Lake, 138, 147, 335
- hunting, 245–46, 249, 252, 261–62, 271, 311, 381n208, 415n171, 418n226, 419n249
- hybridization, 13, 235, 248–49, 252, 254, 263, 265
- Hypaipa, 99, 255, 321
- Idaeon Cave, 204–7, 210, 212, 213, 214
- identity: constructed nature of, 12–13; cultural and ethnic, 12, 233–35, 248, 249–50, 252, 265
- Idu Mishmi, 12
- illicit excavations. *See* looting and vandalism
- incense burner, 240–41, 305, 418n234
- India, 12
- inscription. *See* epigraphic evidence
- “international Achaemenid” style, 13, 236, 242, 265, 351n81
- Ionia, 4, 5, 8, 45, 65, 76, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 221, 223, 225, 232, 236, 256, 263, 267, 283, 310, 350n32, 395n102, 403n291
- Ionic volute. *See* volutes
- Iranian riding costume, 235, 243, 245, 247, 252, 262, 289
- Iria, Sanctuary of Dionysos, 218, 223
- iron, 35, 46, 88, 89, 93–95, 97, 185, 188, 193, 268, 274, 286–87, 289, 293, 304, 307, 316, 317, 374n28, 394n86, 406n373, 422n40
- Ischia. *See* Pithekoussai
- Ismene, 17, Plate 3
- Isparta, 5, 335
- Isthmia, Sanctuary of Poseidon, 38
- Italy. *See* Apulia; Etruria; Latium; Numana; Paestum; Picenum; Pithekoussai; Tarentum
- ivory: decoration on couches, 21, 30–33, 35, 49, 55, 61–65, 68, 72, 75, 77, 89–93, 201–2, 209, 172, 216, 220, 225, 244, 254, 268–69, 271, 272, 279, 298, 304, 308; other items, 173, 244, 263, 286, 309, 313, 316, 317, 318, 354n40, 368n315, 392n42, 409n14, 409n19, 413n118. *See also* *kline: elephantopus*; Syro-Phoenician ivory furniture inlays
- Jericho, 5, 193, 195
- Jerusalem, 167–68, 170, 197–98. *See also* Silwan
- jewelry, 178, 180, 220, 236–40, 242, 247, 288, 297, 304, 306, 308–9, 316–20, 353n19, 414n131
- Kabalia, 7, 147
- Kalabari, 12
- Kalekapı, 158, 161
- Kaletepe. *See* Kululu
- Kallinos, 216
- Kalydon, Heroon of, 270
- kandys*, 178, 247, 420n272. *See also* Iranian riding costume
- Karaburhan, 133
- Karaburun, Tumulus II, 102, 104, 117–18, 130, 162, 173–74, 245–48, 261–62, 271, 312–13, 377nn99–100, 392n42, 410n67, 411n95
- Karındere, 171
- Kaş, “Doric Tomb,” 154, 156, 388n387
- Kastolos plain, 240
- Katsambas, 193
- Kaunos, 97, 158, 159–60, 388n387
- Kayalıdere, 185, 398n157
- Kayster River, 6
- Kazanlak, 271
- Kebren. *See* Çaldağ
- Kelainai, 133, 249
- Kemeramları, 99
- Kendirlik, 99
- Keos, 19, 80, 192, 225
- Kerkenes Dağı, 380n189, 409n19
- Kerma, 192
- Kermanshah, 401n234
- Keskinler, 284
- Kibyrtis, 7, 103, 130, 147, 164, 171, 419n263. *See also* Çeştepe; Üç Tümlülüsler; Yuvalak
- Kılcanlar, 99
- Kimmerian invasion, 132, 403n230
- kispu*, 183

Index

- Kızılbel Tumulus, 102, 104, 129–30, 173–74, 248, 311–12, 357n69, 414n150
- Klazomenai, 5, 48, 189–90, 244, 247
- Klazomenian: sarcophagus, 22, 24, 78, 364n217, 420n265; vase-painting, 338
- kline* (*klinai*, pl.): *amphikephalos*, 55, 69–71, 77, 169, 176, 269, 272, 492n32; *Chiourges*, 74–78; color on, 37–38; cloth coverings on, 49, 53–54, 85, 137, 155, 178, 189, 254, 328; dimensions of, 38; double width, 38; *elephantopus*, 19, 33; *eparguros*, 34–35, 221; *epichrusos*, 34–35, 221; golden, 34–35, 177–82, 255, 390n17; height of, 38–44, 75; medium, 15; *Milesiourges*, 74–78; multifunctionality and multivalence of, 3, 12, 15–18, 216, 260, 267, 268–69, 271, 272, 275, 279; mythical contexts of, 18; represented in vase-paintings, 15–16, 22, 30, 44, 46–61, 109, 118, 129, 162, 368n301; single viewing side of inlaid *klinai*, 23; *sphenopous*, 19, 80; *sphingopous*, 19, 72–73, 77, 126; *strongulopous*, 34; Type A, 8, 15, 18, 32–33, 35, 44–49, 60, 71, 74–85, 97, 124, 189–90, 212, 223, 228, 244, 254, 259, 267, 294, 414n146, 423n79; Type B, 8, 15–18, 30–33, 38, 45, 49–65, 74–85, 89–93, 97, 105–23, 134, 137, 147, 154–55, 161–63, 182, 189, 190, 212, 223, 225, 228, 231, 244, 247, 248, 263, 268, 271, 281, 284, 285, 289–91, 293, 297, 300, 302, 304, 305, 308, 309, 312, 328, 329, 331; Type C, 8, 58–59, 80–85, 158; usage of term, 88, 152, 216, 220. *See also* animals as furniture decoration; beds; cutouts; funeral couch; Hellenistic couches; maeander; palmettes; Roman-period couches; rosette; star; volutes
- klinidion*, 65
- klinis*, 65
- klinopoios*, 86
- klinter*, 65–67, 86
- klinterion*, 65
- klinteriskos*, 68
- klismos*, 85
- Kogamos River, 6
- Köhnüş Valley, 133–36, 383n252; Arslan Taş, 134, 136, 245; “Broken Lion Tomb” (*see* Köhnüş Valley; Yılan Taş); Tomb 1, 138, 321; Tomb 2, 138, 321–22; Tomb 3, 138, 322; Tomb 4, 139, 322; Tomb 5, 139, 322; Tomb 8, 139, 322; Tomb 9, 140, 322–23; Tomb 10, 138, 323; Tomb 11, 139, 323; Tomb 14, 140, 323; Tomb 17, 138, 141, 146, 173, 323; Tomb 18, 138, 323, 384n285; Tomb 20, 139, 141, 323–24; Tomb 22, 139, 141, 324, 383n246; Tomb 26, 139, 141, 145, 146, 324; Tomb 27, 139, 141, 324–25; Tomb 29, 140, 325; Tomb 30, 140, 325; Tomb 34, 138, 325; Tomb 39, 138, 326; Tomb 40, 139, 326; Tomb 18, 138; Yılan Taş, 134–35, 139, 173, 245, 325, 383n239
- koine*, cultural, 14, 249, 262, 265, 419n253
- Körte, Gustav and Alfred, 9, 91
- kottabos, 353n21, 353n30
- Kourion, 203, 205, 213
- krepis wall, 8
- Kritias, 74, 77
- Kroisos of Lydia, 5, 34–35, 148, 221, 225, 263–64
- Kula, 99
- Kul Oba, 45, 77, 92, 380n180, Plate 6
- Kululu, 5, 218, 224
- Kütahya, 7, 133, 411n91
- kymation, 61, 91–92, 268, 310. *See also* egg-and-dart
- kypassis*, 247, 413n118
- Labraunda, 171, 384n299
- ladle, 97, 172, 181, 186, 188, 239, 241, 246, 259, 270, 293, 304, 305, 320, 354n38, 389n410, 393n70, 410n51, 413n114, 418n239
- Lakonian vases, 46, 217, 337, 360n139
- laqrisa*, 404n323
- Larisa, 5, 54, 221–22, 256
- lathe, 32, 44, 75
- Latium, 230
- lectus*, 71
- lectus funebris*, 274
- Lefkadia, Tomb of the Palmettes, 269
- Lefkandi, bronze bowl from, 203, 400n214
- lekythos, 18, 45, 47, 49, 51, 71, 285, 288, 291, 293, 296, 306–7, 313, 316–17, 321
- Limyra, 154, 157, 169
- linchpin, 118, 243, 289, 411n83
- lion, 55, 71, 91, 127, 134, 146, 155, 189, 207, 236–37, 239, 244, 245, 295, 296, 303, 304, 310, 312, 316, 325, 327, 329, 357n77, 361n161, 381n203, 382–83n237
- log-coffin, 88–89, 186–88, 219, 373n18, 375n38, 394n87
- looting and vandalism: ancient, 178, 180, 211, 313; modern, 4, 6, 7, 11, 97, 98, 108, 125, 154, 172, 173, 174, 236, 237, 239, 246, 247, 279, 288, 293, 295, 299, 304, 305, 310, 349n2, 389n410, 410n52, 412n105
- lotus, 55, 63, 89, 97, 108, 111–12, 118, 162, 237, 293, 296, 297, 300, 302, 335, 361n158, 361n163, 378n129, 397n138, 402n245, 416n179. *See also* Sternblüte
- Luwian, 218
- luxury, 34, 49, 79, 200, 202, 213, 214, 216, 220–21, 223–26, 232, 233, 236, 254, 265, 268, 272, 274, 279
- Lycia, 4, 5, 7–8, 45, 117, 162, 169, 170, 262. *See also* Kaş; Limyra; Myra; Phellos; Pınara; Xanthos
- Lycian: funerary sculpture, 47, 152, 155, 262; pillar tombs, 392n35; rock-cut chamber tombs, 97, 152–57, 169
- Lydia, 3–5, 9–10, 34, 45, 49, 71, 73, 93–115, 147, 161–66, 169–74, 179, 201, 214, 220–25, 232, 234, 237, 240, 262–65, 313–21; Mermnad dynasty, 6, 223–24, 263 (*see also* Alyattes; Gyges; Kroisos of Lydia; Sadyattes). *See also* Avşar; Bin Tepe; Güre; Hypaipa; Keskinler; Kulcanlar; Kula; Manisa; Sardis
- Lydia, tombs in, outside Sardis and Bin Tepe: Abidin Tepe (*see* Harta Tumulus); Aktepe, 102, 112–15, 137, 147, 165–66, 174, 245, 269, 272, 303–4, Plate 11; Alahıdır 1, 97–99, 105, 292–93; Alaşehir, tumulus near, 127, 146, 378n116; Bahçetepe, 99, 103, 124–25, 244, 271, 295, 378n118, 392n42; Barajtepe, 103, 302; Bekçitepe, 103, 108–9, 162, 169, 377n104, Plate 9; Büyükbelen D, 102, 164, 166, 291–92; Çatal Kayısı, 139; Falaka, 99, 140, 321; Gâvur Fırını A, 102, 130, 292; Gâvur Fırını B, 103, 292, 382n217; Gözde tomb, 93; Hacı A, 102, 107–8, 114, 166, 302, 380n180; Hamamtepe, 102, 121, 165–66, 295–96; Harmandalı, 102, 126, 298; Harta Tumulus, 73, 103, 104, 125–26, 132, 174, 245, 298–99; Iğdecik A. (*see* Bahçetepe); İkiztepe, 103, 119–23, 172, 236, 240–42, 304–6, 377n99, 409n26; Kadırcop W, 102, 303; Karaoğlanlı C, 102, 295; Kemerdaamları B, 102, 292; Kılcanlar B, 103, 292; Kordon Tumulus, 103, 129, 168–69, 300–301, 388n378; Kumtepe C, 102, 298; Lale Tepe, 3–4, 87, 97, 98, 101, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110–12, 114, 118, 124, 130, 147, 150, 166, 169, 170, 264, 293–95, 349, 377n93, 377n98, 377n102, 387n373, Plate 1; Mangaltepe, 103, 118–20, 297–98; Mitrallyöztepe, 99, 102, 296, 389n410; Musacalıtepe, 103, 295; Nizam, 103, 300; Ortaköy B, 102, 303; Paşa Çiftliği, 99, 103, 301–2; Saraylı Boğazi, 103, 130–31; Sarıçam A, 103, 296; Selçikler 2, 103, 306–7; Soma Tombs A1, A2, and C, 103, 130–32, 147, 264, 299–300; Tekçam, 102, 130–31, 303, 377n95; Tombaktepe, 103, 164–65, 301; Toptepe, 102, 130, 164, 169, 170, 172, 238–39, 304; Velişintepe, 103, 306; Yabızlar Tepesi, 102, 119–20, 168, 170, 172–73, 300, 378n117
- Lydian: banqueting, 221, 225; dress, 246, 252; empire, expansion of, 5, 133, 225, 230, 263–64; jewelry, 239, 247, 414n131; pottery, 77, 98, 148, 225, 263–64, 268, 286, 296, 314, 349n24, 376n88, 382n230; sarcophagi, 93, 149, 172, 237, 291, 294, 299, 302–5, 313, 315–18, 320, 375n61, 384n272, 392n34; sculpture, 377n92, 408n11

- “Lydian Treasure,” 6, 112, 119, 125, 130, 172, 237, 239, 240, 242, 305
 lydion, 77, 96, 105, 172–73, 225, 240–41, 288, 291, 293, 294, 296, 304–6, 312, 316, 318
lygos, 224
- Macedonia, 39, 45, 65, 71, 256, 279; funerary *klinai* in, 57, 58, 65–66, 154, 158, 162, 170, 176, 267–73; Macedonian tombs, 9, 10, 21, 34, 71, 180, 267–73; Macedonian-style tombs outside Macedonia, 267, 269–73. *See also* Agios Athanasios; Aineia; Dion; Lefkadia; Palatitza; Pella; Potidaia; Pydna; Terpni Nigrita; Thessaloniki; Vergina; Veroia
- maeander, 49, 54, 55, 91, 114, 115, 118, 285, 293, 303, 304, 308, 374n36, 386n347
 maenad, 38, 80, 352n8, 355n49, 371n392
 Mahdia shipwreck, 359n98
 Manes, stele of, 252–53, 256, 416n180
 Manisa, 99, 392n34
 Maraş, 211
 Mardonios, 254–55
marzeah, 202, 204, 209, 214–16, 224
 mattress, or bed cushion, 9, 78, 111, 115, 117, 119, 124, 129, 130, 158, 213, 217, 248, 293, 294–97, 307–9, 311, 328
 Median empire, 5, 178, 201, 403n291, 409n19
 Megiddo, 76
 Melgunov’s Barrow, 212, 213, 416n180, 416n183
 Memphis, 181–82, 190, 213, 395n109
 Mermnad dynasty, 6
 Mesopotamia, 190, 192, 236, 267
 METU (Middle East Technical University):
 Tumulus I, 88, 188; Tumulus II, 88–89, 188, 375n53
 Michelangelo, 275–76
 Midas, 219. *See also* Gordion
 Midas City, 5, 133, 225, 263, 419n264; Midas Monument, 263; Pyramid Tomb, 139, 141, 145, 146, 245–46, 329; Tomb 11, 139, 141, 328; Tomb 12, 138, 328; Triclinium Tomb, 137, 140, 144, 147, 171, 327–28; West Tomb, 137, 139, 143, 145, 164, 170, 328–29
 Miletos, 5, 74–78, 224, 225, 257; Lion Tomb, Kazartepe, 96, 170
 Milyas, 5, 7, 102, 104, 173, 311–13
mimesis, 85–86
 mirror, 314, 316, 317, 320, 418n218, 418n229
mitra, 220–21, 396n112, 405n333
 “monoposiastr,” 84, 174, 271, 372n413, 389n416
 Montescudaio, 229
 mortise-and-tenon joinery, 30, 45, 58, 95
 Mudford, William, 274
 Müğren, 414n149
 Murlo. *See* Poggio Civitate
- Musasir, 220
 musical: entertainment, 83, 200, 203–4;
 instruments, 173, 244, 256, 309. *See also* *barbiton*
 Mycenaean tombs, 193, 195
 Myra: Painted Tomb, 47, 49, 53; Tomb 17, 153–54; Tomb 59, 146
 myrtle, 174
 Mysia, 4, 8, 102, 103, 112, 130, 132, 162, 169, 244, 249, 264, 307, 350n36, 382n224. *See also* Daskyleion; Elaia; Üçpınar Tumulus; Uyuçuk; Yağcılar Tumulus
- Naip Tumulus, 269–70, 366n257, 380n192, 421nn26–27
 Naqsh-i Rostam, 71, 181, 234
 Naxos, 218, 223. *See also* Iria
 Near Eastern furniture, 30, 50, 55, 68, 73, 75–76, 126, 146, 210–13, 357n76. *See also* Assyrian: furniture; Syro-Phoenician ivory furniture inlays; Urartian: furniture
 Neirab, 184
 Neo-Hittite. *See* Syro-Hittite sculpture
 Nereid Monument, 245, 380n192, 384–85n299, 386n348, 417n194
 Nereids, 53
 “Nestor’s cup,” 215–16, 230
 Nigeria, 12
 Nimrud, 55, 208, 211–13, 363n211
 Nineveh, 5, 207, 208; “Garden Party” relief of Assurbanipal, 190, 202, 207–9, 256, 352n14; Palace of Sennacherib, reliefs from, 209–10
 Nubia, 68, 192
 Numana, Sirolo nekropolis, 45, 63, 77, 225
- Ödemiş, relief from, 212, 252–53, 255, 256, 257, 416n180
 Olympia, 32, 75, 403n293
 Orientalizing decoration, 32
 Oxus Treasure, 240, 410n46
- Paestum, painted tombs, 47, 189, 395n98, 408n406
 Palatitza, tomb, 9
 Palestine, 5, 37, 98, 181, 195
 palm tree, 293
 palmettes, 32, 34, 49, 50, 53–55, 58, 61, 63–65, 76, 77, 90, 91, 105–9, 111, 112, 114, 115, 118, 119, 124, 127, 134, 155, 164, 239, 285, 286, 289, 290, 293, 294, 297, 300, 302, 304, 309, 312, 314, 325, 361n158, 362n176, 362n187, 362n190, 363n190, 363n205, 363n207, 364n221, 365n234, 366n252, 370n345, 373n17, 374n26, 378n129, 379n146, 379n153, 382n232, 386n350, 387n350, 397n138, 420n265
- Paphlagonia, 5, 8, 152, 158, 161, 244, 249, 254, 283, 412n98
paradeisos, 262
 parasol, 220, 248
parinirvana, 277
 Parthia, 39
 partridge, 247, 312, 354n38, 403n288, 418n218
 Pasargadae, 5, 240, 349n5; Tomb of Cyrus, 177–82, 254–55, 269
 Patina, 202
 Patroklos, 71, Plate 7
 Pausanias, 254
 Pazarlı, 380n189
 Pella, 268, 271, 412n98
 Peleus, 22
 Peloponnesian War, 35
 Pencere Kaya, 138, 335
 Perachora, 218
 perfume vessels, 173–74, 225, 244, 246, 283, 285, 288, 289, 296, 300, 301, 306, 308, 311, 313, 316, 318–19. *See also* alabastron; lekythos; lydion
 Periander, 223
 Persephone, 27
 Persepolis, 5, 71, 209, 234, 236, 237, 240, 243, 244, 256. *See also* Naqsh-i Rostam
 Persia, 177–82. *See also* Cyrus the Great; Dareios I; Pasargadae; Persepolis; Susa
 Persian: burial customs, 181, 232; conquest of Asia Minor, 6, 7, 98–99, 133, 148, 170, 177, 221, 225, 230, 406n352; chariots and horse trappings, 118, 243, 252, 415n171; court style, 235–36, 237; dining customs, 39, 171, 212, 247–48, 254–56; empire, 5, 246, 249, 252, 259, 261, 264, 271; furniture style, 71, 115, 125, 162, 181, 244–45, 254, 268, 271, 277, 423n79; period, 4, 6–8, 119, 162, 220, 233–66; royal road system, 264; satrapal capitals and administration, 8, 233, 234, 236, 240, 242, 244, 249, 252, 254, 262, 264–65; “satrapal style,” 236; Wars with Greece, 34, 254–55. *See also* Achaemenid; Iranian riding costume; *kypassis*; *tiara*; turned moldings on couch legs
 Persianisms and Persianization, 4, 181, 220, 233–37, 244–48, 254–55, 257, 261
 Perso-Anatolian. *See* Anatolian-Persian
 Pessinus, 133, 137
 Phellos, 155, 388n387
 phiale, 79, 96, 112, 181, 188, 236, 246–47, 270–71
 Phlegon of Tralles, 21
 Phoenicia, 65, 167, 172, 188, 200–202, 204, 212, 213, 214, 215, 219, 223, 230, 232. *See also* *marzeah*; Sidon
 Phoenician bowls. *See* Cypro-Phoenician bowls

Index

- Phrygia, 5, 7, 21, 45, 98, 103, 114, 132–47, 161–64, 169, 173, 176, 197, 225, 232, 240, 252, 262–65, 321–35; highlands of, 7, 130; Lydian domination of, 133, 225–26. *See also* Ankara; Ayazın; Doğanlı Kale; Doğuluşah; Fındık; Kelainai; Gordion; Kerkenes Dağı; Köhnüş Valley; Kütahya; Midas City; Pazarlı; Pessinus; rock-cut: chamber tombs; rock-cut: façades and other cult monuments; Taşlık; Tatarlı; Yapıldak; Yumrutepe; Zey
- Phrygian: architecture, 180 (*see also* rock-cut: façades and other cult monuments; wooden: architecture, represented in rock-cut form); banqueting, 219, 223; çap (“bonnet”), 235, 409n14; furniture, 75–76, 219, 223; sculpture, 134, 146, 409n19
- Phrygian tombs: “Anı Kadın,” 138, 334; Aşağı Doğanöğlü, 138, 334; Avdilas, 138; Bedestan, 138; Beypınarı, 139, 333–34; Delikli Kaya, 138, 331; Deve Boynu, two tombs, 139, 330; Dübecik Kale, Tomb G 140, 330–31; Fındık Kale, 140, 327, 383n246; Gâvur Evleri, 139, 326; Gerdekkaya, 140, 334; Karaburhan, 140, 334–35; Karacakaya, 139, 145, 146, 334; Karaçayır, 140, 327; Karakaya, 133, 138, 142, 145, 146; Kokarkuyu, 139, 335; Kümbet, “Tomb of Solon,” 140, 331, 383n240; Okçu, 138, 334; Pişmiş Kale, 139, 141, 146, 329–30; Tekören, 137, 139, 145, 147, 331; Zıngırlı İnler, 139, 327, 383n246. *See also* Gordion; Köhnüş Valley; Midas City; rock-cut: chamber tombs; rock-cut: façades and other cult monuments; tumuli: Phrygian; Yumrutepe; Zey
- Picenum, 63, 225. *See also* Numana
- pillow, 53, 55, 68, 104, 106, 137, 155, 158, 164, 168, 169, 172, 176, 195, 197, 226, 269, 286, 289, 290, 298, 301, 328, 329, 333, 397n146, 492n32
- Pınara, 385n303
- pinax, funerary plaque, 19, 51, 55, 356n64, 359n100, 360n126, 360n128, 361n168, 362n176, 362n187, 363n192, 363n200, 363n207, 364n228, 365n232, 366n261, 371n375, 378n131, 378n137, 386n345, 395n100
- Pisidia, 5, 7, 13, 98, 130, 138–40, 147, 168, 283, 335, 350nn23–24, 384n289, 387n373, 419n263. *See also* Düver; Etenna; Pencere Kaya
- Pithekoussai, 215, 223, 230, 239
- Plataia, 34, 35, 255
- Plato: *Laws*, 19–21, 267, 273; *Republic*, 15, 85–86, 176, 200, 224, 273
- Plato, comic poet, 33, 254
- Poggio alla Sala, 407n393
- Poggio Civitate, 228–29, 362n177, 407n394
- Polizzello, 45, 61, 65, 105, 119, Plate 4
- Polykrates, 220, 254
- Polyxena, 82
- Polyxena Sarcophagus, 244, 259–60
- “Pontic” amphora, 22, 24, 54, 58
- Populonia, 226
- Poros, 193
- post mortem* photography, 351n63
- Potidaia, 364n217, 421n26, 422n33
- Prokrustes, 67, 70, 356nn68–69
- Prosymna, 193
- prothesis*, 10, 18, 21, 22–24, 35, 44, 49, 51, 70, 72, 80, 82, 170, 174, 176, 181–82, 189–92, 213, 216, 218, 225, 226, 231, 232, 271, 277, 416n192
- Ptolemy II, 73
- puelos*, 178, 390n5
- purple, 34, 38, 47, 54, 117, 178, 233, 308, 357n80, 417n193
- Pydna, 9, 420n6
- qirsu*, 209
- quatrefoil, 239, 363n205, 364n221
- Quinto Fiorentino, 64
- ram, 240, 289
- Ras Shamra. *See* Ugarit
- ray motif at ends of *kline* rails, 58, 63, 64, 65, 111, 293
- reclining banquet, 13, 18, 21–27, 53, 77, 177, 198–99; adoption of custom in Greece, 18, 214–24; association with eroticism, 201, 202, 204, 214, 215, 224, 232, 279; association with nomadism, 199–201, 212, 214, 224, 232, 279; and digestion, 21; directional convention, 21–24; in Etruria and Italy, 35, 226, 228–30; on the ground, 80, 204, 212, 213, 224, 371n391 (*see also stibas*); in Macedonia, 271; origins of, 198–224; women’s participation in, 24–27, 38, 230, 256–60. *See also* Homeric poetry
- Renaissance, reclining effigies, 275–77, 278
- reuse of tombs, 6–7, 99, 100, 148–50, 154, 156, 169, 170, 283–86, 288, 291, 295–301, 306, 308, 310, 314, 316–18, 322, 326–31, 365, 383n240
- riders. *See* horsemen
- rock crystal, 237, 316
- rock-cut: chamber tombs, 6–9, 11, 14, 96, 97, 101, 114, 132–61, 172–73, 185, 194, 197, 225, 236, 313–35; couches or benches, 6, 38, 87–88, 97, 98, 104, 130–61, 194–95, 197, 226, 302–3, 304; façades and other cult monuments, 7, 133, 134, 136, 147, 168, 245, 322, 263, 264, 380n189, 383n239, 383n261, 419n264. *See also* wooden: architecture, represented in rock-cut form
- Roman-period couches, 32, 35, 37, 45, 69, 71–72, 267, 273, 277, 420n2
- Rome: Tomb of Julius II, 275–76
- rosette, 49, 55, 61, 63, 89, 91, 97, 107, 108, 111, 112, 117, 119, 124, 137, 155, 237, 244, 247, 281, 285, 293, 294, 297, 302, 311, 312, 318, 329, 356n69, 361n161, 363n190, 363n209, 363n211, 364n221, 374n25, 374n28, 378n67, 386n347, 392n45, 402n345
- Sadyattes, 264
- Salamis: bronze bowl from, 204, 212, 223; Cellarka Nekropolis, 170, 195, 388n378; Tomb 79, 194–95, 211, 402n251
- Samaria, 5, 201
- Samos, 5, 27, 68, 75, 108, 172, 220, 221, 224, 248, 254, 336, 370n350, 378n109, 381n207, 416n173. *See also* Geneleos Group; Polykrates
- San Giuliano, 167
- Sansovino, Jacopo, 275
- Sappho, 220
- Saqqara, 395n107
- sarcophagus, 10, 45–46, 47, 48, 68, 91, 93, 95, 97, 149, 150, 158, 172, 177, 181, 185–86, 194, 197, 237, 260, 262, 268, 275, 277, 311, 390n5, 391n24, 398n157. *See also* coffin; Klazomenian sarcophagus; Lydian: sarcophagi
- Sardis, 3, 5, 9, 34, 73, 99, 125, 217, 223, 225, 230, 234; Hacı Oğlan (*see* Sardis tumuli: Tomb 89.11); Harvard-Cornell expedition, 6, 148; pediment from temple-tomb at, 175, 255–56; Princeton expedition, 6, 383nn268–69; Pyramid Tomb, 180; stelai from, 264, 318. *See also* coffin; Klazomenian sarcophagus; Lydian: sarcophagi
- Sardis Nekropolis, 6, 97, 147, 149, 154, 172, 234, 236, 242, 384n271; Butler Tomb 7, 139, 318; Butler Tomb 8, 140, 318; Butler Tomb 9, 140, 318–19; Butler Tomb 33, 139, 319; Butler Tomb 68 (new 111), 139, 319, 388n377; Butler Tomb 70 (new 113), 140, 151, 319, 389n410; Butler Tomb 74 (new 100), 140, 320; Butler Tomb 98, 139, 320; Butler Tomb 102, 140; Butler Tomb 103, 139, 389n410; Butler Tomb A4, 140; Butler Tomb M, 139; Butler Tomb T, 139; Butler tombs recorded on strips of paper, 139, 140, 321, 388n377; Tomb 03.1, 139, 148, 150, 170, 313, 387–88n376; Tomb 23a, 263, 383n272, 384n292, 419n257; Tomb 43, 383n272; Tomb 59.2, 140, 313; Tomb 59.3, 138, 313; Tomb 326, 138, 237, 315–16; Tomb 348, 138; Tomb 356, 138, 316; Tomb 362, 138, 316; Tomb 364, 138, 237; Tomb 381, 138, 316–17; Tomb 411, 140, 317; Tomb 421, 138, 317; Tomb 510, 138, 317; Tomb 515, 138, 317; Tomb 520, 138, 317; Tomb 720, 149, 383n272; Tomb 813, 237; Tomb

- Sardis Nekropolis (continued)
 836, 140, 237–38, 317–18; Tomb CC1, 138, 314; Tomb CC3, 140, 314; Tomb CC7, 140, 314; Tomb CC18, 140, 149, 315; Tomb CC19, 139, 315; Tomb CC22, 140, 315; Tomb CC23, 139, 315; Tomb S1, 138, 242, 318; Tomb behind the Pyramid Tomb, 139, 314
 Sardis tumuli: Tomb 77.1, 103, 283–84; Tomb 82.1, 103, 284; Tomb 89.11, 103, 169, 284–85, 377n95, 377n98, 382n220; Tomb BK71.1, 103, 119–20, 122, 162, 284, 389n407. *See also* Bin Tepe
 Sargon II, 220
 satyr, 38, 80, 352n8, 354n34, 371n392
 Scythia, 88, 200, 201, 212, 399n186
 Scythian funerary rituals, 200
 seals and sealings, 210, 234, 236–37, 247, 255, 262, 316, 320, 401n237, 409n26, 411n80, 412n100
 Sellapoulo, 193
 Sennacherib. *See* Nineveh: Palace of Sennacherib
 Seyitgazi, 133
 Siana cup, 109, 337, 361n139, 361n142, 363n192, 365n231, 386n341, 418n215
 Sicily, 61, 65. *See also* Polizzello
 Sidon, 262, 419n244, 419n250
siglos. *See* coin
 Silenos, 219
 silver, 34, 75, 95–97, 122, 172, 181, 203, 205–6, 213, 220, 237, 239–42, 270, 293, 304–6, 310, 316–20, 365n240, 372n3, 389n410, 393n67, 410n45, 411n76, 416n183. *See also* *kline*: *epaguros*
 Silwan, 167–68
 Sivrihisar, 7, 114, 133, 136, 142, 146, 162
 skeletal remains: faunal, 183, 194, 286, 287; human, 64, 88, 89, 92, 96, 99, 157, 168, 169, 170, 181, 226, 230, 244, 270, 285, 286, 289, 301, 304, 306, 308, 309, 311, 314, 316, 318, 365n239, 365n248, 387n367, 388n369, 418n228, 422n32
skolion, 39
 sleep: association with death, 3, 188–89, 192, 232, 272, 275, 279; images of, 231, 275, 277, 352n8, 404n293. *See also* *kline*: multi-functionality and multivalence of
 snake, 55
 Socrates, 85
 Sogdians, 278, 290n2
 South Italian vases, 68, 71, 347–48, 362n168
 Sparta, 19, 79
 sphinx, 72–74, 77, 111–12, 125–27, 174, 236, 237, 293, 296, 298–99, 318, 365n243, 368n313, 397n138, 409n26. *See also* *kline*: *sphingopous*
 Spiegelthal, Ludwig Peter, 6, 9, 93
 star, 49, 55, 61, 63, 64, 76, 89, 91, 92, 109, 124, 285, 294, 297, 363n205, 374n36, 378n132, 386n347
 stele: anthemion type, 54, 111, 119, 249, 264, 363n190, 378n129, 378n132, 415n159; door type, 305, 314, 392n34. *See also* “Caromemphite” stelai; Daskyleion: stelai from; Harran; Kululu; Manes, stele of; Sardis: stelai from; Syro-Hittite sculpture
 Sternblüte (lotus star), 55, 61, 64, 76
stibas, 200, 224, 273
 stool, 27, 35, 91, 194, 205, 213, 216, 219, 223. *See also* *diphros*
 Strabo, 177–82
 strainer, 186, 240–41, 259, 270, 305, 318, 419n255
 style, 13
 Sultaniye, stele from, 252–53, 415n159
 Sumeria, 192
 Susa, 225, 237, 255, 412n100, 413n118
 swastika, 55
symposion (*symposia*, pl.), 15, 39, 53, 77, 78–85, 201, 215–18, 219–21, 224, 230, 256, 258, 260, 273
 Syria, 5, 193, 201–2, 211, 213, 223, 232, 237. *See also* Baghouz; Bit-Adini; Bit-Zamani; Ugarit
 Syro-Hittite sculpture, 134, 146, 158, 190, 198, 211, 219, 223. *See also* Carchemish; Maraş; Neirab; Zincirli
 Syro-Phoenician ivory furniture inlays, 76, 194, 201, 209, 211, 213, 216, 219; “woman at the window” motif, 209
 table, 129, 134, 172–73, 178–82, 183–88, 190, 194, 195, 205, 207, 209, 211, 219–20, 233, 247, 248, 254–56, 268–70, 284, 295, 300, 308–9, 311–13, 323, 325
 Tarentum, 58, 171, 360n125, 364n214, 364n222, 367n284
 Tarkhan, 192
 Tarquinia, 47, 227–30, 358n96, 408n406; Tomb of the Leopards, 47
 Tartessos, 369n318
 Taş Kule, 180
 Taşlık, 103, 133
 Tatarlı, 133, 252
 Tell el-Far’ah, 35–37, 98, 181
 temple, 7, 152, 157, 175, 214, 255, 256
 tenons, 30, 55, 57, 68, 105, 111, 115, 12, 124, 127, 137, 293, 294, 303–5, 308, 312, 324, 360n166, 364n215, 380n188. *See also* mortise-and-tenon joinery
 Terpander, 200
 Terpni Nigrita, 422n33
 terracotta: architectural, 47, 49, 54, 76, 112, 147, 221–22, 228–29, 239, 256, 263–64, 353n28, 362n168, 362n177, 362n189, 363n204, 378n129, 380n189, 382n230, 409n14, 413n121, 413n118; cinerary urn, 408n408; figurine, 314, 369n317; house model, 370n350; lamp, 314; plaque, 362n176; sarcophagus, 46, 97, 111, 150, 172, 189, 245, 291, 313, 315, 316, 335, 363n207, 407n382; sculpture, 27, 407n393
 textiles, 88, 93, 95, 97, 111, 117, 130, 178, 219, 233, 254, 293, 308. *See also* *kline*: cloth coverings on; mattress, or bed cushion; pillow
 thalamos, 188–89
 Thasos: banquet relief from, 256–57; grave stele from, 73
theoxenia, 368n295
 Thesmophoria, 224
 Thespias, 65
 Thessaloniki, 421n19, 421n28, 422n32
 Thetis, 22
 Thrace, 46, 267, 269–71, 421n28. *See also* Duvanli; Kazanlak; Naip Tumulus
 throne, 34, 49, 54, 64, 73, 91, 125–26, 195, 213, 214, 219, 256, 365n232. *See also* Zeus, throne of
 Thucydides, 35
tiara, 235, 243, 245, 247, 252, 420n272
 Tolfia, 395n109
 tomb paintings, 7, 115, 125, 130, 147, 173–75, 227, 228–30, 235, 245–49, 262, 264, 271, 272, 371n376, 408n406, 414n141
tonoi, 28, 58, 129
 Totenmahl, 10, 175, 183, 256, 260. *See also* banquet: concept of eternal banquet; banquet: represented in funerary art
 triangles, horizontal elongated. *See* ray motif at ends of *kline* rails
 triclinium, 137, 160, 171, 270
 Tripytos, 38
 Troad, 5, 8, 71, 123, 169, 173, 244, 259, 308–10. *See also* Çaldağ; Dardanos Tumulus; Dedetepe; Gümüşçay
 Troizen, 359n101
truphe, 225. *See also* *habrosyne*; luxury
 tumuli: Lydian, 6, 179–80, 236, 263, 283–307; multiple occupancy, 96, 99, 170, 171; reuse of, 99, 100; Phrygian, 7, 186–88, 197, 248, 263. *See also* Macedonia
 turned moldings on couch legs, 32, 34, 71–72, 97, 125, 155, 158, 226, 244, 254, 268, 271, 277, 295, 308
 Type A, B, and C. *See* *kline*
 Tyrrhenian amphora, 337, 361n142, 365n231
 Üçpınar Tumulus, 103, 244, 307, 382n224
 Üç Tümlüsler, 103
 Ugarit, 5, 76, 188, 211–12

Index

- unguentarium. *See* perfume vessels
 Ur, 396n128
 Urartian: furniture, 73, 75–76, 115, 146, 223, 244; jewelry, 239; roads, 264; sculpture, 134; tombs, 185–86
 Urartu, 5, 132, 185, 197, 212, 219–20, 223, 237, 349n5. *See also* Altuntepe; Kayalıdere; Musasir; Van
 Urukagina of Lagash, 192
 Uyuçık, 350n36, 382n224
- Van, 198, 398n157
 Vari, 189
- vase-painters (ptrs.): Acheloos Ptr., 51, 338; Aegisthus Ptr., 343; Affecter Ptr., 338; Akestorides Ptr., 345; Aison, 68, 71, 346; Alkimachos Ptr., 31, 345; Alkmene Ptr., 338; Amasis Ptr., 338, 361n142; Andokides Ptr., 16, 44, 339; Antimenes Ptr., 338, 361n168; Antiphon Ptr., 52, 342; Arkesilas Ptr., 337, 360n139; Atalante Group, 78, 79, 338; Barclay Ptr., 346; Berlin Ptr., 17, 342, 365n232; Birth of Athena Ptr., 345; Boot Ptr., 52, 345; Brygos Ptr., 57, 58, 82, 342–43; C Ptr., 337, 361n142, 367n276, 372n406; Castelgiorgio Ptr., 343; Castellani Ptr., 337, 361n142, 365n231; Chequer Ptr., 347; Class and Group of Munich 1812, 339; Class of Athens 581, 340; Class of New York 96.9.9, 51, 339; Class of the One-Handled Kantharoi, 340; Class of Vatican G47, 339; Class of Vatican G49, 342; Clinic Ptr., 343; Colmar Ptr., 342; Copenhagen Ptr., 344–45; Damon Ptr., 53; Darius Ptr., 348; Daybreak Ptr., 59, 340; Dayton Ptr., 339; Diogenes Ptr., 343; Dinos Ptr., 347; Dolon Ptr., 347; Douris, 52, 55, 65, 68, 80, 81, 343–44, 357n74, 362n182, 362n190, 372n406; Edinburgh Ptr., 51, 340; Epeleios Ptr., 56, 84, 340; Epiktetos, 340, 372n406; Eretria Ptr., 47, 68, 70, 71, 346, 368n296, Plate 7; Euaion Ptr., 346; Eucharides Ptr., 342; Euphronios, 39, 43, 188, 360n23; Exekias, 83, 365n232; Foundry Ptr., 82–84, 342, 364n224, 364n227, 367n276; Gela Ptr., 340; Golvol Group, 338; Group of the Athena Ptr., 341; Group of Copenhagen 114, 338; Group E, 338; Group of London E230, 347; Group of the Huge Lekythoi, 347; Group of Vienna 4013, 27, 348; Haimon Ptr., 341; Harrow Ptr., 342, 357n71, 364n224, 372n406; Heidelberg Ptr., 337; Hesiod Ptr., 345; Icarus Ptr., 345; Ilioupersis Ptr., 347, 361n148; Kadmos Ptr., 347; Kleitias, 337; Kleophon Ptr., 346, 365n233; Kleophrades Ptr., 47, 52, 60, 82, 117, 340, 341, 371n394, 405n339; Kodros Ptr., 47, 257, 259, 346, 364n221; KX Ptr., 50, 337, 361n168; Late Mannerists, 22, 353n32; Leagros Group, 33, 338–39; Leningrad Ptr., 40, 47, 59, 345; Lydos, 146, 337; Lysippides Ptr., 16, 338, 340; Madrid Ptr., 59, 339; Magnoncourt Ptr., 340; Makron, 82, 343, 364nn227–28, 367n262, 371n388; Marlay Ptr., 346, 362n182, 364n224; Mastos Ptr., 338; Medea Group, 339; Meleager Ptr., 25, 347; Michigan Ptr., 339; Mykonos Ptr., 345; Myson, 54, 342, 363n193; Naples Ptr., 346; Naukratis Ptr., 337; Nausikaa Ptr., 345, 368n295, 372n406; Nikoxenos Ptr., 341; Oedipus Ptr., 345; Oltos, 47; Omaha Ptr., 337; Onesimos, 77, 341; Orvieto Ptr., 337; Ptr. of Bologna 228, 52, 345; Ptr. of Bologna 279, 346; Ptr. of Bologna 417, 346; Ptr. of Brussels R330, 22, 346; Ptr. of London B76, 337; Ptr. of Louvre F314, 339; Ptr. of Naples 132, 342; Ptr. of Rhodes 10480, 341; Ptr. of the Fourteenth Brygos, 343; Ptr. of the Munich Amphora, 117, 345; Ptr. of the New York Hypnos, 347, 361n148; Pan Ptr., 343, 366n261; Paris Ptr., 23, 340; Penelope Ptr., 346; Penthesilea Ptr., 345; Perizoma Group, 339; Philocleon Reverse Group, 347; Pioneers, 39, 162, 340; Pistoxenos Ptr., 52, 345, 362n168; Priam Ptr., 26, 339; Princeton Ptr., 338; Pronomos Ptr., 347; Proto-Panaetian Group, 341; Psiach, 52, 162, 340; Ptoon Ptr., 16, 47, 337, 361n140; Quadrate Ptr., 347; Reed Ptr., 347; Rider Ptr., 337, 360n139; Ryecroft Ptr., 51, 339; Sabouroff Ptr., 18, 49, 346; Sappho Ptr., 340, 363n192, 386n345; Semele Ptr., 347, 352n8; Smikros, 39, 42, 57, 340, 360n123; Suckling Group, 348; Syracuse Ptr., 52, 345; Syriskos Ptr., 345, 371n391; Talos Ptr., 347; Theseus Ptr., 340; Triglyph Ptr., 347; Triptolemos Ptr., 345, 371n391; Troilos Ptr., 39, 41; Tymbos Ptr., 19–20, 346; Washing Ptr., 32, 49, 68, 346; Woman Ptr., 347; Xenokles Ptr., 338
- Vathia, 9
 vault, 21, 147, 271–73, 281, 304, 306, 310, 315, 318, 319, 322, 324, 327, 329–31, 352n15
 Vergina, 45, 58, 268–69, 272, 364n214, 364n216, 364n222, 391n25, 421n18, 421n28
 Veroia, 421n17
 Vetulonia, 226
 Vezirhan, 415n160
 Victorian sofa, 274
 Vollmoeller, Karl, 9, 10, 93
 Volterra, 229, 275
- volute, 32, 34, 49, 50, 54, 55, 58, 60–61, 65, 91, 105, 111, 124, 127, 155, 164–68, 239, 269, 281, 290; Aeolic type double, 50, 54, 76, 106–8, 111, 112, 114, 118, 119, 154, 166, 264, 285, 289, 293, 296–97, 302, 304; inverted, 54, 82; Ionic type double, 50, 54, 61, 82, 109, 111, 115, 164, 168, 295, 297, 308; Near Eastern, 76, 115; volute “eyes,” 50, 51, 60, 115, 117, 122, 166
 von Salis, Arnold, 96
- wall paintings. *See* tomb paintings
 West Anatolia, 14, 87, 177, 180, 245–46, 248, 262, 263, 265, 273, 414n141
 wheels: deposited in tombs, 118, 243–44, 262, 289, 307, 365n241, 366n249, 411n91; wheeled vehicles depicted in funerary art, 174, 189, 245, 249, 252, 261–62, 299, 395n100, 412n105
 wineskin, 55
 women. *See* reclining banquet
 wooden: architecture, represented in rock-cut form, 7, 147, 152, 197, 264, 299–300, 322, 325, 328–33; beds, *klinai*, and couches, 27–28, 35, 45, 61–65, 87–97, 115, 134, 166, 168, 172, 181, 185, 193, 195, 197, 228, 268, 273, 307–9; furniture legs, 44, 47, 49, 71, 75, 244, 309. *See also* bier; coffin; table
- Xanthos, 47, 155, 157. *See also* Nereid Monument
 Xenophanes, 220–21
 Xenophon of Athens, 240
 Xenophon of Ephesos, 21
- Yağcılar Tumulus, 103, 169
 Yapıldak, 133, 420n265
 Yazılıkaya (Hittite), 197
 Yazılıkaya (Phrygian). *See* Midas City
 Yeşilova, 99
 Yılan Taş. *See* Köhnüş Valley
 Yumrutepe: Tomb of the Candelabra, 139, 327; Tomb of the Lion, 139, 327
 Yuvalak, 103, 311
- Zeus, throne of, 361n163, 362n169, 362n175, 363n204, 364n217, 368n316, 371n367, 378n118
 Zey, 133, 136; Tomb 1, 138, 331; Tomb 3, 139, 332; Tomb 5, 140, 332; Tomb 6, 138, 332; Tomb 7, 138, 332; Tomb 8, 139, 332; Tomb 9, 137, 139, 142, 145, 146, 164, 170, 332; Tomb 11, 138, 333; Tomb 12, 136, 138, 333
 zigzag, 58, 293, 361n158
 Zincirli, 183, 195
 Zoroastrian, 177, 180, 265, 278, 390n2, 392n39

Wisconsin Studies in Classics

William Aylward and Patricia A. Rosenmeyer, General Editors

E. A. Thompson

Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire

H. I. Marrou

A History of Education in Antiquity

Histoire de l'Éducation dans l'Antiquité, translated by
George Lamb

Jennifer Tolbert Roberts

Accountability in Athenian Government

Erika Simon

Festivals of Attica: An Archaeological Commentary

Warren G. Moon, editor

Ancient Greek Art and Iconography

G. Michael Woloch

Roman Cities: Les villes romaines by Pierre Grimal,
translated and edited by G. Michael Woloch, together
with A Descriptive Catalogue of Roman Cities by
G. Michael Woloch

Katherine Dohan Morrow

Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture

John Kevin Newman

The Classical Epic Tradition

Jeanny Vorys Canby, Edith Porada, Brunilde Sismondo
Ridgway, and Tamara Stech, editors

*Ancient Anatolia: Aspects of Change and Cultural
Development*

Ann Norris Michelini

Euripides and the Tragic Tradition

Wendy J. Raschke, editor

*The Archaeology of the Olympics: The Olympics and Other
Festivals in Antiquity*

Paul Plass

*Wit and the Writing of History: The Rhetoric of
Historiography in Imperial Rome*

Barbara Hughes Fowler

The Hellenistic Aesthetic

F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys, editors

Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway

Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.

Barbara Hughes Fowler, editor and translator

Hellenistic Poetry: An Anthology

Kathryn J. Gutzwiller

Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre

Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma, editors

Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade

Rudolf Blum

Hans H. Wellisch, translator

*Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of
Bibliography*

David Castriota

*Myth, Ethos, and Actuality: Official Art in Fifth Century B.C.
Athens*

Barbara Hughes Fowler, editor and translator

Archaic Greek Poetry: An Anthology

John H. Oakley and Rebecca H. Sinos

The Wedding in Ancient Athens

Richard Daniel De Puma and Jocelyn Penny Small, editors

Murlo and the Etruscans: Art and Society in Ancient Etruria

Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, editors

The World of Roman Costume

Jennifer Larson

Greek Heroine Cults

Warren G. Moon, editor

Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition

Paul Plass

*The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and
Political Suicide*

Margaret S. Drower

Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology

Susan B. Matheson
Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens

Jenifer Neils, editor
Worshipping Athena: Panathenaia and Parthenon

Pamela A. Webb
Hellenistic Architectural Sculpture: Figural Motifs in Western Anatolia and the Aegean Islands

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway
Fourth-Century Styles in Greek Sculpture

Lucy Goodison and Christine Morris, editors
Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence

Jo-Marie Claassen
Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway
Hellenistic Sculpture II: The Styles of ca. 200–100 B.C.

Pat Getz-Gentle
Personal Styles in Early Cycladic Sculpture

Catullus
David Mulroy, translator and commentator
The Complete Poetry of Catullus

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway
Hellenistic Sculpture III: The Styles of ca. 100–31 B.C.

Angeliki Kosmopoulou
The Iconography of Sculptured Statue Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods

Sara H. Lindheim
Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's "Heroides"

Graham Zanker
Modes of Viewing in Hellenistic Poetry and Art

Alexandra Ann Carpino
Discs of Splendor: The Relief Mirrors of the Etruscans

Timothy S. Johnson
A Symposium of Praise: Horace Returns to Lyric in "Odes" IV

Jean-René Jannot
Religion in Ancient Etruria
Devins, Dieux et Démons: Regards sur la religion de l'Etrurie antique, translated by Jane K. Whitehead

Catherine Schlegel
Satire and the Threat of Speech: Horace's "Satires," Book 1

Christopher A. Faraone and Laura K. McClure, editors
Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World

Plautus
John Henderson, translator and commentator
Asinaria: The One about the Asses

Patrice D. Rankine
Ulysses in Black: Ralph Ellison, Classicism, and African American Literature

Paul Rehak
John G. Younger, editor
Imperium and Cosmos: Augustus and the Northern Campus Martius

Patricia J. Johnson
Ovid before Exile: Art and Punishment in the "Metamorphoses"

Vered Lev Kenaan
Pandora's Senses: The Feminine Character of the Ancient Text

Erik Gunderson
Nox Philologiae: Aulus Gellius and the Fantasy of the Roman Library

Sinclair Bell and Helen Nagy, editors
New Perspectives on Etruria and Early Rome

Barbara Pavlock
The Image of the Poet in Ovid's "Metamorphoses"

Paul Cartledge and Fiona Rose Greenland, editors
Responses to Oliver Stone's "Alexander": Film, History, and Cultural Studies

Amalia Avramidou
The Codrus Painter: Iconography and Reception of Athenian Vases in the Age of Pericles

Shane Butler

The Matter of the Page: Essays in Search of Ancient and Medieval Authors

Allison Glazebrook and Madeleine Henry, editors
Greek Prostitutes in the Ancient Mediterranean, 800 BCE–200 CE

Norman Austin
Sophocles' "Philoctetes" and the Great Soul Robbery

Sophocles
A verse translation by David Mulroy, with introduction and notes
Oedipus Rex

John Andreau and Raymond Descat
The Slave in Greece and Rome
Esclave en Grèce et à Rome, translated by Marion Leopold

Amanda Wilcox

The Gift of Correspondence in Classical Rome: Friendship in Cicero's "Ad Familiares" and Seneca's "Moral Epistles"

Mark Buchan
Perfidy and Passion: Reintroducing the "Iliad"

Sophocle
A verse translation by David Mulroy, with introduction and notes
Antigone

Geoffrey W. Bakewell
Aeschylus's "Suppliant Women": The Tragedy of Immigration

Elizabeth P. Baughan
Couched in Death: "Klinai" and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond